THE CULTURAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The Case of Bahrain

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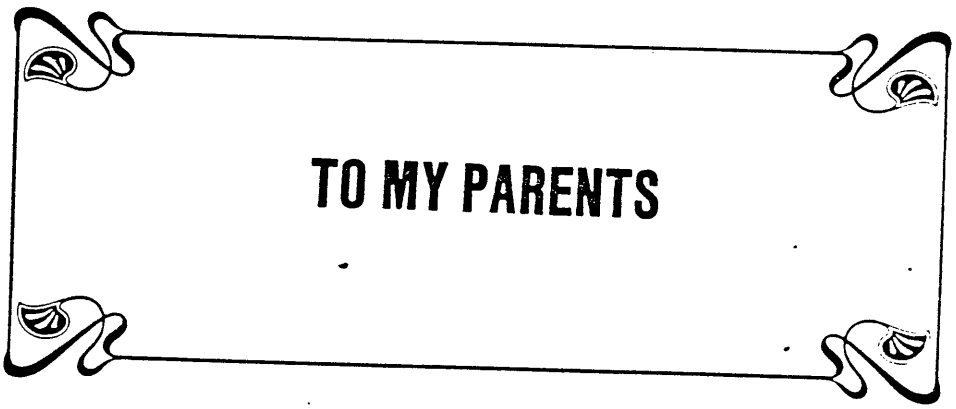
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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material is included for which a degree has previously been conferred upon me.

Signed.....


TO MY PARENTS

Abstract

This study of the social division of labour is an attempt to give a dynamic view of the social and economic life, and to examine the multidimensionality of social status systems in a small developing country like Bahrain. The study endeavours therefore to break down the social segments of the society into basic divisions according to ethnicity and gender, and analyse them as interacting groups. Moreover, it offers an opportunity for understanding the patterns of power, wealth, culture and stratification and their effect on the operations of the social division of labour in general and in the labour market in particular.

In order to pursue the enquiry, some questions have to be looked into. First, the relationship between the cultural characteristics of individuals, their degree of power, wealth, and status within the general social hierarchical arrangements, and their location within the labour market; second the nature of the system of morals, attitudes and judgment of each social group towards itself, on the one hand, and towards other groups, on the other; and, finally, the variability of social and state orders and how they affect the interactional behaviours of social groups.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem and the purpose of the study:

During the past four or five decades, Bahraini society has undergone a process of rapid social and economic change with high economic growth rates and profound social and economic development involving the extensive utilization of all available human and capital resources.

Numerous studies have been undertaken to understand and interpret such rapid changes in all aspects of society. These studies vary in their treatment of those developments according to the intellectual perspective from which they are written: economic, historical, sociological, political, etc. (1), and the way in which they interpret and define social changes; modernization, reform, etc. (2)

It is well known that the sociology of the Arab Gulf States is a relatively new field of scholarly activity. Hence most of the early studies dealing with Bahrain adopted either a historical or an economic approach and were lacking in the utilization of sociological methodology. This resulted in most of such studies being predominantly descriptive of societal evolution with the exception of some leading studies.

AL-Rumayḥī (1975) (3) reviewed in analytical form the economic and social changes after World War One concentrating on traditional activities such as pearl fisheries and agriculture, commerce and industry and he assessed the impact of education on social change and investigated political change and conflict. He draws heavily on historical and archival sources relating to the period under study. Nakhleh in his work entitled "Bahrain" (1976) (4) succeeds in

describing the processes of nation building and all of the forces that influence these processes. He describes postwar developments in the fields of education, communications, labour, foreign policies, and the election to the country's first Constitutional Assembly. Nakhleh is not only seeking to describe political development in Bahrain but also "to begin to enunciate a mode of urban tribalism". (5) Although the author approaches with some caution, the issue of "political differences" within the Bahraini population in terms of religious affiliation in his discussion of voting patterns in 1972, his explanation is inconclusive and is of a general nature.

Finally, Khuri (1980) (6) provides a comprehensive analysis of the development of political authority in Bahrain by focusing on two general themes: the changing authority system with regards to colonial rules and socio-economic transformations, and the impact of these forces on the processes of interaction between tribe, peasantry, and urban society. By using both archival materials and material gathered during his 1974-1975 field research, the author argues, on the basis of his analysis, which is of a high standard, that the development of the oil industry wiped out the fundamental elements of traditional economy and transformed the social bases of power, thus creating new political formations. (7) He does so despite the criticism that some of his sociological hypotheses are unconvincing, as when he asserts that "continued rapid economic and social change militates against the rise of organized protests or rebellions", a generalization hardly confirmed by the experience of Iran. (8)

This brief review of the previous three studies indicates that although they fall more or less within the field of sociology, their most serious shortcoming was the dominance, especially in the first two, of political factors and the relative neglect of the role of social groups operating within the structure of society. The present work attempts to fill in the detail of social processes in the social division of labour and to the factors which determine this. This issue is one which has always been a central concern of sociologists and economists in the Middle East. (9)

In 1979 a British traveller visiting Bahrain summed up the situation in the following words:

> "A half-mile walk without a map or any particular destination proved the point.. One narrow alley was full of carpenters and the smell of freshly sawn pine; another was a dazzling canal of brilliant Hong Kong cottons; another, the car repair zone, was loud with lines of men banging shapeless bits of metal with hammers. It was all utterly unlike the tired 'Westernization' that I had expected of Bahrain: the protective labyrinth, in which every trade has its own allocated quarter fixed by use and tradition, is Arabia's strongest bastion against mono-culture. Things are kept separate - gold and meat, vegetables and clothing, spices and hi-fi sets...every category has at least one street to itself. This separation of objects keeps people apart too; at each turn in the maze one notices a distinct difference in skin-colour and style of dresss. You cannot go more than a hundred yards without trespassing across a clearly defined boundary." (10)

This is an apt description of the situation in Bahrain where society is a complex mixture of a great range of categories or a colourful mixture of people. (11)

> "Every group lived inside its own protective social network. The sheer quantity of these intricate divisions struck male and female, Sunni and Shia, Bahraini and expatriate,...What appeared to be unique to Bahrain was the way in which so many nationalities had landed up on one small patch of ground, coming together to create not a cosmopolitan city but a multitude of tiny pro-

> vincial hamlets. Few expatriates ever bothered to learn more than a word or two of Arabic; they had no Arab friends; they were comfortably ignorant of the lives of the people with whom they shared this meagre acreage of land. The same was true, apparently, of the Arabs themselves, the Iranians, the Indians, the Pakistanis. The different groups exchanged contracts, employed one another, purchased things at each other's shops, were each other's landlords and tenants - but they did not mix". (12)

The issue of the division of society into groups is essential as this division is marked by such characteristics as race, religion and sex. Such differentiations complicate the division of labour and also complicate our understanding of the "social processes that underline shifts towards more complex social structures". (13) Furthermore, the placement of groups defined by these characteristics in the division of labour affects their conditions of employment and living. It affects their access to power and wealth and their general social status (in what is an hierarchic social order), and finally it affects the balance of social advantages and benefits. Indeed, the comprehension of such complexity requires a better understanding of the many elements involved, such as the structure of differences in religious affiliation, ethnicity, family structure and the sexual divisions of labour. The centralization of power and rewards, cultural commitment and social attitudes, and finally the social mechanism of the labour market need also to be accounted for.

This last point is crucial, for as these forces operate within the wider social structure of society, the tendency is for such groups to be variously effectively represented within the economic sector of the society: namely the labour market.

This study is about the social division of labour, primarily within Bahraini society. It is about the underlying problem of studying those factors that determine the social divisions of labour. The study approaches the problem of classifying the population into categories each of which is sub-divided into smaller categories.

The first category may be taken to represent the Bahraini population, which is sub-divided in terms of sex, and in terms of ethnicity. This main group is distinguished on ethnic grounds from the non-Bahraini population, or immigrant population. This too is sub-divided ethnically (Indian, Pakistanis, European, Arab etc.) or sexually (male immigrant, and female immigrant; the latter being mainly domestic servants) and by religious affiliation (Muslim, Christian, Hindu etc.)

Social groups or categories are defined in many different ways. One of the common definitions is that of Gordon 1964 (14) who sees the social group, as any group which is defined or set by race, religion or national origin, or by some combination of these categories. Thus, when a social group or category is mentioned in this study it refers to individuals sharing some common aspects such as race, sex, religious affiliation, or having a common platform of evaluation and judgement.

This study is centred around some inter-linked issues. First is that, similar to many underdeveloped countries, the social structure of Bahraini society originally consisted of many social categories separated along ethnic, religious and sexual lines. Through the social interaction of these categories the social. economic and even

political opportunities open to each group were diverse resulting in a wider separation and segregation of occupational categories, social places and residential areas. This socio-cultural diversification, especially along occupational lines, which is characterised by a high degree of inter-group specialization, was mainly the product of the new social division of labour. This in turn resulted in a new order for the distribution of power and socio-economic opportunities. It results as well in the appearance of a new system of social ranking and hierarchy in which the individuals are placed not according to class but according to social category or group. The second issue of this study is that the socio-economic division of labour cannot be adequately explained by the division of labour in its technical economic sense, or by such factors as the supply and demand of the labour of each category. Rather it is essential to seek the explanation in socio-cultural factors, on the one hand, and from other inter-linked factors such as power, wealth and class on the other. The following points seek to illustrate this at a theoretical level.

(1) The situation in any diversified society such as Bahrain might be adequately understood through the illumination of the socio-cultural patterns which emerge in consequence of the complex diversification of the society. These patterns are related in a complex manner to the issue of access to, and distribution of resources to, that is, the general pattern of power and wealth.

(2) Wealth and power are very closely interrelated and cannot be regarded as a separate dimension of social structure. In looking at the case of the Gulf States, wealth respresents a means to power, whether political power within the political system, or economic

power, the power of employers over labour, or other types of power. By borrowing the idea of the coincidence relationship between the hierarchies of power and wealth from the Batauta's work in Iraq, (15) it seems safe to suggest that those who stand, say at the top in the scale of power, tend also to stand at the top with respect to wealth, or in terms of religious, ethnic or status affiliation.

Differential group power is a basic determinant of the stratification system; the powers which mainly concern this study are economic and social powers. Economically, the advantageous group in terms of power can control and monopolize the resources in different ways; (1) by restricting the types of job available through job reservation and job fragmentation; (2) establishing wages scales for industries and other positions, thereby ensuring that there is no competition for workers that will drive up the wages; (3) controlling or prohibiting workers from organizing themselves; and (4) controlling the education system and encouraging subordinated groups to acquire only limited skills for job opportunities (16). Similarly, the social power groups can socially mobilize their power by means of controlling the the modes of cultural integration among groups; and in the control of social organization. (17)

Furthermore, in order to invoke an evolutionary paradigm to deal with the relationship between class and ethnicity, it is necessary to accept first the definition of "class in terms of economic and political interests, and ethnicity in terms of descent". (18)

Studies on the degree of development of ethnic consciousness and class consciousness reached two different conclusions. On the one hand, there are the scholars who assume a considerable interrelationship between ethnic identity and class, (Hechter and Levi, Solaun and Kronus, Harris, and Dillingham) (19) Hechter and Levi, argue that ethnic consciousness tends to be strongest among those groups placed at the bottom of the stratification system. Similarly, Solaun and Kronus, in their study of Cartagena, Columbia, found that the lower class (largely black) showed a considerable perception of and senstitivity to racial discrimination, but that non-lower class blacks showed a "highly attenuated" perception of it.

On the other hand, the second view is represented by scholars who have worked with the concept of the "ethclass" and who assume no incompatibility between class and ethnic identity. Ransford, for example, writes of persons who identify with their races as well as with a "working class" position. (20) Thus, Gordon, describes a multiple identity, using the metaphor of concentric circles each step farther removed from the core of personality and self-identification. Different components of the identity simply serve alternative purposes, in this formation, rather than displacing one another. (21)

Most societies have witnessed structural change. This accompanies the movement from a traditional way of life which is based mainly on a minimally differentiated economy to a more complex system of functional differentiation in economic activity. This refers to the increasingly specific divisions of labour, occuring in consequence of modernization, industrialization and economic development. Markets

expand and become increasingly centralized within the community. The emergence of new economic and bureaucratic institutions takes place and so does the rise of a formal educational system related increasingly to the functional and skill requirements of the new economy. Greater exchange and communication is promoted among diverse social groups.

The question which has to be asked is, do modernization and fundamental changes in all economic and social aspects affect the personal, traditional, familial, kinship, ethnic or religious loyalties? Under what conditions do economic and social development encourage or discourage ethnic or religious, or even sexual mobilization, rather than for example class solidarity?

In the sociological literature many current approaches focus specifically on these issues. Firstly, the developmental approach(22) which posits that with increasing differentiation in the division of labour and the extension of the capitalist market, the importance of ethnic and religious attachment, and sexual inequality would eventually disappear. Geograpahical or cultural based cleavages will be superceded by class and functional differentiation which represent the real economic interest. This approach also presumed that achievement instead of ascription would predominate and recruitment and rewards will be mainly based on universalistic criteria, such as skill and efficiency, rather than on ethnic origin. Accordingly ascriptive criteria such as ethnic or religious identities have no

ground in the mechanics of the market and will lose their meaning in the orientation of individuals.

Despite the popularity this approach achieved, it has come under much attack. Its detractors claim that the residual status it gives ethnicity fails to account for the profusion of ethno-regionalist movements around the world in recent time and especially in most advanced capitalist countries such as the Celts in Britain, Flemings in Belgium, French in Canada and others.

In contrast to the previous approach (23), the reactive ethnicity perspective argues that structural differentiation does not necessarily entail decreasing salience of ethnic distinctions in the mechanics of the market (especially the labour market) but may actually enhance the salience of ethnic distinction. Particularistics allocation of roles and resources may accompany structural differentiation, and the most desirable rewards may be reserved for members of the core cultural group, while members of peripheral cultural groups are assigned to inferior positions and receive inferior rewards. Hechter, the main proponent of this view, named this arrangement a "cultural division of labour". He defines this as a "system of stratification where objective cultural distinctions are superimposed upon class lines". (24)

The final approach is the neo-Marxist which shares with the former approach the view of opposing the developmental approach about the impact of modernization on ethnic relations.

Among the proponents of this perspective (Bonacich, Portes and Bach)(25) the common theme is that ethnic stratification is the result of a split or segmented labour market that generates ethnic oppression from both capital and labour. By linking ethnic segregation with competition that generates hostility between different groups of workers (while maintaining rates of profit for the employer), Bonacich provides a valuable insight into how ethnicity can be made to override class consciousness.

The present study will emphasize the following aspects:

(1) The changes that have taken place in the specific work patterns accompanying the transformation from an economy centred around maritime activities to a modern economy based upon the oil industry and how these changes correspond to a process of increasing social division of labour in society.

(2) The interrelations between social groups categorized in non-economic terms within the social division of labour, paying particular attention to their interaction within the labour market. This study attempts to provide information for an understanding of the way in which these categories function socially and economically and what effects these practices have on labour market efficiency, level of employment, and income distribution. In general we shall be interested in the stability of and the interrelationship between

social groupings and the effects of ethnic and sexual segmentation of the labour market.

(3) The factors which played an important role in the allocation of each social category within the social division of labour, enabling us to utilize socio-cultural factors in the explanation of recent developments in the social division of labour, although it is recognised there are some difficulties involved in examining the validity of socio-cultural explanation for problems of an economic nature. I.Famieson (1978) stated that part of that problem is the need to develop appropriate categories of analysis. (26)

(4) A detailed analysis of recent trends and changes in the structure of the labour market to ascertain the relationship of some social and cultural features. Among these features are the status of women in the society, and their degree of participation in the general labour market as opposed to traditional domestic roles, the effects of education and training on the operation of the labour market and their contribution to the division of labour and the responses of the social groups to them, and in addition the structure of the wage system and factors which determine wage and rewards differentiation.

1.2 Division of Labour: Theoretical Perspective

The division of labour, as a concept of both economic and social interest, has received extensive attention in the social sciences and organizational studies literature. (27) The division of labour became a subject of considerable disagreement in the social sciences due to the wide and differing use of the term by different social disciplines and even within one discipline. While Adam Smith believed

that due to the division of labour "the greatest improvement in the productive power of labour" has been achieved (28), Karl Marx has accepted and lauded the superior productive capacity of capitalism. However he stressed its negative effect, as a process leading to the alienation of man under capitalism, (29) and Angust Comte thought that it had a natural tendency to extinguish the sense of community, or at least seriously to impair it. (30)

Although Emile Durkheim (1933) (31) was aware that divisions of labour can take different forms, his treatment mainly explores the relation between the individual and the collectivity by making a distinction between two types of society, the first with simple mechanical solidarity and the other with complex organic solidarity. Other sociologists (Gibbs and Poston, 1975) (32) see the bases for the division of labour as related to the demographic characteristics of the population (i.e. age, sex, and race). Furthermore, other social-anthropolgists (such as Hechter 1976-1978) (33) treat the durability of and the structural differentiation of labour as being a consequence of socio-cultural differentiation. This affects the distribution of labour with what they term the cultural division of labour.

What appears from Durkheim's works is that he was more concerned with the issue of the solidarity of society. His chief interest in the division of labour in society was in showing "that specialization was the basis of solidarity in modern society". (34)

From this argument, the division of labour and the formation of the occupational groups according to him become a source of cohesion. As work becomes increasingly specialized, so do individuals become progressively more dependent upon one another for the satisfaction of their needs. And for him the existence of the specialized occupational groups which he termed 'corporations' served as an alternative source of cohesion "because of the moral influence it can have". (35) M. Hammond described Durkeim's analysis of the roles of such groups "as a perfect example of how he sees differentiations making possible the construction and maintenance of a social world in a more and more complex society". (36)

However, he also states that if that division of labour does not produce solidarity, it is because the "relations of the organs" are not regulated, because they are in a state of anomie.

Krauss (1982) adds a new dimension to the question of occupational groups when he states that these groups may act to control and monopolize a particular skill in a given social division of labour to provide them with greater power to control their place in that division of labour. (37) He argues also that such monopolization can be achieved through a variety of actions, among them action that "involves monopolization of the training setting". (38)

Durkheim should be recognised for the importance he allocated to the role of education in shaping the division of labour. He treated unequal educational opportunity as part of the process of constraining the division of labour and individual life, and, to reform education,

he proposed an open meritocracy, based on school achievement and skill, which would decide who gets which jobs in the labour market. (39)

> "Education is growing more and more specialized. We deem it more and more necessary not to submit children to a uniform culture, as if they were all to lead the same life, but to train them differently in the light of the different functions they will be called upon to fill. Briefly, in one of its aspects, the categorical imperative of the moral conscience is assuming the following form: 'Make yourself usefully fulfill a determinate function." (40)

The notion of structural differentiation, although it is much more comprehensive than the division of labour, can be effectively applied in analysing the process of social evolution and change and may be combined with Durkheim's approach. It is viewed as "one of many aspects of the process by which the performance of more specialized functions is carried out by increasingly variegated social units in complex societies." (41) Smelser states that "when one social role or organization becomes archaic under changing historical circumstances, it differentiates by a definite and specific sequence of events into two or more roles or organizations which function more effectively in the new historical circumstances". (42) He applied this model in studying two seprate structural contexts, namely industry and the family.

He also indicates that wider spread structural differentiation can result in the appearance of more differentiated roles and structures and provides a series of bases for the formation of new groups, including class. (43)

The second view of the division of labour is represented by the "human ecologists". (44) They consider the demographic characteristics of the population such as age, sex, and race as the bases for analysing division of labour. According to Gibbs and Poston, the division of labour is partially a function of differences among members of a population in their sustenance activities. "Accordingly, to the extent that there is a relation between a characteristic of members and the kind of sustenance activities in which they engage, that characteristic is one basis for the division of labour in that population". (45)

In this respect, Gibbs (1962) and Martin made an important distinction between two general ideas which are associated with the concept. First, occupational differentiation as such, designated as the degree of the division of labour; secondly, the basis on which a person's occupation in the division of labour is determined. (46)

The major criticism directed towards these views is that the relations which they developed between the demographic aspects and the division of labour totally ignored such factors as culture and norms. (47)

The third and final component is the social division of labour according to some socio-cultural characteristics. Briedger (1975), Hechter (1979) (48) conceptualized social or ethnic groups largely by cultural variables such as religious affiliation, linguistic behaviour and in terms of individual identities. These common characteristics bind individuals into solidary groups on a socio-cultural basis and

that solidarity is "likely to persist in an industrial society given the existence of a cultural division of labour". (49)

Contrary to the theories of modernization, Hechter provides a model of "internal colonialism" which suggests that a probable outcome of industrial development is the cultural division of labour. This "refers to the salience of objective cultural distinction in the distribution of occupations and rewards". (50) The "internal colonialism" model suggests that the wave of modernization had created two distinctive groups. One relatively advanced in terms of power and resources, is named 'the core'; it "seeks to stabilize and monopolize its advantages through policies aiming at the institutionalization of the existing stratification system". It also attempts to regulate the allocation of social roles so that those roles commonly defined as having high prestige are reserved for its members. Conversely, the second group, which is named 'periphery', is denied access to these roles. According to Hechter such a stratification system is termed the cultural division of labour, and contributed to the development of distinctive ethnic identification in the two groups.

Although the internal colonialism model attempts to explain ethnic regionalism, by being applied to state settings, the core- periphery model relates to the analysis of the global system. In the international division of labour the core is represented by the developed (largely Western, capitalist) countries which specialize in manufacturing, and periphery is made up of the third world countries which supply cheap raw materials and labour. "When cultural differences coincide with differences in development between core and

periphery, cultural and economic exploitations are mutually reinforcing." (51)

In our exploration of Hechter's model of internal colonialism and cultural division of labour, it seems that the model can even be applied to more specific cases of group inter-ethnic relationship. It can be utilized more specifically for examining inter-ethnic, religious, and even the sexual division of labour within Bahrain. Furthermore, the complexity of the inter-relationship between social groups within the society seems a result of a numerical minority with privileged status in terms of power, resources and other cultural variables, dominating a numerical majority group who are confined to various categories of low status labour. Their culture is considered inferior to that of the dominant group, and, they have very limited access to power and resources. Therefore, Hechter's distinction of core - periphery seems to stand as a sufficient explanation of such unequal structure. (52)

> "Because they are limited to a range of subordinate social roles, individuals in the periphery will tend to maintain their cultural institutions and identity. This culture maitenance results from the importance of culture in the system of stratification, and the consequent tendency towards ecological segreation in the work and residential setting." (53)

Ethnic identity and puralism in the social structure is seen by a number of sociologists and anthropologists to be a direct consequence of immigration which resulted in the emergence of a new social category of great cultural variability being incorporated into the society. (54)

> "Every developing industrial economy was faced from time to time with shortages of unskilled labour that were frequently met by labour recruitment from less developed sectors of the world economy. These resulting waves of immigration promoted ethnic stratification instead of reducing it." (55)

Peterson (1978) (56) has made an attempt to put migration into purely sociological perspective, by stating that sociological analysis implies a focus on groups and institutions and the way these combine into social structures and organizations. For him a sociological explanation of migration implied placing migration squarely within the social matrix, where the forms of association are the predictors of social coherence.

The major interest of analysis using the cultural division of labour approach is to emphasize the differential distribution of each group with common or shared characteristics within the labour market. Hechter attempts in his valuable paper (1976) to establish a relationship between industrialization and the rise in the cultural division of labour by suggesting that if industrialization tends to level social differences, it is perplexing that a cultural division of labour should at the same time develop. He points out: (57)

> "Immigrants,...are paid low wages as a function of their culture - that is, since they are recruited from regions having a relatively low standard of living, their initial wage expectation are, on the average, lower than those of indigenous workers - and they do tend to form separate communities on this basis." (58)

In this respect he was using the term 'culture' to describe the worker's style of life. He cited as an example the Irish migrant labour used extensively in the agricultural counties of England in the late 18th Century onwards. This practice helped to free some English agricultural labourers to migrate to the cities in search of better

opportunities. This parallel can be effectively applied to the experience of women in the Arab Gulf region who by the introduction of foreign domestic labour became free to seek out-door employment and help in reshaping the division of labour within the household.

> "With time the urban workforce became increasingly culturally diverse. Cities have always been places where people of different cultures mixed... At this point objective cultural differences between groups in the working class began to develop along dimensions of language and religion. Further, the new culturally distinct immigrants did not enter the labour force in random occupations. Quite the contrary. The immigrants tended to find themselves engaged in occupations which, for the most part, were to become unacceptable to the indigenous working class. These occupations then became identified in society as a whole with particular cultural groups." (59)

Accordingly, that situation gave rise to a cultural dualism within the labour market or according to Hechter, a cultural division of labour was beginning to be established and the most recent immigrants were clustered at the bottom of the stratification system. Other writers interpreted that situation by applying the theory of the dual labour market (Prior, 1973 - Gordon, 1971) (60) which sees the labour market as highly stratified and segmented. By stratification is meant the division of the labour market into two or more strata on the basis of workers' behaviour and attitudes, on the one hand, and the degree of stability of employment on the other. By segmentation is meant the persistence of wage differentials and barriers to mobility between occupations and industries within the same stratum. (61)

The cultural divisions of labour occurs whenever culturally marked groups are distributed in an occupational structure, but that does not occur without having remarkable consequences for many other social aspects of life, especially residential segregation and the structure

of social inequality. The degree to which social categories are residentially segregated is an issue which may have great consequences for the social structure as a whole. Thus as every social group is identified with particular occupational groups, that also affects their desire to be concentrated in particular residential districts where the standards reflect the social status of the group.

What I am arguing here is that the factors affecting the operation of the labour market, the linkage between employment patterns and the stratification system, were largely a combination of economic and socio-cultural factors. In other words, capitalist economy created different categories of work, or occupations, namely primary and secondary jobs or good and bad jobs to borrow a phrase from Piore (62), and such a situation produces a need for different groups of workers bearing different economic characteristics (skills) and cultural characteristics, (sex, ethnicity etc.) to respond to the requirements of the capitalist market. Consequently, once this situation is established, other economic forces tend to homogenise segments of the labour market, such as the level of supply and demand for labour, and the price of labour.

Furthermore, in order to maintain the pattern of domination and to obstruct any attempt for rebalance of the core - periphery relations, the dominant groups produce a series of maintenance and reinforcement processes and mechanisms. These might include institutional discrimination against the lower strata which restricts access to resources such as employment (particularly high status jobs),

> "they (the dominant group) act consistently and legitimately in order to facilitate the competition over resources for the dominant group, or to allot them in practice greater benefits and rewards". (63)

Social inequaltiy is another structural characteristic developed with the increasing social division of labour. Bonacich (1972) focuses on the desire of the employers to take advantge of ethnic or cultural difference in the labour market by splitting the labour market along ethnic lines which in turn helps to institutionalize ethnic inequality in the society at large. (64)

Bonacich's model of the split market which builds upon earlier theories of class conflict and is based upon stronger empirical evidence, assumes that three-way competition and exploitation in the labour market among majority-group owners (capitalist) and highly-priced labour (white in case of the United States, for example) and lower priced labour (black and Hispanics in the United States, Japanese in Canada, etc. who may receive different wages for performing the same tasks). Among ethnically divided labour this leads to a high degree of ethnic antagonism.

Though Bonacich's model is analytically and perhaps empirically successful in presenting economic elements of ethnicity in a very interesting and convincing manner, the last issue of ethnic antagonism clearly demands, however, significant modifications. In spite of that she accounts for a variety of indicators as examples of ethnic antagonism such as racism, prejudice, discrimination, segregation laws, lynching and exclusionary movements. However, "identification

of the conditions under which the various processes occur and in what mixtures and comparative strengths has not been fully explored". (65)

Indeed, the two groups might never openly compete for the same jobs in the sense that cheap labour (immigrants) might be concentrated in the secondary labour market, while high priced labour move to more lucrative or pleasant jobs in the primary sector.

This facilitates a system of ethnic specialization rather than ethnic antagonism. Correspondingly, if the solidarity of lower status groups were merely a function of their location within a split labour market, those groups sharing the same labour market segment should be expected to coalesce in pursuit of their common interests and to mobolize their forces in the competitive market. (67) According to Hechter, now American blacks and Hispanics are disproportionally represented in the secondary labour market, but neither group seems willing to relinquish its separate identity. (68) The same line of thought can be applied to all the immigrant communities in the Arabian Gulf today.

Another view expressed by Barth, (1969) argues that when one group has the control of a means of production utilized by another group, a relationship of inequality and stratification obtains. (69) That theme, it seems, originated from the Weberian concept of social closure which is considered an important contribution in understanding occupational inequalities.

> "By social closure Weber means the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to rewards and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles. This entails the singling out of certain social or physical attributes as the justificatory basis of exclusion." (70)

It was argued earlier that social inequality is mainly derived from the desire of particular social groups to restrict access to certain resources. Such groups, which according to Weber, are defined by attributes such as race, language, social origin and religion "act to enforce a certain degree of closure upon the otherwise free social interaction inherent in market relations". (71) The more restricted the access to certain types of occupation is, the more likely it is that they occupy a privileged place within the unequal opportunity structure. (72)

However, Weber's concept of social closure pays insufficient attention to the reactions of excluded groups. Parkin argues that such excluded or restricted labour strata, may engage in remedial action. The subordinate and exploited groups themselves achieve their own social closure by "forming a common political identity and some measure of common consciousness before they are in a position to exert moral leverage". (73)

Thus the theories reviewed in the third component, mainly the cultural division of labour, which share the assumption that economic roles determine the degree to which ethnic solidarity exists and explain the inequality in resources distribution by utilizing factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, and sex will be mainly employed in the

present work to gain a fuller understanding of the structure of division of labour in Bahrain.

1.3 Methods of research and field work;

As stated earlier, the main objective of this study is to ascertain the distribution and general features of categories within the social division of labour and to explore some of the determinating factors, and the consequences of that distribution in Bahraini society.

Thus, the methodological issue is to establish methods of enquiry and categorizations as well as expose most clearly the differentiations that are identified in the society in general and the labour market in particular in contemporary Bahrain. These categories will not be restricted to those functionally defined in conventional economic analysis.

Therefore, to achieve the goals described above, the sensible thing to do is to expose several crucial groups in contemporary Bahrain. This could be selected strategically, first in order to obtain a clearer understanding of the nature of the social division of labour in Bahrain and, secondly to gain insight into the problems under study and to reveal the theoretically most fruitful way to explore them. This involves clarifying such groups' social and cultural characteristics, partly in terms of their own situation, but more especially as they are defined in relation to other groups in Bahraini society and in relation to the structuring of the labour market. Hence, the characteristics of these socially defined categories (or groups) within the labour market will be seen to be not simply

inherent to themselves (or internal to them), but as relational to other categories (or groups).

Qualitative research techniques were mainly utilized in the belief that the qualitative method is a better way of obtaining reliable data if a researcher is dealing in an exploratory fashion with several different categories of people. Although some specific information regarding methods of data collection, sampling and the general characteristics of the samples is detailed in the appropriate chapters, it seems perhaps useful to give here a general outline of the research methods.

The different categories of people involved in the investigation prompted the use of a combination of data collection methods or what Burgess (74) terms a multiple strategy of field research, not relying upon a single method or a single set of data.

The population categories under study can be classified into two sections, the first comprising the indigenous Bahraini workforce of which four categories were studied. First, a sample of the indigenous population representing different educational levels, ages, occupations and residential areas, was given a specific open-ended questionnaire sheet consisting of 12 general questions; second, a sample of Bahraini women was chosen so as to investigate their public and domestic roles. The third category consisted of Bahraini youth in a selected training scheme, while finally, in the fourth category, interviews were held with some responsible and top officials mainly in

the Ministries of Labour and Education, in addition to owners of some recruitment agencies operating in Bahrain.

The second section comprises the non-Bahraini or foreign elements, of which three categories were considered: the first, a sample of immigrant workers; the second some domestic servants working in Bahraini households; and finally functionally responsible people in some foreign social institutions and clubs based in Bahrain (see figure No.1).

The composition and size of the main sample selected for researching can be classified as follow:

Figure No. 1 Field Work Categories

Category	Sub-category	Tool	Number
Bahraini elements	Indigenous people	Specific questionnaire	102
	Bahrain women	Personal interviews (1)	58
	Apprentices	Personal interviews (2)	60
	Officials/agencies	Personal interviews (1)	
Foreign elements	Immigrant workers	Personal interviews (2)	83
	Domestic servants	Personal interviews (1)	32
	Representatives expatriate institutions	Personal interviews (1)	

(1) On individual basis.

(2) Individual and group interview.

Although the group interviews, which were utilized mainly in the field work, have some disadvantages regarding the sufficiency of the data and the concentration of the discussion. It proved, however, more satisfactory as a means of saving time and movement within one of the most sensitive areas of group relations. It also had the advantage of enlarging the size of the sample. Furthermore, because of the constraints upon the inquiries, and because we operated with several small samples, no statistical tests of significance are possible.

Both semi- and unstructured personal interviews were the main tools in collecting data from these categories. An interview guide which consisted of the topics of discussion was used rather than interview schedules, and the interviewees were directed by the list of topics although the interviewee was given freedom in answering the questions and even of bringing up a new topic for discussion. However, some questions were designed to elicit specific answers. Furthermore a great deal of complementary primary and secondary data have been gathererd throughout from official statistical data and reports, historical documents and press cuttings from the main local newspapers. Glaser and Strauss state that different kinds of data give the analyst different views or vantage points from which to understand a category and to develop its properties. (75) The methods utilized were influenced mainly by the nature of the field situation, the problems being dealt with, the purpose of the study and the very limited data available.

Sampling is a problem in every exercise of social research, but because the main purpose of this research was exploratory and because

the nature of the research involved a diverse society, the aim has been not to select a sample to represent the population at large, but rather to choose a sample which could provide further understanding about certain theoretical categories what Glaser and Strauss term "theoretical sampling" This term seeks to distinguish it from statistical sampling which, according to them, is done to obtain accurate evidence on distributions of people among categories.

In sample selection there were no strict rules applied in constituting the sample and the general purpose was to cover the widest possible variety of groups and actors in order to obtain an extensive range of information. To do so it seemed best to seek the assistance of intermediaries with access to particular groups.

For example, in dealing with the immigrant workers, I decided to rely upon the assistance of persons who have extended contact with some immigrant groups and are familiar with the networks of communication within them. Because I normally have no contacts with immigrant workers, and due to the fact that the purpose is not just selecting any people, but rather to include a reasonable cross-section of people, I talked to an Indian friend who works as a journalist and explained to him the idea of my project. He was able to help in directing me to specific persons within the immigrant communities. These in turn recommended and arranged most of the cases and interviews. The same thing can be said about interviewing domestic servants, where a Bahraini lady arranged and even joined me in all my interviews with this group. Following this method, I was able to make

a number of satisfactory initial contacts with such groups who normally would not be easily accessible.

The study depends mainly upon data gathered from two pieces of field work undertaken in Bahrain in two distinct periods of time lasting a total of about six months.

For the first period of field work, which lasted approximately four months, a comprehensive plan was drawn up showing groups and categories under research, confidence being gained by checking the plan with experienced colleagues and friends in Bahrain.

Gaining access to the field and categories under study is the most crucial difficulty facing any social sciences researcher in the developing countries. In the field I was carrying two letters of introduction to facilitate my enquiries. The first was from the University of Exeter, and the second from the Arab Gulf University to which I officially belong.

In the field work, a number of problems were experienced, the most important arising from dealing with a variety of different groups with different languages, beliefs and attitudes. There were linguisitc problems, especially with immigrant workers and domestic servants, most of whom speak neither good English nor good Arabic. This results in a mixture of two broken languages or what might be called an Anglo Arab-Urdu language, and that without any doubt affected the quality of note recording by the researcher. Moreover because of the sensitivity of the interview topic, some were trying either to avoid

answering particular questions or to give answers which did not contradict the beliefs of the society.

I had returned briefly to Bahrain in late 1985. It was not until the second half of 1986 that I carried out my second major field work; this time with more clearly established contacts and also with benefit from the first field work. This second period of two months was helpful in gathering data from additional numbers of domestic servants and from Bahraini women and Bahraini youth in the selected training scheme.

In addition, a major part of both field work periods was spent reading and surveying local newspapers, magazines, and other publications related to my topic. Some data has been collected from the Public Library in Manama, Gulf News Agency Library, Ministry of Information Library, Bahrain Centre for Research and Studies library and Follow-up Centre for Ministries of Labour and Social Affairs in the Arab Gulf States. This material is incorporated with a large amount of material collected in England from the India Office Library, the Public Records Office and the Centre for Middle East Studies in the University of Durham.

I also visited Kuwait and spent some days visiting the Arab Planning Insitute, Ministry of Planning and Centre for Gulf and Arabian Peninsula studies. There I met some specialists in the field of labour and immigration. Furthermore, two factors are worth mentioning here: the reading I had done in the area of race relations and communities was an important advantage in furthering my

understanding and directed me to the appropriate way of dealing with the categories I worked with. In addition, my earlier experience as a journalist (for about four years) also had some influence on the direction of the field work.

1.4 Organisation of the Work.

The study consists of seven chapters, the first of which is an introduction which briefly summarizes some leading sociological studies about Bahrain, and some theoretical contribution to the division of labour. The chapter also sets out the methodology of the study and the field work involved.

The succeeding chapter deals exclusively with the socio-economic basis of Bahraini society, including the traditional and modern economy and the social structure of the society. The third chapter provides a historical analysis of the origin and development of the social division of labour and the changing social relations and social group interactions.

The last four chapters have been written to be relatively self-contained, developing their own rationales and exposition of the techniques of analysis but referring to general arguments in the conclusion of each chapter and the general final conclusion which provides an orienting framework developed during the diversity of discussion throughout the chapters.

The fourth chapter is devoted to a discussion of the ethnic division of labour and the status of immigrant communities in the society; the

fifth chapter concentrates on the sexual division of labour; while the final chapter examines the role of the education system and training policies in shaping the social division of labour and the social category attitudes towards education and training.

1.5 Notes:

(1) See .K. Kuwari, "Oil Revenues in the Gulf Emirates: Pattern of allocation and impact on economic development". Epping, England, Bowker 1978; C.Osborne,1977, "Gulf States and Oman" London, Croom Helm; and J.D.Anthony, "Arab States of the Lower Gulf People and Politics, Petroleum" Washington,D.C.: Middle East Institute, 1975.

(2) See M.T. Sādiq,, "Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates". Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1972; A.H. Taki, "The changing status of the Bahraini woman". Bahrain Oriental Press, 1974.

(3) M.G. AL.Rumayḥī Bahrain: Social and Political Change Since the First World War London. Bowker, 1976.

(4) E.A. Nakhleh. "Bahrain: Political Development in a Modernizing Society". Lexington, Massachusetts; B.C. Heath nd Company, 1976.

(5) R.A. Mertz, (1981) "Book Review - Bahrain. Middle East Journal. Vol.35, No.3, p.394.

(6) F.I. Khuri, "Tribe and State in Bahrain: The Transformation of Social and Political Authority in an Arab State" Chicago. University of Chicago Press, (1980).

(7) Ibid, p.6.

(8) D.F. Eickelman ,Book Review - Tribe & State in Bahrain. Middle East Journal Vol. 35. No. 3, 1981, p.394-5.

(9) See F.I. Khuri, "From Village to Suburb - Order and Change in Greater Beirut" The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London, 1975.

(10) J. Raban, "Arabia Through the Looking Glass London, Collins p. 32, 1979.

(11) A. Said "Ethnic Conflict: A Framework of Analysis and Its Relevance to the Gulf Region". In M. Mughisuddin (ed.) Conflict and Co-operation in the Persian Gulf. New York, Prager Publishers., 1977, p.113.

(12) J. Raban, Op.cit, p.42.

(13) D. Rueschemeyer "Power and the Division of Labour" Cambridge, Polity Press, 1986,P.1.

(14) M. Gordon, "Assimiliation in American Life" New York. Oxford University Press. 1964, P.27.

(15) H. Batatu. "The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq" Princeton University Press, California. 1978.

(16) D.G. Baker, "Race and power: comparative approaches to the analysis of race relations". In Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 1. No. 3. 1978. p.321.

(17) Ibid.

(18) L. Pierre & P. van den Berghi, "Class, Race and Ethnicity in Africa". In Ethnic and Racial Studies. Vol. 6. No.2. 1983. p.230.

(19) See M. Hechter, and M. Levi, "The comparative analysis of ethnoregional movements". In Ethnic and Racial Studies. Vol.2. No. 3. July 1979; M. Solaun and S. Krouns, "Discrimination without violence", New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1973; M. Harris. "Race and Class in Minas Velhas. In Race and Class in Brazil." ed. by C. Wagley, Paris UNESCO 1952; and G.L. Dillingham, "The emerging black middle class: class conscious or race conscious? In Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 4 No. 4. 1981.

(20) H.E. Ransford, "Race and class in American society". Cambridge Mass. Schinkman, 1977.

(21) M.Gordon, "Assimilation in American Life" New York, Oxford University Press, 1964.

(22) For details regarding the developmental approach see
(1)T.Parsons & N. Smelser, "Economy and Society". New York. Free Press. 1956.
(2)S.M. Lipset & S. Rokkan, "Cleavage structures, party systems and voter alignment", In Party Systems and Votes Alignment, ed. S.M. Lipset, S. Pakkan. pp. 1-46. N.Y. The Free Press,1967.
(3)D. Butler and D. Stokes, "Political change in Britain". New York: St. Martin's, 1969.

(23) For details on this view see M. Hechter, Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringes in British National Development 1536-1966. Berkeley, Univ. California Press. 1975, and E. Gellner, "Thought and change", Chicago Univ. Press, Chicago, 1969.

(24) Hechter, op.cit. p.30.

(25) See; E. Bonacich, "A theory of ethnic antagonism; The split labour market". In American Sociological Review. Vol.73. 1972. pp.547-59, and A. Porter & R. Bach, "Immigrant Earnings; Cuban and Mexican Immigrants in the U.S." International Migration Review. 14 (3): pp.315-37. 1980.

(26) I. Famieson, "Some observations on socio-cultural explanations of economic behaviour". In The Sociological Review. Vol. 26. No.4., 1978, p. 800.

(27) T.L. Kean & N.M. Carter "Towards a clarification of the division of labour construct", In Human Relations. Vol. 38. No. 12, 1985, pp.1131-58: See also T.D. Kemper 1972 "The division of labour: A post-Durkheimian analytical view", In American Sociological Review Vol. 37, December pp. 739-353; E. Garnsey,1981 "The rediscovery of the divisions of labour". In Theory and Society, Vol. 10 No. 3, May. pp.337-58: Despite the wide use of the term division of labour there is no conventional definition for it. Krause (1982) for example, defined division of labour as the pattern of production within a society, including the arrangement of people and technology that produce the goods and services. E.A. Krause (1982) "Division of labour: a political perspective", London, Greenwood Press, p.92. Furthermore, Garnsey applied the term to the differentiation of work tasks imposed and remunerated in some specific manner and organized in structured patterns of activity. Garnsey op.cit. p. 337. Braverman's definition was "The social division of labour divides society among occupations each adequate to a branch of production". H. Braverman (1974) "Labour and monopoly capital New York, Monthly Review Press. p. 72.

(28) A. Smith An inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, New York, Modern Library, (1937), p.3.

(29) K. Marx (1897) The Poverty of Philosophy New York, International Publishers, (1963).

(30) A. Comte (1864) Cours de philosphie position, Paris, p.423. Quoted from, S. Lukes (1973) Emile Durkheim: His Life and His Work: A Historical and Critical Study. London, Allen Lane.

(31) E. Durkheim, The division of labour in society, New York, the Free Press, (1933).

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darity arises from the cultural divisions of labour, and that neither factor is necessarily related to processes of structural differentiation.

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CHAPTER TWO: THE SOCIOLOGY OF BAHRAIN

The Sociology of Bahrain: Historical, Socio-Economic and Ecological Study.

2.1 General Introduction:

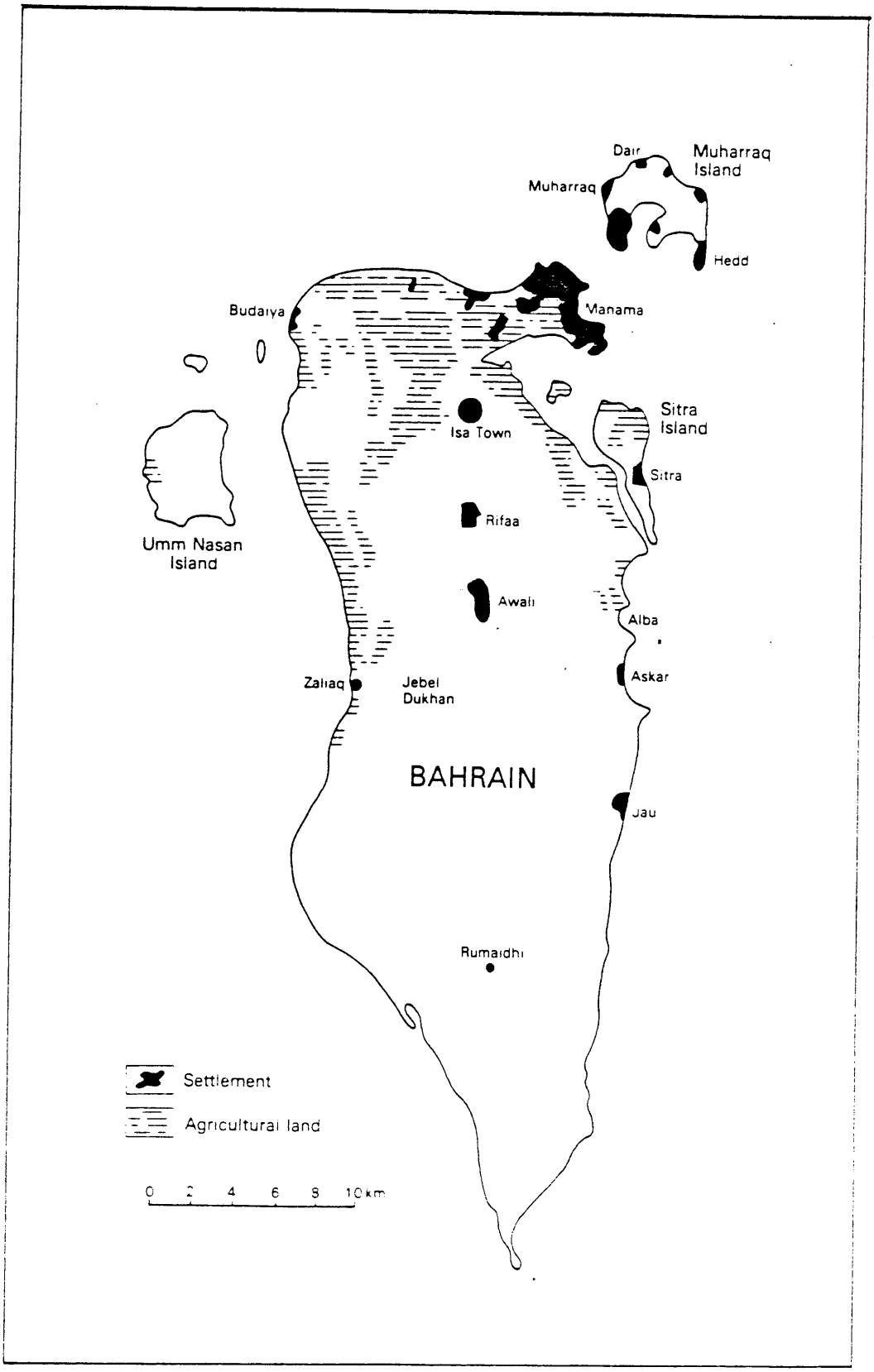
The State of Bahrain is composed of an archipelago of thirty three islands, located in the Arabian Gulf with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the West and the Peninsula of Qatar to the East.

Bahrain's total land area is about 660 square kilometres. The largest of the islands, representing 85% of the land area, is the island of Bahrain itself, with the capital city, Manama, the primary port, the oil fields, and the oil refinery. Muharraq is considered to be the second most important island after Bahrain, with the second largest city named also Muharraq, the international airport, and the dry dock. (See Map No. 1)

The social and economic characteristics of Bahrain, determined in part by its location, have made the Arabs of Bahrain different from the Arabs of the Arabian Gulf in so far as there is less emphasis on tribalism and a more cosmopolitan outlook; something which is usually found in most commercial societies. (1)

The climate of Bahrain has been described as "the worst in the world".(2) It is marked by high summer temperature and relatively high humidity for much of the year. During the period between May and October the maximum average daily temperature reaches 30 degrees centigrade and more.

Map No. 1
BAHRAIN



Arabic is the official language of the state, but English is widely used, especially in commerce and business.

2.2. Historical background

There is no need to go into ancient and medieval history, but it is pertinent to say that the earliest recorded medieval history indicates that it was ruled by "Abd al-Qays" Arabs centuries before the advent of Islam to Eastern Arabia. (3) The first Muslems who came to Bahrain in the Seventh Century A.D. found peoples of many religious faiths including Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians from Persia and pagan Bedouin Arabs. (4)

Until the 15th Century, Bahrain was conquered and changed hands many times, paying tribute to or ruled directly by an assortment of competing local dynasties.

The voyages of Vasco Da Gama and other Portuguese explorers opened the Arabian Gulf to European ships and exploration. Most of Eastern Arabia was ruled by the Hormuz, and it was the Portuguese who persisted in their attempts to dominate the region. During the 16th Century they exercised control through puppet rulers and governors but their hold on Bahrain was never secure and often challenged by military force. (5)

The Persians took over Bahrain, resisting attacks by both the Portuguese and the Governorate of Harmuz, but fell to an Omani invasion at the turn of the seventeenth century. Most of the invaders were of the Khāriiite Islam sect, opposed to the Shiite beliefs of Bahrains inhabitants, many of whom fled and settled in Qatif.

Finally, the Persians purchased Bahrain back from the Omanis in the same century. They lost and regained Bahrain several times until their hold becomes successively weaker throughout the end of the eighteenth century.

The modern history of Bahrain may be said to have started with the coming of the chief family of the ʿUtūb tribe in 1782. The Āl Khalīfa was instrumental in expelling the Iranians from Bahrain and ruled the country until recent times. (6) The ĀL Khalīfa - like their cousins the AL Sabah of Kuwait - were members of the Bani ʿUtbah of the ʿAnīzah Confederation of central Arabia from which the AL Sa'ud ruling family of Saudi Arabia also stems. (7)

In the nineteenth century, European powers began to interest themselves in the Gulf area, and Britain was principally concerned to prevent French, Russian and German penetration towards India, and to suppress the slave and arms trade. In 1891, in consequence of political claims put forward by Iran and Turkey, the Sheikh of Bahrain undertook to abstain from the prosecution of war, piracy and slave trading by sea in return for British support against aggression. In 1880 and 1892 the ruler also signed agreements which resulted in the British government assuming full responsibility for external affairs (8) and Bahrain became the seat of the British Resident in the Gulf and the chief court for the Gulf.

British control of Bahrain continued to 1971, when the state became fully independent and gained membership of the United Nations.

2.3 The Economy:

2.3.1 Traditional Economy

Before the discovery of oil in the 1930s, the sea was the main source of livelihood in addition to agriculture. Bahrain owed its importance to its position as a centre of maritime trade and the pearl industry. "These so-called traditional industries had been carried on in Bahrain for many hundreds of years and the inhabitants of the island, whether native or newcomer, had to rely upon these sources for their income in the absence of alternatives". (9) With the exploitation of petroleum, most of the traditional activities began to decline.

(A) The Pearl Industry:

For many centuries, the prosperity and livelihood of the people depended on pearl diving which was the sole industry in Bahrain. Indeed, this industry, directly or indirectly, provided most employment and was the main source of the country's income. In the beginning of this century H.J. Von Bassevitz, a German journalist, in his report titled "Swan Song on the Pearl Divers" wrote:

> "From ancient times the riches of the Persian Gulf in Pearls have been a source of prosperity in the East. Almost all Pearls which do not originate in Japan come from the coast of Persia and mainly from the island group of the "Two Seas" (Bahrain). (10)

In 1830, pearling brought in an income of almost £400,000 which dropped to £303,941 in 1896 (11) The pearling revenue rose sharply in the early twentieth century, only to drop in the 1930s because of the Depression. (See Table No. 2.1)

Table 2.1 Number of men, boats, and value of catch in the diving Industry.

Year	Number of Boats	Number of Divers	Value of catch(Rs)
1926	515	19,250	Not recorded
1927	507	18,500	"
1928	531	19,650	"
1929	538	20,150	"
1930	509	19,300	21,25,000/-
1931	504	17,600	18,32,000/-
1932	456	16,650	12,14,000/-
1933	436	16,000	13,40,000/-
1934	340	12,700	10,00,000/-
1935	316	11,550	8,33,000/-
1936	264	9,800	6,07,000/-

Rs = Indian Rupee

Source: Government of Bahrain: Administrative Reports, the years 1926- 1937.

The main diving season lasted from the middle of May until the end of September, although both before and after there were "cold diving" seasons whose length fluctuated according to the weather. Most of the active divers, however, worked only in the major season, and so most of the labour force was active for only a third of the year. (12)

Diving was a profit-sharing concern. Divers received no pay but each diver and puller (13) was entitled to a share in the profits of the season, which were divided as follows: (1) Nūkhūdhās (The captain of the boats); one-fiftieth of the profit after expense: for food had been deducted (5 shares). (2) Divers: 3 shares; and (3) Pullers: 2 shares.

> "Theoretically the diving system is a fair one, but in course of time it became so distorted by various abuses, that the condition of the divers was almost that of slavery. Unlimited interest was charged by the merchants and the boat captains, and the illiterate divers had no means of checking their accounts. Provisions were charged against them at fabulous prices, and the sums paid for the pearl were never disclosed to the divers. Youths were induced to become divers on the offer of a loan of money, and when once they accepted a loan they were tied to their boats captains for life." (14)

In 1923 reforms of the diving system were carried out by the ruler and the British political agent in Bahrain in the face of almost universal opposition. The divers themselves strongly opposed the reform because at that time they wanted to get much more, and the Nakhudas and pearl merchants realised that the reforms would loosen their hold over the divers. (15)

C. Trading:

Bahrain has been a trading centre for long because of the favourable geographical location which encouraged the locals to engage in the export and import trade with Arab Gulf ports as well as Indian and African ports.

Seafaring and shipping activities were among the principal occupations of the Bahrainis and Gulf Arabs, but in the nineteenth century the traders were faced with the competition of cheap and regular steamer services and consequently their maritime activities became less important. (16)

D Agriculture:

Agriculture plays a very small part in the life of Bahrain. Cultivable land was estimated at only five per cent of the total area.

(17) The cultivated area is confined mainly to the north of the island, where natural fresh-water springs occur.

Almost all the cultivators are Baharna (original inhabitant of Bahrain) or Hassāwis, (18) who are of the Shi'ite sect, descendants of Bahrainis who emigrated to Arabia. The Sunnī Arabs do not work in agriculture. (19)

2.3.2 Modern Economy

A Oil

Bahrain was the first country in the southern Gulf region to have an oil-based economy when oil was first discovered there in 1932. Bahrain's oil-exporting started at an early date, in 1933, making Bahrain the first Arab Gulf state to profit from oil revenues, and since then the country has experienced rapid social and economic changes.

The timely rise of the oil industry represented not only a source of regular employment for the pearl workers, but provided the basis for a stable economy, whose oil revenues (see table 2.2.) enabled the government to introduce and develop the social and welfare service. (20)

Table No.2.2 Revenues of the state from oil in selected years.

Year	Currency	Revenue from oil
1935	R.S	5,68,000
1940	R.S.	35,52,000
1945	R.S.	30,26,000
1950	R.S.	93,83,000
1955	R.S.	483,70,000
1960	R.S.	352,43,924
1965	R.S.	393,33,334
1970	R.S.	9,612,000
1975	B.D.	111,000,000
1980	B.D.	434,400,000
1982	B.D.	406,700,000

Notes: (1) Every 20 RS equal approximately £1.00

(2) One B.D. equals approximately £1.50

Source: Government of Bahrain, Annual Report, 1957

-AL-Kawwari "Oil Revenues in the Gulf Emirates" p.88.

-State of Bahrain, Ministry of Finance and National Economy 1983

-Middle East Economic Survey (1974-5).

The production of petroleum crude rose from about 31 thousand barrels annually in 1933 to more than 10 million barrels in 1948 and continued to increase until it reached 20 million barrels in 1978; it then started to decrease. The downward trend in indigenous oil production,

which started some years ago, is continuing and is expected to remain so because some oil wells have dried while others yield less and even then with intense effort. As a result, the daily production in 1982 shrank by 4 thousand barrels to 42 thousand barrels as compared with 46 thousand barrels in 1981. (21)

B. Industry

Because of Bahrain's limited oil reserves, its small population, and the extensive oil revenues of its larger neighbours, it has emphasized diversification as crucial to economic expansion and industrial growth. This emphasis has been particularly strong since the late 1960s.

Furthermore, the increase in oil prices since the 1970s, with estimations of a decrease in oil production have encouraged industrial planning for the country.

> "The government of Bahrain has played a deceptively active role in the industrialization process. It has acquired substantial equity, participated in the aluminium industry and participated in the dry dock, petrochemical, and the ownership and management of such projects. The government regulates the entry of new firms, gives advice on managerial and technical matters to small industries and gives information on the market situation and other matters. (22)

Foreign investors have found Bahrain attractive because of the following facilities provided by the state:

(1) Freedom from income tax and unrestricted currency exchange.

(2) The high standard of cable, telex and other communications.

(3) A free trade zone which allows imports and exports without any charge.

(4) The large surplus of low-cost natural gas for industrial projects.

The industrial sector made a major contribution to the Bahrain economy especially in 1981 when this sector contributed 21 per cent of the gross domestic product. (See Table No 2.3)

Table No. 2.3 Gross Domestic Production - Major Sectors 1975 - 1982 (In million B.D.)

Economic activities	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Agriculture, Forestry	7,3	9,2	12,3	13,1	13,3	14,9	18,2	18,9
Mining, Oil	130,4	167,0	194,0	211,2	242,9	434,4	433,8	406,7
Manufacturing	62,1	76,6	86,1	95,0	150,4	209,9	233,7	187,8
Construction	25,6	47,8	81,4	112,7	91,0	97,9	113,6	135,7

Source: Ministry of Finance and National Economy. "Gross Domestic Product". 1983.

The largest industrial firm in the island was the Bapco refinery which was built in the 1940s and considered the largest in the Middle East with a capacity of 255,000 barrels a day. This is followed by the Aluminium plant which was set up in 1968 to become the Gulf's largest non-oil industrial undertaking providing employment for over 3,000 people. Several factors can be noted from the general industrial situation in Bahrain:

1. All the major industrial projects located in Bahrain are joint ventures with other neighbouring countries or regional organisations, presumbly due to the shortage of capital surpluses.

2. Most of the country's industrial plants are suffering from the so called diseconomies of competition. "There is little doubt until recently the lack of co-ordinations, in the Gulf, over industrial projects had led to wasteful duplication and lowered the returns on investments". (23) The cement, aluminium, and steel industries are good examples. While large scale cement plants have been built in almost every Gulf state, no more than two big aluminium smelters operate nowadays, and there are more than eight steel and iron plants in the region. The uneconomic competition between the two biggest Middle East drydocks which are located in Bahrain and Dubai is another case in point.

3. Apart from the cheap gas which is available in reasonable quantity, the country has to turn to international sources for its raw materials, for skilled and unskilled labour, and for the intensive technological equipment needed to run such industries.

C Banking Industry:

The main object of Bahrain's banking policy is to encourage international banks and financial institutions to set up bases in Bahrain. (24) Flexible regulations take into account the massive increase in the financial surplus in the area and the need for a financial centre to handle and utilise this surplus profitably.

The decision to transform the island into a major world financial centre came in 1975 after the greatly increased income of the Gulf oil states following the rapid rise in oil prices at the end of 1973. The purpose behind this decision was to attempt to recycle the oil money back into the world economy in a more sophisticated way. Moreover,

Bahrain took advantage of the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon and took over some of the financial business formerly transacted there.

> "In terms of the range of institutions with an interest in the island, Bahrain now rivals such other international banking centres as Singapore, Hong Kong, Luxembourg and Nassau, and its banking community is almost as diverse as that of Tokyo, London or New York, despite the obvious difference in the economic and financial environment compared to that found in a major Western capital." (25)

As 1984 dawned, the banking and financial system of Bahrain comprised, besides the Bahrain monetary agency (BMA), 18 commercial banks, one specialised bank for housing (26) and the Islamic Bank which is a special commercial bank. In addition, Bahrain had 75 Offshore Bank Units (OBUs), 63 representative offices, 16 investment companies, 6 money brokers, 43 money changers and 29 insurance companies. (27)

The total assets of the island's offshore banks have risen from $4.500 million in 1976 to $37.500 million in 1981, and reaching $61.000 million in August 1982, they fell to $56,000 million by 1983. (28) The decceleration in the growth of the OBUs market, which became apparent during 1982, was the result of the spill-over of the adverse developments that have dominated the international banking scene in recent years coupled with the decline in the oil revenues of the neighbouring states due to the fall in the oil prices as well as a subdued demand for it in the international market, and the collapse of the Souq al-Manakh (unofficial Kuwait stock market). (29)

In 1981 banking and financial services contributed 12 per cent of Bahrain's G.D.P(30)

The services offered by OBUs include deposit facilities, foreign exchange transactions, financing of foreign trade and provision of performance and guarantee bonds. (31)

2.4 Population and Labour Force.

2.4.1 Population

Until 1940 no census of population had been made and the statistics regarding the number of people and their demographical structure and occupation are lacking, except for some estimates which gave the number of inhabitants of Bahrain as being between 130,000 and 200,000. (32) These figures, and an earlier estimate of 100,000 in 1905 (33) were based upon rough estimates. (34)

The first population census was taken in 1941, (35) and the total population was recorded as 89,970. In the period from 1941 until 1981, five more population censuses were taken. Table 2.4 describes the number and percentage change of the Bahraini and non-Bahraini population from Janury 1941 to April 1981. The total enumerated in the censuses increased from 89,970 in 1941 to 350,798 in the recent census of 1981; also the intercensal growth rate experienced between 1971 and 1981 is the highest in Bahrain history. (36)

Table 2.4 Number, Per Cent and Percentage Change of Population by National Origin: 1941 to 1981.

Population	1941	1950	1959	1965	1971	1981
Total	89970	109650	143135	182203	216078	350798
Bahraini	74040	91179	118734	143814	178193	238420
Non-Bahraini	15930	18471	24401	38389	37885	112378
Per cent						
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bahraini	82.3	83.2	83.0	78.09	82.5	68.0
Non-Bahraini	17.7	16.8	17.0	21.1	17.5	32.0
Percent change	1941/50	1950/59	1959/65	1965/71	1971/81	
Total	21.9	30.5	27.3	18.6	62.3	
Bahraini	23.1	30.2	21.1	23.9	33.8	
Non-Bahraini	16.0	32.1	57.3	1.3	196.6	

Source: Directorate of Statistics "Bahrain Census of Population and Housing - 1981". Trends and Prospects 1983 p.7.

From the demographic details presented thus far, it is clear that the population of Bahrain increased four times from the first census until the most recent one, and increased 60 per cent from 1971 to 1981. More than one half of Bahraini's rapid population increase from 1971-1981 is accounted for by increments in the count of foreign nationals. Foreigners increased by 19.6 per cent from April 1977 to 1981, while Bahraini nationals living in Bahrain increased by 33.8 per cent. "During this decade, foreigners living in Bahrain increased 5.8 times more than did Bahraini residents". (37)

The population growth is a consequence of the coming of oil, (38) when people from most of the Arab countries, Asia, Western Europe, and

North America emigrated to the area. The number of non-Bahrainis has grown very rapidly through immigration since 1971, net migration accounts for more than 85.8 per cent of the growth of the non-Bahraini population from 1971-1981.

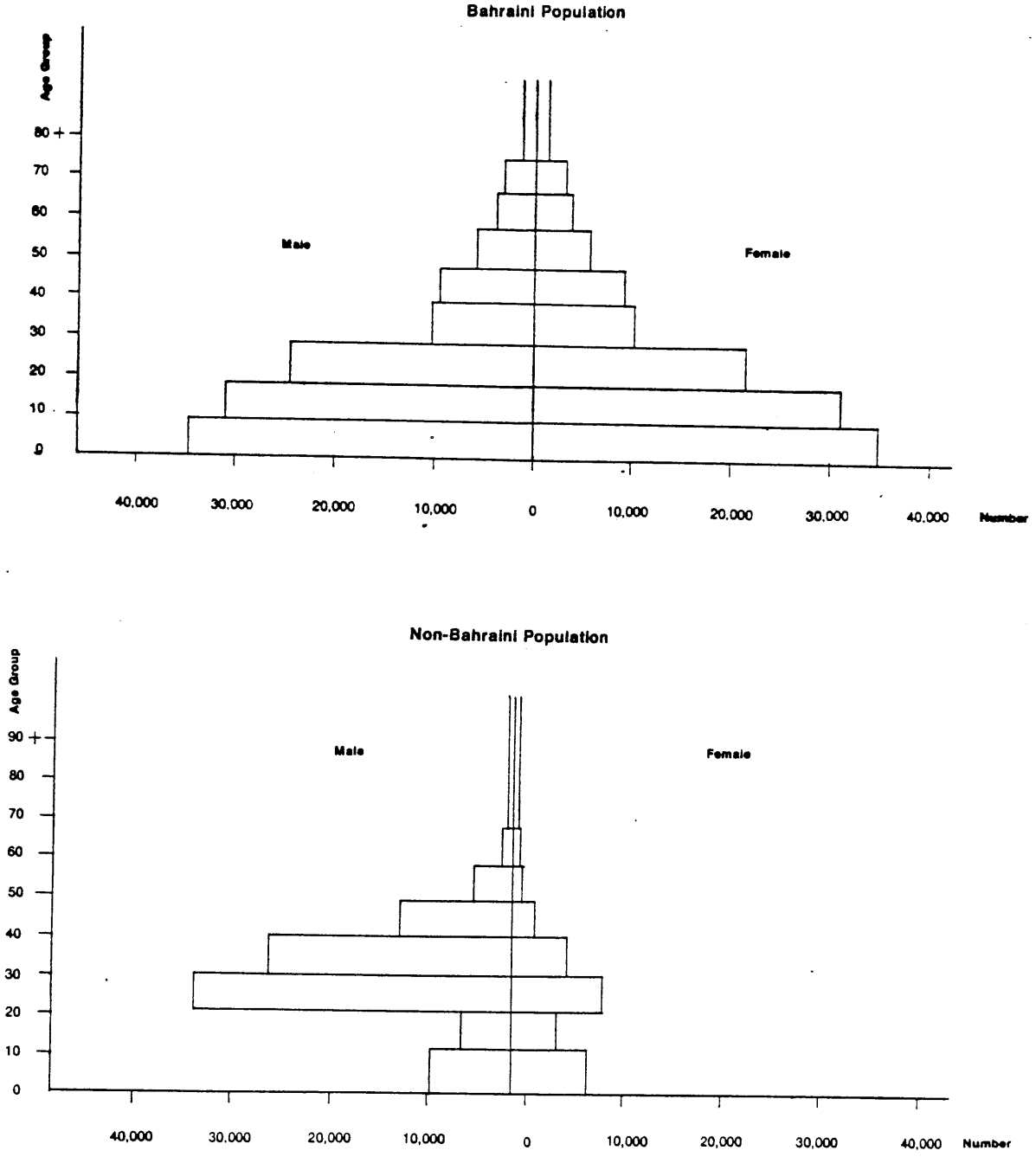
This growth was also due to a natural increase in the population - a higher birth rate and a lower death rate - because improvements in education and health services were made possible by increased state revenue from oil. According to the statistics available, the population of Bahrain can be broadly characterized by the following features:-

(1) Most of the population is young, and this young age structure of Bahrain's population typifies most developing countries. (39) The age category of 10-24 years of age in 1981 is particularly large relative to the population of older ages while the proportion of persons in the age categories of 0-4 and 5-9 years is smaller than normally occurs under conditions of a continued high birth rate and low mortality rate (see figure No 2).

(2) If we take into consideration the native population only, it is clear that while there is a predominance of males over females the difference between them is slight. According to the 1971 census figure, Bahraini males numbered 89,772 against 88.,421 females, and the figures in 1981 were 119,924 males and 118,496 females. The difference between the ratio of males to females is very considerable in the total population and can be explained by the fact that mainly male immigrants are streaming into the country in large numbers, leaving their wives and children behind in their home countries. (40)

(3) Bahraini's estimated populaton density of 517 persons per square kilometer (41) in 1981 was 172 times that of Oman and 131 times that of Saudi Arabia.

Figure No.2 Populaton by age group and nationality, 1981.



2.4.2 The Labour Force:

During the last two decades growth and diversification of Bahrain's economy were associated with an increase of 22 per cent in the total labour force (42) (table 2.5 shows the size and composition of the Bahraini labour force).

Table 2.5 Labour force by sex and nationality: 1959. 81.

Nationality/Sex	1959	1965	1971	1981
Total	45479	53274	60301	146133
Male	44126	51251	57052	126808
Female	1353	2023	3249	19325
Bahrain	26940	31231	37950	64636
Male	28683	30236	36102	52460
Female	957	995	1848	12176
Non-Bahraini	15839	22043	22351	81497
Male	15443	21015	20951	74348
Female	396	1023	1401	7149

Source: State of Bahrain "Directorate of Statistics - Bahrain Census of Population & Housing" - 1981 - Trends and Prospects 1983 p. 87.

Between 1959 and 1981 the labour force grew from 45,479 to 146,133 while the total population increased from 143,135 in 1959 to 350,798 in 1981. Average annual rates of labour force growth increased from 3 per cent in 1959 - 1965 to 14.2 per cent in 1971 - 1981. This sharp increase in the labour force during the 1970s and early 1980s was due mainly to the high rate of international immigration to the country especially after 1973.

The expansion and development of the economy have generated much greater growth in some occupations than in others. Between 1965 and 1971, four occupations expanded more rapidly.

These were: professional,technical, and related workers; service, sports and recreation workers; miners, quarrymen and related workers; and transport and communications workers. Furthermore, since 1971 the greatest numerical increase in employment has been in craftsmen and production process workers, who by 1981 comprised a full third of the Bahraini workforce. This can be accounted for by the increase in industrialization and the construction boom.

(See Table No. 2.6)

Table No. 2.6 Percentage distribution of employed population by major occupational group: 1959-1981

	Percent Change				Mean Annual Percent Change		
	1959	1965	1971	1981	1959-1965	1965-1971	1971-1981
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	2.3	1.9	13.1
Professiona, & related workers	.5	1.1	8.1	11.5	22.7	117.9	22.8
Administrative, & managerial workers	-	-	1.7	1.6	-	-	10.7
Clerical workers	10.9	12.4	8.7	11.5	5.1	-0.9	20.5
Sales workers	8.6	9.0	8.7	7.0	3.1	1.4	8.6
Farmers & fishermen	8.8	7.5	7.1	3.6	-0.6	0.9	1.9
Miners	9.4	0.2	.4	0.1	-17.0	16.2	-0.6
Communications workers	4.6	8.0	8.3	7.9	16.5	2.6	12.2
Production process workers	43.5	53.3	38.4	33.5	6.9	-3.2	10.2
Services	5.1	4.4	16.7	19.3	-0.6	52.9	16.8
Workers not elsewhere classified	8.6	4.1	1.9	3.6	-7.9	-7.8	33.3

Source: State of Bahrain, Population Censuses for the years 1959, 1971 and 1981.

2.4.3. National and Ethnic Origins of the Population.

Many ethnic groups have gone into the making of the population of Bahrain. This section analyses the religious and racial divisions of the population and the effects of these divisions on the modern state.

For the last two centuries Bahrain became an island of mixed racial and ethnic communities. Apart from Arab tribes and Hawala who immigrated to Bahrain two centuries ago. "the population of Bahrain is drawn almost entirely from over forty five nations of the world". (43)

Persians represent the major foreign element in the country and they have succeeded in establishing their own strong community which has not mixed too much with the Arab population. Some of their members are now prosperous merchants and landowners, but the majority are engaged in manual work.

The second and largest group are the Indians who came with the beginning of British influence there in the nineteenth century. This community fills a range of jobs from running businesses and trade to the lowest manual jobs. Their numbers and those from other Asian communities increased sharply after the oil boom of 1973. In addition, British and Americans form quite significant communities and play a major role even in security affairs.

Before the 1970s, a large foreign Arab community started to come to Bahrain after the discovery of oil and the development of education and health services, but the numbers of Arab immigrants started to decline after the mid-1970s. The largest group was the Omanis who were mainly employed in manual labour though some worked in domestic service and others had traditional jobs. Almost all the Omanis returned home in the last decade to find good jobs available there.

The second group of foreign Arabs is made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians. Unlike the

Omanis, these nationalities are engaged in professional employment, teaching, and other social services. Their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of Westerners. (44)

2.5 Stratification and Social Ranking:

Social stratification and the class structure is one of the most complicated and intractable issues in contemporary sociology. The division of society into groups or classes has attracted the attention of social theorists mainly because of the very well known disagreement between sociologists regarding the definition of classes. The viewpoints of Karl Marx and Max Weber has remained the most fruitful and has stimulated a vast body of literature - providing the essential theoretical background to the dominant trends in stratification research. (45)

Marx treated the social classes from the point of view of the system of production and the idea of social development through class conflict to lead finally to a new type of classless society. Marxist theory emphasises the way in which particular social relations within production create and reproduce social classes. According to Marx, the upper class in society is constituted by the class which owns the means of production (bourgeoisie in capitalist societies - workers in socialist societies).

On the other hand, Weber, on the basis of his interpretation of the division of labour, sees additional alternative bases for social stratification, and argues that stratification by prestige, based on

occupation, consumption and style of life, is particularly important in capitalist societies. (46)

According to Weber, a class is a group of people who share analogous income constituents, kindred life-styles and living conditions which set them visibly apart from those in higher and lower economic strata. For most however, parallel life styles, occupational accomplishments, and modes of education will make in turn for co-equal status groups - people who share roughly the same degree of prestige or social esteems. In summary, Weber defines the class as "any group of persons occupying the same class status", (47) and he distinguished between three classes; the property class; the acquisition class; and the social class. (48)

The main concern of this section is to analyse the differences in rank between people living in Bahrain using criteria such as social status, power and prestige, as the most relevant for the investigation into social stratification.

The social division of Bahraini society has much in common with many other Arab Gulf States. This division has not previously been clearly or rigidly defined on the basis of wealth. It was based on a combination of social, economic, religious, and ethnic factors. The social structure is determined by a number of families, linked by lineage or marriage, (49) or by economic or religious strata, who share between them equal or nearly equal prestige and social status according to the criteria of social stratification. In other words, Bahraini society is best described as a society composed of social or

status groups rather than classes. Such groups are mostly determined by what Hechter 1976 termed a "cultural commonality" (50) such as familial and tribal loyalties and dependencies, common religious affiliations, and racial and ethnic sources. Such cultural ideology of each status group determines or effects the social relation of production or on the other hand such kinship, religious or ethnic affiliation operate as a mechanism for production and distribution of socio-economic and power relations.

Before the discovery of oil, the society was traditionally organised around pearl fishing, maritime trade and agriculture. The social structure at that time comprised mainly three social groups, the élite, the merchants and notables, and the commoners. (51) The ruling family of Al Khalifa represented the élite followed by the allied tribes. Because this group was very powerful and had a high level of homogeneity, they dominated political affairs and created a link with the merchants to maintain this power. Some members of this group were not really wealthy in an economic sense depended upon taxation from the pearl diving industry.

The second social group may be divided into two sections, merchants and traders, including pearl merchants and some shopkeepers, and the notables. The former included not only Bahrainis but a majority, who were Persians and Indians, most of whom had come to Bahrain for the sole purpose of making money. Despite the considerable wealth of this group, the mobility of any member towards the first group, the élite, was impossible.

The second section, the notables, had a high social status within society. This category included the Nūkhūdā who was a very respected person, and the religious leaders ʿUlamas and Sayids, (52) who were recognised as being in a social category within the high status group with top rating. (53) Religious leaders had a very high status, especially in the villages, and some of them became wealthy because of their position as religious men, which supports the argument of Ibn Khaldun (54) that "Persons of high rank or position which is obtained through prestige (Jāh) or in an official capacity, are more fortunate and wealthy". He adds that "there is evidence that some persons, such as religious scholars and people with good reputation, acquire enormous wealth though with no property".

The third and largest group of all were the commoners, who had the least social status, and economic power. It included peasants, mainly organised in villages. The pearl divers represented the majority of this group associated with boat-builders, sailors, and craftsmen.

A fourth category might be added which is strongly associated in terms of status with the third one and includes slaves who were found especially among household servants. The main reason for having this group separated from the former is that they are not part of a system of obligation which presumably provides the fiction for the rest of the group.

The development of the oil industry in the 1930s led to great employment opportunities and an inflow of labour, the rise of bureaucracy, social and economic transformation and urbanisation. All

created a new form of division of labour within society and the actual result was the creation of a new socio-economic structure.

With the assignment of every individual to particular social groups, these modern developments helped to complicate the existing social structure by giving rise to a new internal system of social stratifiction best described by the presence of three social groups; the upper, the middle, and the lower group:

The establishment of a modern system of land and order and the modernisation of administration transformed the traditional authority and ruling methods to a new modern one. Another group closely associated with the ruling core are the merchants. This group pursues commerce, in particular import and export business, construction, real estate and company. (55) The top level adminstrators who rank high in the social scale because of the prestige attached to their position may become part of this group.

A second new social group which emerged closely follows the form of Western ideas of the middle class, regardless of its small size. It is made up of bureaucrats and civil servants, professionals, small merchants, and army officers. The growing number of bureaucrats and white collar employees in government and business among the Bahraini nationals form the core of this emerging group. At the same time, the needs of the new administration created a new lower middle class as more salaried employees were recruited to fill the role of administrators. (56)

> "Bahrain's way of life and modest prosperity not only caused the early flowering of a middle class, but also gave birth to a group who can best be described as Bahrain's Angry Young Men. These, the products of the primary and secondary school made up much of the membership of the Bahrain Clubs...Clubs have for many years played a considerable part in Bahrain's social, intellectual and political life." (57)

The emergence of a new urban working class was the most significant and far-reaching effect caused by the exploitation of oil. This totally new class came either from among village peasants, or from pearl divers, who through their work in the oil company (BAPCO) acquired many new skills, and were influenced by Western ideas during their work with non-Arab people.

This new group of "industrial workers" is thus relatively well off economically, (58) but still of lowly social status.

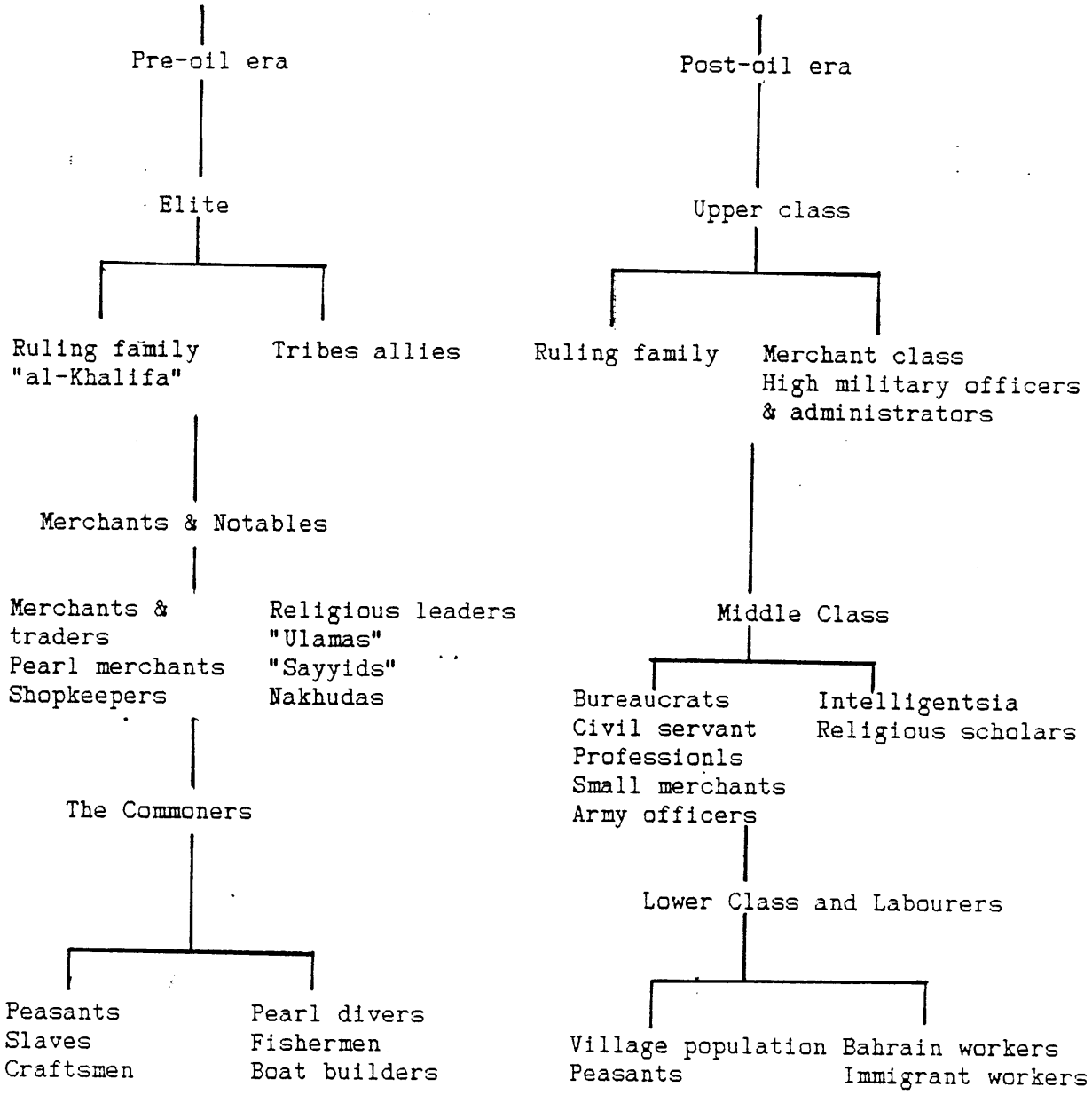
The largest group in the lower group is made up of semi-skilled and unskilled immigrant workers whose social position is in some other ways analogous to that of the immigrants in Western Europe. (59). They form the bottom section of the working class, and are at the lower end of the wage scale, though often prepared to live under very poor conditions to save the maximum amount to send home.

What Marx called the united working class cannot be identified in the two components of the lower working status groups, national and migrant, due to the strong socio-cultural characteristics which separate them,. In other words, as Weber states, soilidarity is weakened by religious or ethnic differences (60) which are stronger than economic interests.

"The ethnic and linguistic divisions within the urban wage-labouring segment result in urban wage-labourers having a diminished sense of communal solidarity...Besides the fact of migrant labourers coming from different origins, there is also the fundamental distinction between the migrant community and the (albeit limited) local wage-labouring elements". (61)

Figure No. 3

Social Stratification of Bahrain



2.6 Notes:

(1) See: Ministry of Information. "Bahrain" Government Press, Manama 1982; and J.H.D. Belgrave "Welcome to Bahrain" Mark and Moody Ltd., England 1960.

(2) Belgrave "Welcome to Bahrain" Op.cit, p.31.

(3) See: A.M.Abū Hakīm "The Development of the Gulf States" In D.Hopwood, ed "The Arabian Peninsula: Society and Politics" - George Allen and Unwin Ltd.,London 1972. pp.40-44; Also according to Spencer Tiningham in his study "Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times" the Abd al Qais were Christian at the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

(4) For more details see: M. Jenner "Bahrain" - Gulf Heritage in transition - Longmn - London,1984. Also J.H. Belgrave "op cit" p.107.

(5) Information for the period 15th to 17th centuries has been drawn from several sources; C. Osborne, op.cit. A.A. Fakhri.et al, "Bahrain-Business directory."Arab Communication - Manama 1984:J. Belgrave op.cit; P.Mansfield "The Middle East - Political and Economic Survey" Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1960.

(6) Iran's claims to sovereignty over Bahrain were based on their control of the island prior to that time; for further details see: H.M. al Baharna, "The Legal Status of the Arabian Gulf States". A study on their Treaty Relations and Internatonal problems. Huther and Tenner (71), 1968.

(7) Āl Khalīfa family first settled in Kuwait in 1719 - see for details J. Belgrave "A brief survey of the History of the Bahrain islands". Royal Central Asian Society Journal 1952 vol 39 pp. 57-68.

(8) For details of these treaties between the Bahrain rulers and the British government, see Aitcheson, collection of treaties. Engagement and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries, Vol. xi, 1933.

(9) M.G. Rumayhī, 1976 op.cit., p.39.

(10) Foreign Office. 371/16838, an article written by H.J. Von Bassewitz (a German Journalist) and published in Berlin newspaper refering to the pearl fishers in Bahrain.

(11) Ministry of Information, "Bahrain" op.cit p.15; also C. Belgrave estimated the value of the pearl exported from Bahrain in 1926 at two million pounds. C. Belgrave "Pearl Diving in Bahrain" Royal Central Asian Society Journal 1936. vol. 21. p.450.

(12) M.G. Rumayḥī "The Mode of Production in the Arab Gulf before the Discovery of Oil", in Tim Niblock (ed), Social and Economic Development in the Arab Gulf Croom Helm, London 1980, p.51

(13) Puller or Siyābs, is the worker responsible for letting the divers to the bottom of the sea, and who would pull them up when they had finished collecting the pearl.

(14) C.D.Blegrave "Pearl Diving in Bahrain" op.cit, pp 451-2.

(15) For more details about the reforms, see: Government of Bahrain: Administrative Report for the years 1926-1937. pp.47-53; also India Library Office, R/15/2/10/45A; R/15/2/9/1.

(16) A.K.Al Khuri, op.cit., p.9.

(17) India Office Record, R/15/2/6/59 (Agriculture improvement in Bahrain), Political Agent, Bahrain; see also A.E.Ashir, Bahrain Trade Directory, 1967.

(18) Refering to Hasa area in the eastern part of Saudi Arabia. The Saudis living in that area mainly Shi a.

(19) See Rumayhi, op.cit, for information regarding factors affecting the distribution of agricultural lands.

(20) Data in this section mainly drawn from the following sources: 1) Bahrain Petroleum Company (BAPCO) - annual reports for several years. (2) Ministry of Finance and National Economy - Statistical abstract, several years.

(21) State of Bahrain "Bahrain Monetary Agency - Annual Report 1982, p.11.

(22) A. AL-Yousef "An evaluation of Bahraini major industries and their future prospects" In J.B. Wagent and T.H. Thomas "ed" Bahrain and the Gulf" Croom Helm - London 1985. p. 123.

(23) N.J. Dabdab and B.I. Mohyi al-Din, "Industrialization in the Arab Gulf", In M.S. al-Azhari, (ed) "The Impact of Oil Revenues; on Oil Revenues on the Arab Gulf Development" Croom Helm, London 1984, p.102.

(24) For details of Bahrain Banking policy see:_____"banking in Bahrain" 8 days 18 October, 1980, pp.28-30, A.E. Moore, Offshore Banking Units - A Progress Report, The Arab Gulf Journal, P. Field, "Offshore Banking Supremacy of Bahrain, Middle East Annual Review, 1979. p.135.

(25) R.J. Wilson "Recent Financial trends in the Gulf" University of Durham, Economic Research Paper, no. 9, 1981, p.20.

(26) This bank belongs to the Ministry of Housing.

(27) These numbers are based on Bahrain Monetary Agency annual reports.

(28) Bahrain Monetary Agency. Annual Reports for the years, 1978, 1982, 1983.

(29) Ibid, 1983, pp.25-26; Middle East Economic Digest, Bahrain "Special Report" September 1983, p. 38; and F.T. Ghantus "The Financial Centre and it's Future". In Nugent, and Thomas (ed.) op.cit, pp.139-140.

(30) Bahrain Monetary Agency "Quarterly Bulletin" June 1983.

(31) For further details in this respect, see. Bahrain Monetary Agency, "Bahrain - an international financial centre", 1983.

(32) A. Al-Rihani "Muluk Al- Arab" vol.II, Beirut, 1951,p.224.

(33) J.C. Lorimer "Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia, vol.II, Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1908. pp.237-243.

(34) Government of Bahrain, "Administrative Report", 1941, also W.G. Palgrave in his book "Narrative of a Year's Journey through central and Eastern Arabia" London and Cambridge, 1865 estimated the population as 70,000 in 1863.

(35) It was also the first census to be held in the whole of the Arab Gulf.

(36) Directory of Statistics, "Bahrain Census of Population and Housing - 1981 - Trends and Prospect" 1983, p.6.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid., p.9.

(39) Directorate of Statistics. 1983. op.cit, p.44.

(40) See for details Economic commission for Western Asia (ECWA) "The Population situation in ECWA - Bahrain". Beirut, 1979; and G. Fischer - A. Muzaffar. "Some basic characteristics of the labour force in Bahrain." Qatar UAE and Oman, Seminar on human resources in the Arabian Gulf States. Bahrain 1975.

(41) Directorate of Statistics. 1983. op.cit p.71.

(42) E.J. Fordyce,L.Radi "The changing role of Arab women in Bahrain" In Nugent and Thomas, op.cit, p.57.

(43) J.H.Belgrave op.cit, p.32.

(44) F.I. Qubayn "Social classes and tensions in Bahrain" Middle East Journal vol. 9 Summer 1955, p.278.

(45) K.H. al-Nagīb, "Changing pattern of social stratification in the Middle East: Kuwait (1950-1970) Ph.D. Thesis. University of Texas at Austin 1976. pp. 12-3: See also for Review in Marx's and Weber's themes - F. Parkin "class inequality and political order:social stratification in capitalist and communist society" New York: Praeger. 1971.

(46) See N.Abercrombie, and Urry "Capital labour and the Middle Class. George Allen and Unwin - London 1983; and T.B. Bottomore "class in modern society". George Allen and Unwin London 1965.

(47) M. Weber, 1947 op.cit, p.424.

(48) Ibid. For more details.

(49) Al-Rumayhi, 1976 op.cit, p.148.

(50) M. Hechter, "Response to Cohen: Max Weber on Ethnicity and Ethnic Change". American Journal of Sociology Vol. 81 No. (5) 1976, pp.1162-68.

(51) See B.T. Sarhan "Modernisation and Underdevelopment: The case of capital - surplus countries, Kuwait. Ph.D. Thesis. The American University. Washington D.C.1980. p.84. see also "Ibid" who argued that there were two main groups in Bahrain at that time the élite, comprising the ruling family, the landowner, pearl merchant and large merchants, and the politically unconscious mass.

(52) Sayid, is a person related to the Prophet Muhammad. The people holding this title considered themselves of better extraction, and holding a better social position than any other people even the ruling family.

(53) Sharhan, op.cit, p.91.

(54) Ibn-Khaldun, "The Muqaddimah" an introduction to history, translated from Arabic by Franz Rosenthal. Abridged edition, N.J. Dawood (ed) Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp.304-8.

(55) S.A.L. Misnad The development of modern education in Bahrain Kuwait and Qatar with Special Reference to the Education of Women and Their Position in Modern Gulf society, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Durham, 1984, p.33.

(56) Al-Rumayhī, 1976. op.cit, p.149.

(57) J. Belgrave "The changing social scene in Bahrain" Middle East Forum Summer 1962 p.63.

(58) Ibid, pp.398-400.

(59) See, S.Castles, and G. Kasack "Immigrant workers and class structure in Western Europe. Oxford University Press 1985; and Fred Halliday "Labour Migration in the Middle East, MERIP Report May 1984; F. Grimaldi, "The Emerging Proletariat" The Middle East. May 1978.

(60) See: R. Bendix, "Inequality and Social Structure: A Comparison of Marx and Weber", In American Sociological Review. Vol. 39. No. 2. April, 1974, p. 152.

(61) Niblock, op.cit.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

Historical Development of the Social Division of Labour

3.1 General Introduction:

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the historical dimension that could serve as an important guideline in the study of the development and modernisation of labour and the development of the division of labour in Bahraini society.

This chapter will discuss these sociological aspects of the development of the Bahraini labour market by dealing with three periods: first, the era of the pearling industry, secondly that of the discovery of oil, and finally the oil boom era.

3.2 The First Phase:

Division of Labour in the Pre-Oil Era:

As we have seen in the previous chapter, before the discovery of oil, Bahrain's social life and the country's economy relied on pearling and some related occupations in addition to agriculture.

Of the total population of less than 100,000, more than 20,000 (1) people were employed directly in pearl diving, and the rest of the active population was engaged in one form or another of fishing.

The diving community in Bahrain was made up of three groups: the shore merchants who did the wholesale buying and selling and who either owned or financed the boats; the Nūkhūdās (The Ship's Captains) who supervised the pearl fishers and commanded and sometimes owned the boats; and the mass of divers and their helpers "Suyoūoh" (Haulers) (2).

Both the method of diving and the system of the industry are very ancient, as is evident from descriptions of Bahrain in books written by travellers many hundreds of years ago.

The operation started by the Nūkhūdā giving advances or loans to the divers, (on which very high interest was charged) to enable the divers to provide for themselves and their families during the off-season. In most cases the Nūkhūdā himself had a loan from the merchants to enable him to buy the provision for the diving season. It was the practice of the Nukhūdās to bind their divers to them by keeping them in debt. It is clear, that all three parties, the financiers, the Nūkhūdās and the divers were involved in the financial aspect of the operation. And in all cases, the diver became the victim of this system, because once he had accepted the loan, he became the Nūkhūdā's property for life. The Nūkhūdā then had the right to transfer a diver to another Nūkhūdā without the diver having any right to protest. Such a system, certainly, resembled a form of slavery.

> "Given the short pearling season and the lack of alternative sources of off-season employment for divers, the provision of credit to divers in proportion to their skill was an essential instrument in the hand of successful pilots for recruiting skilled and durable divers." (3)

The division of labour in the boat was clear. Each boat carried a crew varying from eight to forty men. The unit of organisation was the boat's crew, and within this unit full authority and entire responsibility were vested in the captain, the Nūkhūdā. He was usually the owner of the boat, and represented the judicial authority, "he tried and punished wrong doers and solved daily problems as they

happened, (4) and in most cases he was the decision maker, though sometimes he consulted the experienced members of the crew.

When the time for the diving season drew near, the Nūkhūdā started to get his crew together from among those who were registered in his book the previous year, and who were more or less in debt to him, so they could not refuse to turn up. (5)

The other major element in the boats were the "Divers" or the Ghāsah. The diver was the most important element in the industry, and his work was only to dive to the sea bed searching for the oysters.

The working day of the diver started at sunrise and continued until sunset. He dived during periods of eight to ten hours a day, with only a few minutes for rest and food at stated times. He stayed under about a minute collecting as many shells as he could, then rested for two or three minutes.

A diver may have made as many as 50 descents in a day if the weather was favourble, but only 10 to 20 if the weather was cold. (6) When the season, which lasted for more than four months was over, a diver had probably completed over 3,000 dives in from 30 to 50 feet of water, (7) and had spent over 50 hours under water.

Another important person in the boat was the puller Sīb whose responsibility was to raise the diver from the bottom of the sea by hauling up the rope and stone. In each boat there were always more pullers than divers. Pullers who had less social prestige than divers

were mainly recruited on the basis of physical fitness and loyalty to the particular divers they worked with. (8)

In the large boats, there were sometimes assistants to the pullers named radīf who helped when the diver was working in very deep waters. The shells collected by the co-operation of the three groups, the diver, Sīb, and radif were usually left overnight so that they could more easily open them early next morning.

In addition, in each pearling boat, there was a number of servants or Aulad (9) whose main task was to catch fish, and cook the food for the crew, look after the pipes and coffee, and attend to other minor duties. (10) AL-Majdam or the first officer, who was a second in command after the Nukhuda, was responsible for discipline on the ship.

In addition to all these groups who served off-shore in a particular unit, (the boat), there were other groups, on-shore, who also were involved in one way or another, directly or indirectly, in the division of labour during the pearling era. These were the women (11) and merchants.

Merchants or Tawāsha were a very prestigious element in the pearling society because of their considerable wealth. Their actual job was to deal with selling and buying the pearls, in addition to financing the diving boats. As soon as the boat reached the island, the merchant started negotiations for buying the pearls. There was no pearl market; "business was done in the offices or the houses of the merchants or sometimes, in a small way, over a glass of tea in a coffee shop". (12) Insofar as the merchants financed the whole diving

operation and controlled the whole productive enterprise through control of capital and in creating this integrated structure, they became something close to capitalist.

> "In summary, the means of production in the pearling industry were mainly in the hands of the merchants, who drew substantial benefit from the operations, the desire to restrict ownership of the factors of production turned the merchants into a semi-class with a strong and powerful social base. The Nakhuda were closely linked with this class". (13)

In most cases the merchants exported their pearls to Bombay, and from there to other world markets. This commercial link between the Gulf and India created a large body of Indian merchants, called Bonyan, who had the advantage of long-range credit terms with Bombay and consequently dominated the external trade in the commodity. (14)

Following this description of the division of labour within one of the most important occupations on which the livelihood of the mjority of the people, directly or indirectly depended, an attempt will be made to analyse the structure of the pearling industry from a theoretical point of view.

(1) It is clear that the structure of society and the labour process prior to the oil industry, was very simple and built upon strong attachments to custom and traditions, besides being characterised by the similarities in the spheres of economic activities. In the view of Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), in such a traditional society there is as we have shown limited division of social labour between the members. In such a society, which is slightly more complex than the Durkheimian model of "mechanical solidarity". (15)

The unity which existed and which enabled it to survive for a long time was based on religion, moral values and the sea which provided

the community with its livelihood an its common outlook, in addition to the nature of the debt system and the provision of a livelihood to the divers who presumably had no alternative and had no access to any other means of production.

(2) In the pearling industry the boat was an independent unit, which contained within it a comprehensive system of division of labour ranging from the leader, at the top, to the most junior servant. This unit provided its members with social, economic and political services. It also provided them with religious service, in so far as every boat had a general utility man, known as al-musallī, literally the "praying man" who, in addition to various other duties, led the men in prayer. (16)

Each boat or unit operated independently from every other unit doing the same work. Each had its particular merchant who financed the traps and dealt with selling and buying the pearl. But, in time, this unit divided into two or more independent units, when new people joined it. In this respect, by cautiously using Durkheim's terms, such unity might be viewed as representing social segment. This reflects some sort of minute community which exists independently of all others, and he distinguishes between it and another form of unit, called the social organ, which is dependent for life upon other communities and which represents only a unit in the division of labour, and must engage in exchange with other communities. (17) Hughes, (1958) argues that "In the type of community which Durkheim calls a social segment the division of labour is either very simple or very rigid. It may be mere incident of the social organisation of the community, consisting in sets of sacred preogatives as in the caste

system, where a person is born into his trade and station." (18) He also called this sort of division of labour a sacred one.

(3) The division of labour in the pre-oil era, depended to some extent, upon tribal, kinship relations and ethnic origin and on sex and age differentiation . While the Nūkhūdās and the merchants organised and controlled the industry and were the highest authority, pearl production fell almost entirely into the hands of enterprising Arab tribesmen. Each diving unit was an autonomous unit governed by a tribal chief. (19) In the absence of a central government structure, these groups showed their power publicly by controlling the economic resources and they emerged as the logical forms of social organisation.

Other tribesmen, who were not Nūkhūdās or merchants, preferred to be divers rather than ship hands (20) because divers had a higher social status on board ship and in the market place. The merchants and Nūkhūdās formed between them a strong and powerful allied group which restricted ownership of the means of production. (21) This relationship might depend upon the kinship relation between them as long as they might share a common origin, which can be best described as a form of kinship based production.

People from both religious sects, Sunnī and Shī'a, worked in the full range of occupations within the industry except for the fact that many Shī'as of Bahrain preferred to dive before the official diving season (22) from May to September.

From the point of view of the ethnic division of labour the pearl boom of the second half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the

twentieth, occasioned by political stability in the Gulf and the increase of slave trade activities, brought to Bahrain a number of races and nationalities who were in one way or another associated with the pearling industry. These various ethnic groups showed significant differences in the jobs they undertook. While the Iranians, black slaves and Omani Arabs were to be found in the low status jobs, as tenders and helpers in the pearling society, almost all the Indians who were in Bahrain at that time were in jobs of a higher status linked with the élite of society such as merchants.

Thus, the skilled work was done by the Bahraini Arabs themselves, while the others, who were not trusted with such responsibilities, were only employed in helping at the oars.

The division of labour in terms of age was also clear since a boy 8 years of age would join his father in the boat as a servant; this gave the boy the opportunity to learn from others how to become a radīf and help open the oysters, or how to become, in time, a diver or puller. The age of divers and pullers mainly ranged between fifteen and sixty years. (23)

(4) The debt system, in the pearl era, created a kind of work continuation from one generation to another, so that under this system, the boy would be employed in the same boat in which his father used to work, at least, to pay off the rest of his father's loans. Also there was a limited labour turnover in this traditional industry because the divers were in debt to the Nūkhūdā. Harrison comments:

> "The diver is known as a slave for the rest of his life. It is probably easier for a negro slave on the Pirate coast to escape, than it is for a Bahraini diver to regain his freedom As long as he is in debt he cannot change his employer, no matter how badly he is treated, nor can he leave the town except under bonds to return before the diving season begins, and he will never be able to get out of debt." (24)

(5) Due to the absence of any written laws or regulations organising the human side of this industry, direct control over the pearling boats and the harvest fell entirely into the hands of the Nūkhūdās and merchants. It was not until 1923 when the reform of the pearling industry was undertaken by the government that written legislation was introduced. Reforms introduced in the diving industry may be considered "the forerunner of modern labour legislation", the principal features of which concentrated on organising the loan system and on relations between the main parties in the industry.

(6) Slavery as unfree labour, which was a major part of the labour market, was also an important element before the exploitation of oil. The best definition of the status of a slave as understood at that time, is the one which was proposed by the Anti-Slavery Society in London in 1973, which defined a slave as "one who is owned and thus has neither freedom nor rights". (25)

In Bahrain, slaves were involved in almost every branch of social production and activity ranging from divers, pullers, or helper in the pearling boats to a wide range of personal and domestic services. They were brought down mainly from the Eastern coast and central Africa, Baluchistan, and Southern Iraq to meet the demand for labour which was clear, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when the pearling industry was at its height.

Hopkins (1973) argues that slavery existed mainly in states,"where the devlopment of domestic exchange activities created employment opportunities which could not be met by local, free labour." (26)

There are no official or unofficial statistics showing the number of slaves or their occupations in the division of labour, but Lock (1935) reported an estimation of 7,050 possessed slaves working on the pearling bank of the Trucial Coast, and about double that number are slaves having no master. (27)

In 1937, the ruler of Bahrain, Shaikh Hamad bin ʿIssa Āl Khalīfa, issued a notice forbidding ownership of slaves in Bahrain, and directed the people's attention to the fact that a person who imports, exports, buys, sells or owns any person as a slave is liable to punishment by imprisonment and a fine. (28) Many rulers in the Arab Gulf countries issued similar orders, (29) but despite that the trade in human beings continued until the 1950s. (30)

The conditions of work of all the pearl divers, whether slaves or freemen, are necessarily somewhat hard, but the hardships undergone by the slaves were no greater than those of the freemen. The financial situation of slaves employed in pearling boats varied from one to the other. Few slaves could keep their earnings; some received a percentage of their earnings, which in most cases is not less than half the total after deduction of advances made to the slave. (31)

In all cases, the slave was not allowed to join any diving group unless he had a permit from his master or from the British political

Agency in Bahrain who issued the permit to satisfy the former's need for it. (32)

Secombe, after approving the need of the pearl industry for divers and helpers, said "The seasonal movement of slaves was only one element of a large labour migration to the pearling bank". (33)

On shore, slave labour, as it was in traditional African societies, was practised intermittently to fulfil a special task. It was sought for ditchdigging, a variety of construction schemes, transporting commodities, procuring water, and a host of other tasks that did not require specialised skills and that could be accomplished in one or two days. (34)

To sum up, the form of human social organisation in the first place was very simple and basically dependent on sea resources with limited agriculture and with little social division of labour and with little group collective specialisation as long as almost all the population were centred around one major trade.

3.3. The Second Phase:

The discovery of oil and the changing pattern of the division of labour:

The discovery and exploitation of oil in 1932 was no doubt a great turning point in the history of Bahrain. The oil industry had a major impact leading to considerable changes in the economic and social structure of society, social stratification, the work force, and the structure. of the family.

The development of the Bahrain oil field by the Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited made Bahrain in the 1930s the twelfth largest oil producing country in the World. (35)

> "The decline of pearl production in the thirties and the development of oil in the thirties and forties changed the entire social structure of Bahrain,,,Employment in the oil market gradually diminished the quality of palm cultivation, put an end to pearl diving, created rather strong labour movement and turned the peasant villages, once based on subsistence economy, into dormitory communities economically dependent upon a larger national and regional market." (36)

With the beginning of oil operations, thousands of pearl divers and other workers left their jobs in the traditional occupations and turned to work in the oilfields. The reasons for this mass movement to the oil industry can be summarised briefly as follows:

(1) As we have seen in the previous chapter, the economic structure of the pearling industry was based on debt. Everybody involved was in debt - from the diver to the Nūkhūdā, and from the Nūkhūdā to the merchant who financed him (37) while work in the oil industry provided opporunities for these groups, for the first time, to escape from the debt system and to have surplus cash.

(2) The instability of income was an important reason for men turning to work in the oil industry. In the pearling industry the diver had a share in the profits, but these depended upon the level of production. Comparing that with the stable job opportunities and regular monthly income in the oil industry, the divers found it impossible to continue with the old system. Furthermore, there was a high degree of uncertainty in the production process in pearling as compared to oil extraction.

(3) Pearl diving was considered to be one of the most difficult and risky jobs, (38) one in which the diver was exposed to great dangers and discomfort from the attacks of sharks and other dangerous fish. The diver might lose a part of his body or be cut in two or lose his life under the water without him or his family getting any compensation.

The discovery of oil made it possible for the economy to integrate into the Interntional Division of Labour despite the fact that this integration was limited by its narrow specialised role as an oil producer only. (39) Bahrain was involved in the international division of labour in three senses:

(1) The increased exports of oil, particularly to the Western industrialised world. (See table 3.1).

Table No. 3.1 Bahrain Export by Country of Destination in Thousand B.D. (1962-1972)

Country /Year	1962	1965	1967	1969	1970	1972
Saudi Arabia	4,988	4,737	7,632	9,924	12,544	16,523
Qatar	1,384	1,778	1,842	2,309	1,320	333
Iran	1.143	1,623	1,251	658	902	1,043
U.S.A.	1		124	346	502	400
Japan	15	11	98	476	309	503
U.K.	2		196	303	451	860
Australia		5	3	15	28	55
India		48	37	59	107	49
West Germany		32	2	34	38	53
France			32	41	45	154

Sources: (1)Statistical Bureau - Statistical Abstract for the Years 1967, 1968, 1970, 1972, (2) Middle East Economic Digest, May 1959.

(2) At the same time, the new social and eocnomic development created by the oil industry gave rise to an increased demand, from the industrialised countries, for manufactured goods, primarily capital and consumer goods. (See table 3.2).

Table No. 3.2 Bahrain Imports by Country of Provenance in Thousand Bahrain Dinars. (Selected countries).

Country / Year	1959	1962	1965	1968	1970	1972
United States	2,981	4,104	5,213	6,289	5,812	13,016
United Kingdom	6,723	7,857	9,936	12,735	24,904	21,194
Japan	2,211	2,823	3,221	8,248	9,972	14,869
West Germany	1,291	1,339	1,573	2,239	2,684	4,678
Iran	464	1,028	971	765	1,270	1,894
India	3,353	2,276	2,320	2,516	3,347	2,835
Hong Kong	561	776	990	1,785	2,495	2,537
Holland	1,175	1,144	1,432	1,499		
France	227	349	727	767	903	1,598

Source:
(1) Statistical Bureau - Statistical Abstract for the Year 1967,1968, 1970, 1972.

(3) The oil industry made it possible for an international movement of labour to the country in order to fill the top skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the industry. It is estimated that more than 1,150 Westerners were employed by the oil company at the beginning of the operations, of whom the Americans made up the greater number, the rest being mostly British, in addition to several hundred Indians and Pakistanis. (40)

> "Fundamental for the division of labour in these states. (The new oil states in the Arabian Gulf) is the special relationship that the massive and rapid accumulation of capital from oil revenues has put the region in vis-a-vis the core of the world market. These states are linked to the industrialised world more directly than most other third world countries,not only

> because Western industry needs their oil, but also because their capital accumulation is becoming integrated structurally with world monopoly capitalism." (41)

The new social and economic order created by the oil industry changed the pattern of the division of labour in society. Like the industrial revolution which changed the form of production from the small traditional units into new and very complex ones, the factory system, the oil revolution has also changed society and labour in a very radical manner.

Unlike the traditional pearling society in which the division of labour was very simple and organised according to something approximating Durkheim's "mechanical solidarity", the development of natural resources (oil), the increase in the population and the interaction of people as a result of international immigration which followed the discovery of oil, created an organic solidarity, characterised not by the similarity of individuals, but by their differences. (42) It became impossible, therefore, for any social unit to operate separately from the whole social structure without causing damage. For example, the working teams in the oil industry realised that no single group could do any work without depending on and having support from other units in the factory.

The introduction of new forms of the division of labour was associated with new forms of machinery and administrative changes which were seen as necessary in order to organise society, dividing the tasks and forming new social and economic organisations. Durkheim argues that this new form, which he called a social organ, facilitates exchange

between the units in society, "This exchange requires at least a minimum of understanding between the groups of communities involved; this division of labour represents a set of exchanges between communities whereby these communities become inovlved as functioning parts of a larger community". (43)

The discovery of oil changed also the system of differentiation and dissimilarity of economic resources and activity of the population. (See table No. 3.3.) In traditional society people depended upon one or two major sources for their livelihood (pearling - agriculture) and these sources as a result had great social and economic value from the people's point of view. The coming of oil and its effect upon the economic and social structures of society created new social and economic activities and created new work opportunities for the population in these new establishments.

Table No. 3.3 Economically active population by industry (1959 - 1971) - Bahrainis and non-Bahrainis.

Industry	1959	1965	1971
Agriculture & Fishing	4,464	4,654	3,990
Manufacturing	1,024	401	8,464
Construction	4,739	8,328	10,404
Oil Industry	8,911	6,940	N.A.
Mining/Quarrying	470	177	N.A.
Wholesale Trade	504	1,466	7,706
Banking	273	354	1,084
Retail Trade	4,262	5,920	N.A.
Transport and Communications	6,492	10,394	7,743
Other Services	14,185	9,146	20,199
Total	46,955	53,274	59,590

Source:
(1) Statistical Bureau, Finance Department. Statistical Abstract 1967. p.26.
(2) Directorate of Statistics, Bahrain Census of Population and Housing - 1981 - Trends and Prospects. p.111.
(3) N.A. Not available.

Using Smelser's term, one might see it as a structural differentiation which referred to the evolution from a multi-functional role structure represented by pearling to several more specialized structures and the emergence of new forms, i.e., higher-order mechanism of integration.(44)

The changes which took place with the oil production resulted in the transformation from traditional activities, which started to decline, to a new modern social and economic structure, and to changes in the pattern of the division of labour in society and the redistribution of the work force in economic activities.

Although some weight may be given to scientific and technical values such as education and training, the dominant factors which determined the response of the labour force to the need for such distribution are to be judged by factors such as kinship, religious affiliation, and ethnic background.

The values of work and the attitudes towards work were the first to be affected by the movement of labour from traditional to new forms. A study carried out by the United Nations in 1968 summarised the position in this way:

> "The conflict between traditional and new values, loyalties and ways of life created anxieties and tensions in the worker and tends to make him an unstable, and sometimes an untrainable element in the labour force." (45)

People who came from very conservative rural areas, and others working in traditional activities were faced with the coming of the oil industry, and for the first time they were responsible for working to directions given by people of different nationalities, speaking different languages, and with different ways of management.

The consequence of that was opposition to the new master which was made clear in the strikes of 1938 and 1943. On the other hand, these events showed the solidarity among members of the working group in the industry which was actually a continuation of the form of solidarity that had prevailed in the pearling era, when the boat was a very close and strong unit built upon co-operation between all members of the crew.

The attitudes towards manual work were another important case in point. Although the generation which followed the oil industry directly accepted that manual work in the oil field provided the only available employment opportunity, the first generation oil workers tried to teach the new generation not to accept such positions, while the attitudes of society towards manual work reduced sharply the number of local people engaged in it.

While work at sea provided the livelihood of the people in the pre-oil era, afterwards fishing and the fish trade were despised as a form of work in which only the very poor and the illiterate might engage. (46) Sixty years ago...it was an "ʿayb" (disgrace or impugment of

honour) to open a shop dukkān, to be a tailor dirzi, barber Muhassin, carpenter Najjār, butcher Jazzār...or even to work in an office, or wear a coat or a waistcoat, (47) while in recent time these occupations played a major role in the social division of labour.

Another factor to appear as a result of the transformation from a traditional to modern economy was the emergence of specialised labour. Many new specialist occupations such as those of doctor, teacher, lawyer, etc. emerged.

Nevertheless, the coming of oil and the changing division of labour in society, resulted in two phases. The first is characterised by the complete separation and social estrangement of management and workers, and the second phase by the physical concentration and social identification of the workers themselves. (48) That situation was to lead to a conflict of interests between the two groups over rights and duties. In 1938 workers of Bapco went on strike, considered the first in the modern history of the Arabian Gulf, and less than a decade after the initial operation of the oil company. The strike focused on three demands, a pay rise, better working conditions, and organised labour.

It can be said that changing the division of labour has carried with it the implication of a change in the social order and in social groupings and it is also associated with division in economic interest and increased dynamics and conflict between the groups.

The first group to emerge clearly was that linked to the policy of economic imperialism associated with the oil industry. It represented

an imperial management in a new form of colonial rule shifting from a political to an economic one. The second group represents the traditional ruling authority, which also changed its forms as a consequence of the modernisation of political structures and the creation of a modern bureaucracy to a new form, namely the state.

The other group represented the working man in the oil industry and in other minor establishments. The imperialist system gave this group a particular configuration by concentrating it in a few specific fields (the unskilled jobs), which made communication and interaction between them very easy especially in view of the fact that it was almost fully a Bahraini group. And as in most of the developed and undeveloped countries, the idea of unionisation in Bahrain was opposed strongly by the first groups. (49)

Despite modernisation of the government machine and of social institutions which came about as a consequence of oil, the newly emerged government group continued to treat industrial relations issues in a very traditional way (consultation between the ruling authority and the workers). After the first demand for organised labour was submitted to the government in 1938, it reacted by appointing in the same year a member of the ruling family as the government representative to Bapco, to act as a mediator between the workers and the company. His terms of reference, however, were very limited and fell far short of the workers demands. (50)

The ruling authority considered any labour event as an internal matter which could only be solved by direct contact between the ruler himself

or one of his representatives and the workers or their representatives, which was more or less a continuation of the system of Majlis.

The workers, on the other hand, were charcteristically the weaker party; they did not hold key positions in industry, had a high rate of illiteracy, a lack of industrial relations knowledge and organised leaders, and had continued loyalty to traditional authority. These factors affected their ability to influence the political machine and explain why the collective ability of the workers was weakend to put them in the position of just submitting demands and waiting for action by the other party.

> "The traditional authority patterns found in family, tribe and government have been transferred to industrial relations. This is a common phenomenon in the Near East where most industrial workers "are really artisans". (51)

Moreover, the heterogeneity of the working group at that time was a case in point, although workers, who were at that time Bahrainis succeeded in achieving solidarity and an integrated organisation against the policy of the oil company which was reflected in the events of 1938. Foreign elements in their groups of unskilled or semi-skilled workers were less integrated with the other workers, and Indian workers in the oil company succeeded in forming their own representation committee, mainly, it seemed, to air grievances and make complaints. (52)

The most remarkable event in labour relations was the establishment of the first trade union in Bahrain in 1955 which contributed much in changing the social and political balance between the three political

forces in society (53) In the same year, the government formed a tripartite law Ordinance Advisory Committee representing the three parties, government, employers and employees to discuss and recommend a draft labour ordinance for the country. The labour ordinance was enacted in 1958 and gave labour the right to organise in trade unions. This right, however, was never put into practice and no labour union formed.

In the following three sections, three of the most important elements in the modernisation of the labour market and labour force in Bahrain will be discussed. These are: (1) the change from traditional labour relations to those based on the modern system of wage labour; (2) the evolution of the public sector, a growth in bureaucracy and increased government spending; and (3) the employment of immigrant labour coming from a number of countries.

3.3.1 The emergence of salaried labour:

The first half of this century was a time of great change in labour relations in the Arab Gulf States. This change was the movement towards specialised workshops and the formation of new, modern institutions namely the labour market and money market with the development of wage labour in a growing capitalist economy which initiated a new system of labour relations.

Before the coming of oil, the mass of the population was in one way or another engaged in coerced or forced labour (slave-debt system). In the new system which emerged in consequence of the coming of the oil

industry labour is provided by formally free workers who sell their services on the market.

The modernisation of labour in Bahrain in terms of its transformation to wage-labour, has to be seen in the context of the incorporation of the country into world markets and the modern world system, consequent upon the discovery of oil and the technological and industrial changes brought in by the capitalist oil company, Bapco. A capitalist economy cannot develop unless there are the necessary economic, legal, and political institutions, private property, freedom of contract and a wage system

> "The transformation of a labour force to capitalist wage-relations does not occur in isolation from the larger system into which the economy, in the process of its transofrmation, becomes integrated. This larger system is the world market of capital, labour and commodities, also referred to as the modern world system. Once capitalist relations of production become established in one place, the centres of capitalist power began an outward expansion to pull, or to attempt to pull, the rest of the world, piece by piece, into the system... (54)

The development of the oil industry in the 1930s was the most significant feature in the break-up of traditional labour relations replacing them by wage relations. Many former pearl divers, agricultural workers and others found opportunities for employment as unskilled labourers in the oil company, Bapco. (55)

But despite the large number of people, estimated at between 5,000 to 6,500 (56) employed by Bapco on a daily-rate from the beginning of their operations, there was much poverty and unemployment in Bahrain in the 1930s, (57) especially among the pearl divers who suffered from the depression in their industry in the early 1930s.

By the end of the 1930s, many unskilled Bahraini labourers had left the country seeking employment with foreign oil companies and contractors in other Arab Gulf areas. They were either lured by the high wages there, or by the opportunity to find jobs. " It was estimated that approximately 5,000 Bahraini men were engaged in work abroad". (58)

Furthermore, attention should be given to the role of colonial power, represented by Bapco, in the manipulation and management of ethnicity and establishing a clear and rigid ethnic division of labour where, by using Hechter's words, "ethnic stratification is largely superimposed upon class lines". (59) Throughout their presence, they established a complex ethnically stratified society in which they controlled the decision making and recruitment policies. High status and supervisory occupations tended to be reserved particularly for those of the same nationality as the colonizer. Other foreign groups were utilized very exclusively for the benefit of the oil company, while the indigenous population clustered in unskilled and marginal positions.

An important aspect of the policy of the oil industry in Bahrain was that the oil company (like most oil companies operating in the third world) tried hard to prevent the host country and the local employees from gaining any technological benefit which might allow them to think they could control the industry. So despite the large number of local people employed by the oil company, which in 1958 reached 7,500 (60), they held the least important and the least well paid jobs. The company has not attempted to provide any sort of higher training which would allow them to improve their positions in the industry and that

has been one of the main complaints against the company. (61) And since the local population had no access to other resources than oil, they were forced to remain in their former status and to work under various labour arrangements.

Furthermore, with the operation of the oil company and the increase in the social division of labour, new forms of labour relations were introduced based mainly on contractual relations between the employer and the employee. Bapco employed Indian wage-labour on an individually contracted basis binding the employee to stay for a certain number of years, quite apart from the Europeans which the company employed. The Bahrainis were employed either on a monthly basis in a very limited number of cases or on a daily rate basis. This second group made up 94% of the total Bahrainis employed in the company in 1951. (62)

> "For the first ten years or so, the policy of the company was to subcontract the hiring of labour in the island to local agents, namely Ali and Mohammed Yatteem. The contractors received from the company the wages of the men employed and distributed them to the workers after deducting a substantial commission for themselves." (63)

The oil company recruited all other nationalities locally, apart from Indians and Westerners, and they were generally hired to do the same type of work as the local workers.

In the initial stages, the oil company was completely free to establish its own recruitment policy without any government interference. The recruitment policies, however, were determined to a large extent by the terms of the concession agreement which indicated

the lines on which the oil companies undertook to employ local nationals as far as practicable but reserved the right to employ and import foreign peronnnel to direct and supervise all aspects of company operations. (64)

The division of labour in the oil industry by nationality is another important element in the second phase of the labour market development. While local people dominated the senior most productive positions in the era of the traditional economy, the new social order brought about by oil changed that division. Work in the oil company falls into seven categories, these categories carry with them important prestige values:

(1) Staff employees: this group was confined to Europeans, but including Americans. Despite the small size of this category, it was the most influential as it constituted the managerial and policy-making staff.

(2) Clerical and technical employees: these are non-European clerks, technically trained employees and special foremen who are employed under some form of agreement.

(3) Artisan employees: this group consists of European and non-European nationalities who are employed on the basis of some form of agreement or who have a letter from the company setting out the terms of their employment.

(4) Domestic employees: this group consists of non-Europen domestic servants who are mainly Asian, from India or Pakistan.

(5) General office employees: this group consists mainly of Indians, brought in by the British government to fill the clerical positions in the country and who are not employed under the terms of any form of written agreement.

(6) Skilled employees: they are people from various nationalities including Arabs who engaged in skilled labour. There were some Bahrainis in this category who benefited from the training programmes.

(7) Unskilled labour: this group is the largest one in the oil industry and it consists of local people engaged in unskilled jobs and not on any form of written agreement.

There is no complete record of Bapco employees by these categories, but according to some figures the last category represents the majority of the work force which is predominantly Bahraini. (See table no. 3.4)

Thus the "colonial situation", to use Balandier's terms, is one that frequently created conditions conducive to ethnic salience in the first moment of existence. It also produced circumstances whereby ethnicity became a powerful emergent phenomenon. (65)

Table No. 3.4 Unskilled labour employed by Bapco according to nationality of employees 1936.

Nationality	Number of employees:
Indians	39
Iraqis	76
Iranians	277
Baluchis	8
Saudi Arabs	12
Kuwaitis	9
Yemanis	6
Bahrainis	2248
Others	15
TOTAL	2726

Source: FO. 371/19965

The hostility towards the oil company, however, should never be underestimated, as more than four major labour strikes took place during the period under review. (1938 - 1943 - 1956 -1965), that was probably due to one main reason, the low level occupied by the Bahrainis in the social stratification of the industry, and the poor conditions which forced them to struggle in order to confirm their positions.

3.3.2. The evolution of bureaucracy:

Max Weber (1947) pointed to the concept of bureaucracy to explain the increasing rationalisation of administrative practice in Western society. He outlined the attributes of a bureaucracy as: (1) a clear-cut division of labour, (2) hierarchical authority, (3) a system of explicit rules and regulations defining responsibility and standardising performance, (4) a spirit of "formalistic

impersonality", and (5) employment based on seniority and/or achievement. (66)

The growth of bureaucracy in Bahrain, both public and private, came when the country embarked on a process of social and economic development and industrialisation because of the discovery of oil and the appearance of the welfare state, which resulted in considerable changes in the structure of the division of labour. The emergence of central government power led to growth in occupational specialisation and forms of division of labour which resulted from government activity which created new forms of organisation. That action has resulted in the strengthened power of the state. In addition to that, other important factors operated in the evolution of bureaucracy. "The development of the money economy is a presupposition of a modern bureaucracy in so far as the compensation of officials today takes the form of money salaries", (67) All the civil servants now are salaried staff and the government takes advantages of employment in the government sector as one means of distributing the oil wealth among the people.

The security factor also played a significant role. The concern of the state to maintain law and order led to a major reform of the police force of the country which was estimated before 1925 to be about 200 armed watchmen, known as "Naturs" who were considered sufficient to preserve law and order in Bahrain. (68)

Although the police force mainly consisted of Indians, Punjabis, and Baluchis, it was decided in 1932 that local Arabs should be enlisted

to provide a police force. Their pay was Rs 25/- a month and there was no difficulty in obtaining recruits. (69)

The development of the oil industry and the influx of a large number of Westerners, Asians and other nationalities, different in their orientaton, introduced forms of crime of a Western type new to Bahrain such as forgery, gambling, profiteering, illegal distribution of liquor and car accidents which caused alarm in some circles. The annual report for 1953 of the government of Bahrain stated that there were 303 and 280 cases of theft in 1952 and 1953, and 24 persons were prosecuted for the distillation, selling, and being in possession of liquor and for dealing in hashish and opium. The prevention of these forms of crime kept the police fully occupied.

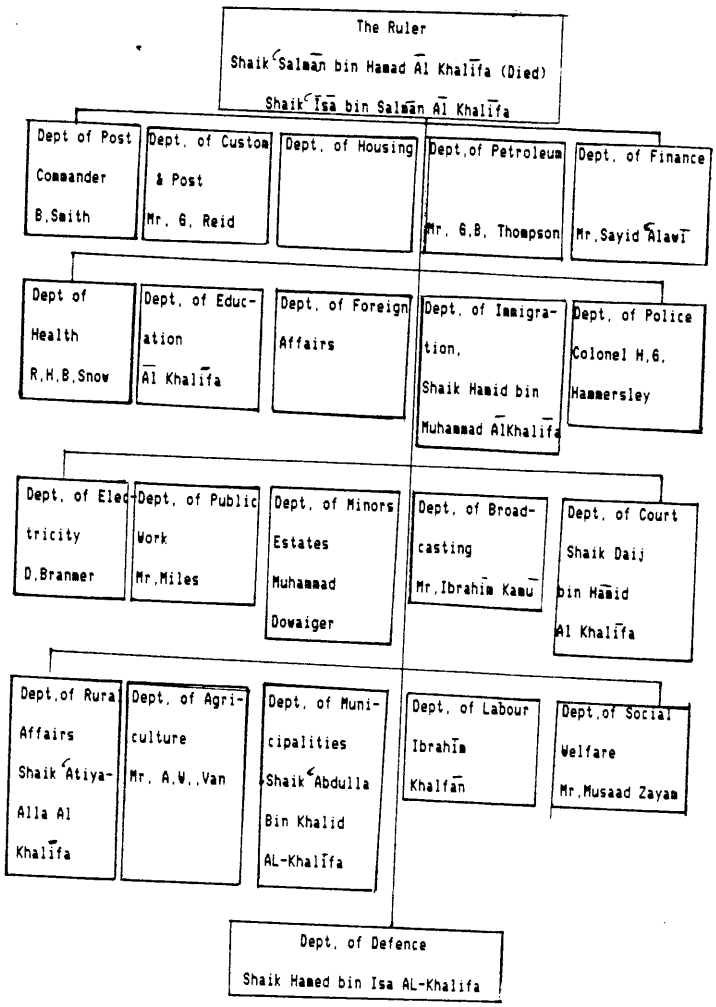
Another aspect of the evolution of bureaucratisation was the increasingly bureaucratic organisation of society represented mainly by the government administration. Since 1932, 24 government departments and units have been established to deal with various aspects of administration. In the 1950s, the council of administration was created, comprising ten members. Other institutions to emerge were the departments of labour and agriculture in 1955, the department of social welfare and the department of rural affairs in 1957 followed by the directorate of water supply in 1960 and the housing department in 1963. In 1955, the Department of Information was set up. The Bahrain defence force came into being in 1968. The Council of Administration was replaced by the Council of State in 1970, then by

the Cabinet of the State of Bahrain which now consists of 17 ministers.

The administration of the government departments is undertaken by officials who are appointed and not elected and these departments were and are still ruled or headed by either members of the ruling family who hold most actual policy making and administrative authority, or by some prominent members of long-standing merchant families who wield political influence. In some cases Britishers or Indians appeared as the heads of some departments.

(See Figure No. 4)

Figure No. 4 Government of Bahrain - Departmental Organisation showing Heads of Departments prior to 1970.



Another fact which must be noted here is that the development of administration, in the 1950s in particular, encouraged the government to accept some members of the élite who were educated abroad in key positions in government administration (i.e. a mixture of Weber's traditional and rational authority).

Khuri described the bureaucracy that has emerged since the fifties as civil and developmental:

> "It was 'civil' in the sense that it regulated employment and working conditions and recognised, however mildly and temporarily, the rights of citizens to have representaton and to form self-governing bodies. It was 'developmental' in the sense that it led to the formation of new offices and departments concerned with social welfare . . ." (70)

The characteristics of bureaucracy in Bahrain may be summarised as follows:

1. The most remarkable fact about bureaucracy in Bahrain is its overstaffing. As early as 1965 about 13% per cent of the labour force was employed by the government. (71)

The new graduates and the unemployed entered the civil service because it promised security, presumably, a better income and higher prestige, in contrst to other employment. One of the direct results of the situation of overstaffing in the civil service is that many workers may have little or no work to do, and this turned many government offices into playgrounds. (72)

2. The lack of qualified specialists among the native population was a serious problem facing the development of bureaucracy. "Available manpower in the local labour market lacked the basic minimum skills

required for the satisfactory discharge of the duties and responsibilities of new functions and services". (73) That situation facilitated the entry of qualified people, particularly Indians who had been well trained in the civil service under British tutelage, in addition to some Arabs from Lebanon and Egypt.

Employment in the civil service

According to figures for the fifties and sixties, the largest concentration of the labour force was in four economic sectors: the oil industry, construction, retail trade, and government services.

In the case of government employment in Bahrain, like most underdeveloped countries, the government is the biggest employer on the island. Taking the 1950 figures, of the total labour force of 46,950 about 6,492 are government employees. In 1955, 10,394 were working in government services out of a total work force of 53,274 which represented about 20 per cent of the total labour force, and a little more than 5 per cent of the total population which was 182,203. This is considered to be one of the highest ratios in the world. (74)

The bureaucratisation of the private sector was also increasing, judging by the size of firms and establishments, and the proportion of the labour force in the private sector employed by large firms.

From the data reported in Table 3.3. it appears that a large proportion of workers are now in various white-collar occupations

e.g. professional, managerial, service and clerical which represents a major shift in the division of labour in society. This growth in the clerical sector is accounted for in a number of ways: (1) Demographic changes in the population; (2) Modernisation of education; and (3) Expansion in the welfare services of the state.

3.3.3 Labour immigration:

Immigration to Bahrain is not a new phenomenon and goes back hundreds of years, but what concerns us here is the international immigration which followed the process of industrialisation and in particular, the oil industry. Some writers argue that without the immigrants these processes of industrialisation could not have come about. (75)

E. Hill summarised the labour situation after the discovery of oil in the Arab Gulf as follows:

> "The creation of other industries, in turn, created additional needs for labour, as well as the need to expand the infra-structures. Local populations that in most places did not exceed 50,000 persons at the time oil was discovered, did not begin to supply even a fraction of these labour needs, and as a result labour had to be sought where an excess of labour existed." (76)

So far as the pattern of world migration is concerned, the period that followed the second world war, witnessed mass international migration around the world. The areas of the Arab Gulf were affected by this movement with the arrival of immigants from Asia and from the territory now known as the state of Israel as a result of the partition of Palestine in 1947, and of the first Arab - Jewish war of 1948 which led to an exodus of some 700,000 Palestinian Arabs. (77)

In addition, the influence of Arab nationalism in the fifties and sixties, played a major role in forcing the Gulf states to import Arab labour to meet manpower shortages.

From the beginning of Bapco operations most of the expatriate workers were highly skilled administrators or professionals who were brought in to fill the gap in skilled jobs and they were mainly European, American and Indians transplanted by the British since unskilled labour was readily available locally.

A report presented to the political Agent in Bahrain entitled "Labour employed by the Bahrain Petroleum Company" dated December 1935 supported this view by saying that "The roster does not show any unskilled Indian labour, and it is unlikely that the company will require to import unskilled Indian labour". (78)

This situation however changed with the 1938 strike which led to the bringing in of unskilled labour. Nakhlau comments on this:

> "It is interesting to note that prior to 1938 most of the local workers at Bapco were Bahrainis. However, as a result of the 1938 strike, Bapco began to employ Indian and Iranian workers extensively. Company officials reasoned that since these workers were not directly concerned with the country's political life, they would be more loyal and docile than Bahraini workers. Also, this type of non-Bahraini worker has usually accepted lower wages than his Bahraini counterpart." (79)

The Iranian oil crisis of the first half of the fifties, when most of the oil operations stopped in Iran forced thousands of Iranian workers to emigrate to the Gulf States including Bahrain. Although the numbers of Iranian immigrants at that time were not well documented, most of the immigrants entered the country illegally. Some sources estimated their number in Kuwait in the first half of 1955 at more

than twelve thousand. (80) At the same time, between ten and fifteen thousand workers from various parts of the Gulf, but mainly from Oman, came to Bahrain for employment every year. They came and went as they had always done, with hardly any restrictions on their movement. (81)

Composition of Migration:

Bahrain's immigrant population increased from an estimated figure of 15,900 in 1941 to one of 38,700 in 1971. (82) They are estimated to have been comprised of from 17 to 21 per cent of Bahraini's population during that period.

The national origin of Bahrain's foreign population has changed since 1941. Prior to World War II, Indians and Iranians predominated among the foreign population. The post war immigration to Bahrain first resulted in increases in foreign nationals from the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula countries, then from central and East Asia, and finally from Europe.

The number of Iranian nationals in Bahrain's population fluctuated from a reported peak of 7.600 persons in 1941 to the second highest figure of 7,200 in 1965. This population apparently declined to an estimated 3,000 in 1976. (83) From 1941 to 1977 Indian and Pakistani nationals increased from 1,400 persons to an estimated 51,300 persons. (84)

The distribution of the foreign labour force during the post-oil period among the division of economic activities indicates that they were overrepresented in the service and recreation industries in

administrative and managerial posts, as craftsmen and production process workers and as professional, technical and related workers.

The division of labour by occupation among the immigrant labour in Bahrain in the post oil-era, was determined as much by their place of origin as by their skills. During this period Omanis and Iranians were strongly represented since they were willing to undertake heavy manual labour. (85) Palestinians, Syrians, Egyptians and Iraqis were employed in a variety of non-manual occupations ranging from teachers and doctors to government clerks. Furthermore, some Indians were engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. According to some documents in 1949, 215 shops in Manama, the capital, were owned by Indians, (86) but the majority were employed either by the government or the oil company as clerks. Westerners and Americans were mainly employed for the high level of their technical expertise.

To conclude: the oil industry and modernisation accounted for a principal shift from a socio-economic structure characterised by traditional labour activites which centred around the sea to a new structure characterised by an open and organised labour market with a considerable social division of labour and established a new setting for either traditional or newly emerging social groups distinguished mainly by kinship, ethnicity, race, religion, sex and language, all of which interacted in that situation.

That social structure was represented by the dominance of three main groups; the first, represented by the political régime or the ruling family who were in direct alliance with other people of tribal origin

who exchanged political allegiance and support. People in this category are considered as asil (pure Arab) to distinguish them from the people of the second category who are known as bayser (or with no direct tribal ties). The second was the largest and the powerless group consisting of unskilled Bahraini workers and peasants.

The third group represented the foreigners who can be classified in three sub-categories, the first representing the British, American and other Europeans who had a privileged status almost equal to the first group; the second included Indians, who were heavily protected by the former category, their status falling between the two first categories. The third represented a mass of unskilled Iranian, Omani and other unskilled workers.

3.4 The third phase: Division of labour in the oil boom era:

The third and most important period is the one which started with the oil boom of 1973. It is important in the sense that great social and economic changes have come about in Bahrain and all the Arab Gulf states in general in consequence of the big increase in oil prices. In 1982 Khoury commented:

> "What has happened in the Middle East since 1973 cannot be described as anything less than revolutionary. Since that time substantial changes have occurred on economic, social, and politicl levels at an unprecedented pace...Multiple rises in prices and rising world demand combined to create a seemingly limitless supply of capital for the Arab oil-producing countries making possible for the first time a serious industrialisation d ive and ambitious economic development plans. A new wave of labour migration, predominantly intra-original, was one of the most striking features of the new economic situation." (87)

The sharp increase in the oil prices which occurred directly as a result of the Arab-Israel war of October 1973 created two different

situations, on the one hand Arab oil exporting countries, including Bahrain, enjoyed huge oil revenues and to some extent a control over their own production. For example the revenues of Saudi Arabia have increased from less than one billion dollars in 1970 to more than one hundred billion dollars in 1980. (88) On the other hand, the 1973-74 increase in the price of oil understandably caused a tremor through the oil importing countries, and "there was endless talk of the approaching doom for Western civilisation as the industrial world would have to make a rapid transfer of a large part of its wealth into the hands of a few, largely small and undeveloped countries". (89)

As a result of the unprecedented developments in 1973, the oil price of market crude rose from 1-80 dollrs per barrel in the first half of 1971, to 3.12 dollars in 1973 and to 11.65 in 1974 which respresents an increase of almost 600% per cent since 1971. It continued to rise only marginally to 12.70 per barrel in 1977 and reached its highest level in 1981 when it increased to 34.00 dollars. (See table 3.5)

Table 3.5 Gradual increase in the oil prices from 1971-1974

Period	Postal Prices - Arabian light crude in dollars
Dec. 1970	1.80
June 1971	2.29
Jan. 1972	2.48
" 1973	2.59
Oct. 1973	3.12
Jan. 1974	11.65

Source: From R. Vernon "The oil crisis", 1976. p.26.

With the boost in oil revenues, Bahrain has been able to invest heavily, initially in infrastructure industry and services. The extensive accumulation of capital in such a small state with a

relatively small population was accompanied by substantially ambitious development programmes from 1974 onwards, which went hand in hand with a rise in the incomes of the population and resulted in a shifting of demand towards services.

Bahrain has enjoyed a virtual ten-fold increase in government revenues since 1973. The proportion of revenue from oil in the total public revenue increased from 35 per cent in 1973 to a peak of 83 per cent in 1978 and 10 per cent in 1980 and 1981. (90) In 1974 the total revenue from oil was 419.3 million dollars which rose to 569.2 million in 1977 and to 1350.3 million in 1981.

3.4.1 Changing pattern of international immigration:

As we have already seen, one of the most dramatic effects of the oil price increase and related events of 1973, was that it made it possible for the oil exporting countries to finance an influx of highly qualified people as well as ordinary workers.

The small size of the local labour force and the highly intensive projects carried out by these countries created a considerable gap in the labour market which could not be filled without importing foreign workers. It is estimated that at the beginning of 1981 there were more than 4,000,000 immigrant workers in the six oil exporting countries of the G.C.C. (91) of whom 104,400 are in Bahrain. (92).

Several internal "pull" and external "push" factors facilitated the migration of this expatriate labour. The principal pull factor for foreign labour which originated and developed in Bahrain as an oil

state is largely determined by wage factors. The wage differential between the country of origin and Bahrain is generally high. So the existence of the opportunity to earn a large income mainly motivated persons to move from a low to a high wage country in an attempt to improve the standard of living to which they can return home.

On the other hand, a number of push factors which encouraged this migration originated and developed in the labour exporting countries. The natural increase of the population and the labour force in most of the developing countries of the Middle Eastern and Asian economies exceeds the ability to provide jobs. The result is high levels of unemployment and relatively low wages and low standards of living which forced the people to move seeking improvement in their social life.

As we have pointed out, international labour migration to Bahrain in particular, and Arab Gulf States in general was first precipitated by the exploitation of oil in the first half of the 1930s. However, the scale and significance of that movement has dramatically accelerated since the first half of 1973 in the wake of the major oil price increases of 1973-74 which were associated with a profound change in the nature and scale of that migration in the following phases:

(1) The decline in the share of Arab immigrants was a noticeable phenomenon. In all the Arab importing labour countries the share of Arab workers who constituted a majority of migrants in 1975 in all employment fell from 71 per cent in 1975 to 63 per cent in 1980.(93)

In Bahrain, in 1971, Arab immigrants accounted for half the workforce, and between 1971 and 1977 the share of the working age population absorbed by the Arab community fell from 45 per cent to 15 per cent. Birks and Sinclair (1979) see that decline in the Arab share as the result of 10,000 Omanis who left Bahrain for better work opportunities in their home country, while only 4,000 extra Egyptians and Yemenis took up residence. (94)

There were also other factors which led to this decline in the number of Arab immigrants in favour of others. For instance, the political situation which came as a result of the October Arab-Israeli war and the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon encouraged all the Gulf States to rely upon labour with less political involvement. (95)

(2) The considerable increase in the participation of South Asian labour mainly from the traditional sources of India and Pakistan has been the most dramatic change since the mid seventies. These immigrants represent a new and strong source of foreign workers moving into the whole region:

> "Among the reasons for the growing importance of the role of the Asian migrant labour force in the Gulf States are the economic systems of these states, the nature of inter-Arab conditions and relations in general, and the migration of Arab workers in particular. The private sector is of special importance in the economics of the Gulf States. Business leaders of the private sector base their decisions, primarily on profit considertions, and might not give as much consideration to the nationality of their imported workers as is given to all nationalities of migrant workers engaged in government jobs. Consequently, the private sectors of the Gulf States,.....depend heavily on Asians who, because of the low standards of living in their home countries, are willing to work at lower wages and under less agreeable conditions than their Arab counterparts." (96)

The considerable growth in the Asian contribution to the workforce in Bahrain and other Gulf states after 1973 was also due to the increased role of agencies which supplied Asian labour to clients in the Gulf states which led some to describe this sort of immigration as actively organised migration. (97) This is an important element which distinguishes Asian from Arab immigration which until recently was disorganised. (See table No. 3.6)

Table No. 3.6 Distribution of non-Nationals in the Gulf States by Country of residence and years - 1970 - 1980.

Country of Residence	1970	1975	1980
U.A.E.	110,900	313,900	695,500
Bahrain	37,900	62,800	104,400
Qatar	67,100	101,500	167,300
Kuwait	397,500	533,300	806,800
Oman	8,200	105,500	177,000
Saudi Arabia	451,900	894,900	1,977,000
Total	1,073,500	2,011,900	3,928,900

Quoted from: ECWA paper to population conference

Nicosia. 1981. p.169.

The rapid expansion of the private sector in the oil countries in the Gulf has played an ever greater role in this matter. This sector which mostly depends for its existence upon high productivity and low costs found Asia a good source for their workers, particularly among Indians and Pakistanis who accept low wages, any living conditions, and obey orders.

In Bahrain, the non-Bahrainis dominated the private sector employment with 75% per cent as at the 1981 census while the Bahrainis represent only 25% per cent (See table 3.7).

Table No. 3.7 Private Sector employees by the country of origin. (1979, 1982)

Country of Origin	1979	1982
Bahrain	18,964	19,474
India	23,415	32,382
Pakistan	13,134	9,744
United Kingdom	2,556	2,920
United States	250	209
Egypt	844	732
Palestine	36	-
Oman	842	-
Korea	2,815	1,232
Thailand	1,377	1,410
Other Countries	5,723	11,276
Total	69,114	79,379

Source: (1) Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs - Anual Manpower Survey for the Year. 1979 and 1982.

(3) The third element was the introduction of new Asian groups who came from new sources in the Far East and countries such as South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand and Taiwan.

The increased immigration of such nationalities was mainly due to the involvement of Far Eastern firms in taking on large scale contracts and finding workers at all skilled levels willing to live and work in conditions which were provided for them. The contribution of these

immigrants in the labour markets of the Gulf countries rose from 0.5% per cent in 1970 to 12 per cent in 1978. (98)

The first contract in this form in the Gulf was the building of a dry dock in Bahrain, the labour force was made up entirely of Koreans (all men on an individual status contract), who provided all the expertise needed during construction. They worked twelve-hour shifts to complete the project on time and were self-sufficient in housing and infrastructure, which they built themselves as part of the contract. Food and recreational facilities were flown direct from Korea. (99) This form of labour has to leave the country immediately after the project concerned is completed. (100)

Some argue that international immigration to the area has had in some respects even greter effects than the migration to Europe after the Second World War. (101). This view is supported by an examination of the position of these immigrants in the Gulf countries. They represented 90% of the labour force in UAE; 80% in Qatar and about 60 per cent in Kuwait and Bahrain. This influx of migrants led to the growing conviction that these states had shifted from dependence on oil to dependence on migrant workers. (102) This situation also resulted in the creation of a national division of labour by the concentration of national groups in certain occupations, leaving others for immigrants.

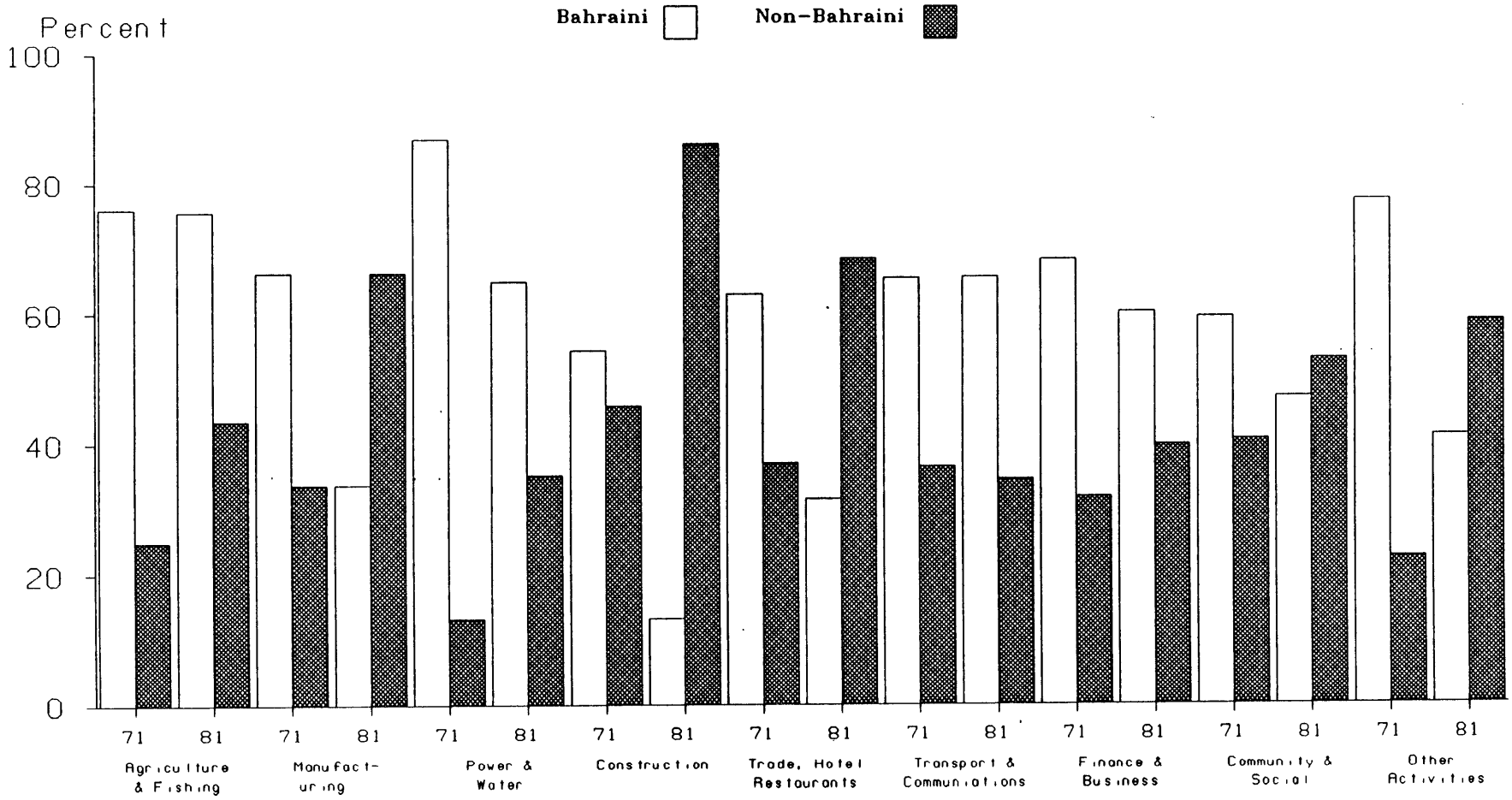
3.4.2 Division of Labour in the Post Oil Prices Rise Era:

The social and economic changes which came to the Arab Gulf area as a result of 1973 oil events created a great transformation in the structure of the economy, the labour force and even the economic sectors and the distribution of employment in these sectors.

It is clear that economic development created a demand for labour which grew much faster than the available supply of Bahrain labour. Between the 1971 and 1981 census, employment in Bahrain increased from approximately 59,000 to almost 138,000. The total increase in employment during this period was 78,400 or 131% per cent of the 1971 employment. Between 1971 and 1981 employment of Bahrainis increased by almost 20,000: but the employment of foreigners rose by over 58,000. Expatriate workers comprised 58.5% per cent of the total employed population in 1981, while only 41.5% per cent were Bahrainis.

Bahrainis represent the majority of workers in extractive industries, public utilities, transport and communications, and the financial and business services sector; while foreigners predominate in trade, manufacturing industry, and of course construction. (Figure No. 5) reveals the changes in the composition of employment in Bahrain during the last decade and the distribution of the work force according to the economic sector).

Figure No 5
Change in Composition of Labour Force by Economic Sector 1971–1981



(1) Construction sector:

Construction sector employment increased fairly rapidly from 10,400 in 1971 to 29,200 in 1981, which accounts for 21.1 per cent of the total labour force. (103)

The major part of skilled and non-skilled labour in the construction sector comes from foreign labour markets, mainly Asian. Over the past decades the Bahrainis' share in this sector was less than 13% per cent. This over-reliance on expatriate labour in construction exceeds the rate of the country's heavy dependence on foreign labour.

Recently the construction industry has been going through a rough patch in the Arabian Gulf as a whole. The oil glut of the second half of 1980s has brought a slump in new orders, undermining turnover as earlier contracts reach completion. Thus the expectation is that the work force in this sector which consisted mainly of foreign labour will decrease very sharply by the second half of the 1980s and beyond.

(2) Manufacturing and oil sectors:

The total employment in this sector has not shown any significant advance during the period 1971-1981. This sector accounted for 8464 people in 1971, and increased to 11,354 which represents almost 8.2 per cent of the labour force. (104)

The small number of people employed in this sector was due to the decrease in the number of employees in the oil industry because of the shift in oil production and the introduction of new technical equipment.

(3) Government sector:

The government sector continues to be one of the large employers as in most of the less developed countries. In 1986 this sector totalled 25,089 persons. (105)

Depending upon the total number employed which is reckoned at 138,000, government employment accounted for about one sixth of all "tertiary" sector employment in 1981 (See table 3.9). However the most striking feature of the public sector is briefly the tendency for this sector to expand its employment quite rapidly, in addition to the low productivity of this sector. In 1981 the Manpower adviser to the Ministry of Labour claimed "low productivity was a big problem among Bahrainis and many people are hired to do virtually nothing." (106)

> "In many Western economies, some labour will not be employed so there is unemployment. Here we disguise unemployment by hiring some at a wage beyond his marginal productivity. Instead of using tax for unemployment benefit, employers tax themselves by paying out extra wages". (107)

Table No. 3.8 Employment in government sector in Bahrain in selected years.

Ministry	1974	1979	1981	1986
Development & Industry	3024	620	676	680
Education	3960	5505	6374	7680
Finance	1197	1675	1720	2061
Foreign Affairs	-	155	165	180
Health	2506	4175	5246	5101
Justice	-	400	419	420
Labour & Social Affairs	-	315	389	410
Commerce & Agriculture	1203	575	595	750
Information	-	475	563	815
State for Legal Affairs	-	28	31	33
State for Cabinet Affairs	-	323	391	563
Transportation	-	989	1086	1121
Work, Power, Water	-	3703	3997	4584
Housing	-	325	401	505
High Council for Youth	-	52	90	187
Total	11890	19480	22338	25090

* Excluding Ministries of Defence and Interior.

Sources: (1) G.Fisher & A.Muzaffar 1975 opcit p.55.
(2) Civil Service Bureau, 1981, Annual Report p.25.
(3) Ministry of labour, Labour Statistics, 1986.

The scope of government participation in social and economic activities has enormously increased in recent years especially in the field of education and health services, but this is not the only factor which is responsible for over-employment, and it is useful to refer to these three factors:

1. The new value placed on the work generated by the oil boom, which made the young in particular interested only in holding white-collar jobs with high social prestige. This in turn has become a sector in which the young seem to predominate.

(2) The tendency of officials is to expand this sector as a sort of power base and security for them, "This tendency partly springs from the notion that an executive's prestige is measured by the number of subordinates supervised." (108)

(3) The large number of ministries and directorates is a direct reason for increasing employment in the public sector. In a small country like Bahrain with a small population of 350,000 in 1981, there are seventeen ministries, and six major directorates not linked with any ministry.

3.4.3 Labour Legislation

The period of the Seventies was marked by an unprecedented activity in labour legislation. Many factors lay behind this: first, the increase in the influx of immigrant labour to the country and the

complexity of the labour market as a result; and secondly, the ongoing process of adjustment and change reflected in the struggle for power and influence between various social forces within the labour market, requiring thereby government recourse to regulatory labour legislation in order to have a direct control over the labour market. Furthermore, Bahrain joined the International Labour Organization and the Arab Labour Organization, the bodies concerned with proper working conditions for workers in different working spheres, creating a need for immediate reform in labour legislation.

In 1976, a Labour Law was issued to be followed by a number of amending and subsidiary decrees. The main feature of such legislation is the limited coverage of a wide range of employees such as domestic servants, government employees and agricultural workers. Another main feature of such legislative movement is distinguishing between workers on ethnic bases. The Labour Law states that priority in employment is to be given to Bahraini nationals, after them to other Arabs, and then to other foreigners.

A distinction on religious basis is also enforced by the law. Muslim workers only have to work shorter hours (six hours a day) during the holy month of Ramadan while others are required to work the usual hours (eight hours a day).

By analysing the general characteristics of the labour legislation, it appears that such legislation reinforced the pattern of social inequality between social forces within the labour market.

The institution of sponsorship, i.e. that foreign employees must be sponsored by Bahraini nationals, is a case in point. This system granted Bahrainis by law an absolute authority and superiority over immigrant workers whom they sponsored in terms of employment, pay, accommodation, duration of service, and even personal life. Considering the balance of power within the society, the Labour Law itself, through the institution of sponsorship, encouraged a more dependent relationship betwen employees and employers, which is mostly responsible for the increase in abuse and exploitation of employees. Besides, owing to a lack of power on the side of employees, it is hard for them to gain any concessions granted by the Labour Law.

Although the existing legislation tries, on the one hand, to lessen the possibility of ill-treating the workers, the legislation tries, on the other hand, to control the collective power of the work force so as to prevent any possibility of labour disturbances through the fragmentation of workers into small units by means of sponsorship which controls the economic, social, and personal life of the workers. This system in the end, became a tool for political and economic stability in the society.

> "The underlying reason for Labour Law derives from the recognition of the basic requirement to achieve social harmony and social peace through the managing of labour dispute". (109)

From the foregoing review of the development of the labour market and the division of labour in Bahrain, one can conclude that for a better understanding it is necessary to study the content of the social, economic and political development of the area which characterise it. Thus as Hill writes:

> "There are features of the present division of labour in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf that are unique in world history. This uniqueness derives from the nature of the capital accumulation producing an expansion of labour needs in the capitalist world economy, and the sources of this labour used to fill the new labour positions." (110)

Moreover, the examination of the changes in the specific work patterns accompanying the historical transformation from the pearling to the modern economy shows how these changes had an effect upon the developing the division of labour, the emergence of collective social groups and the identification of each social category with those particular occupational specialisations that will be the centre of the discussion in the coming chapters.

3.5 Notes

(1) Some sources estimate the number of divers in the whole of the Arabian Gulf employed on the banks every year to be 100,000 men. See for details: S.M.AL-Shamlan "The history of pearl diving in Kuwait and Arabian Gulf" 1975, Kuwait (In Arabic) and C.Belgrave "Persian Gulf - Past and Present", Royal Central AsianSociety Journal. 1968 Vol..55, pp.28-34.

(2) For further information in this respect see: C.D. Belgrave, 1934, op.cit., T.Comyn-Platt, "Pearls and Divers" The Contemporary Review. March 1949.pp.174-178. C.Issawi (ed) The Economic History of the Middle East 1800-1914 "The University of Chicago Press - 1966 Chicago. pp.312-316.

(3) S.K. Datta & J.B. Nugent "Bahrain Pearling Industry, How It Was, Why It Was That Way and its Implications". In J.B. Nugent and T.H.Thomas "ed" op.cit., p.36.

(4) F.I. Khuri, op.cit., p.487.

(5) H.R.P.Dickson "The Arab of the Desert" 1949. London - George Allen & Unwin Ltd. p.485.

(6) J.C. Lorimer "Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf" vol.1.Historical part 2, pp.2230-1; he said also that the time occupied by the plunge is usually from 40 to 75 seconds, but only few divers can remain below water for more than one minute.

(7) See, R.L. Bowen, "The Pearl Fisheries of the Persian Gulf" Middle East Journal. Spring 1951, vol.5. no.2. pp.161-80.

(8) Khuri, op.cit., He said also that divers had the right to select their own pullers.

(9) Aulad in Arabic means boys...the age of this group ranging between 15-25 years.

(10) Lorimer, op.cit., p.2227-8.

(11) Women form a major element also linked to the division of labour in the pearling industry era, their tasks on shore being very important..This will be dealt with in detail when we discuss the sexual division of labour in Chapter 6.

(12) C.Belgrave "Personal Column". 1972. Libairie Du Liban, Beirut p.48.

(13) M.G.Rumayhi, 1980, op.cit., p.56.

(14) Khuri, op.cit., p.57. this merchant community still exists in Bahrain and some Arab Gulf countries, and they mainly deal nowadays with gold and jewellery.

(15) M. Turzzi "ed" Sociology - The Classic Statements. 1971. Random House/New York - B. Turner "Industrialism" 1975, Longman.

(16) G.Frederick Kunz and C.H.Stevenson "The Book of the Pearl" 1908 London. Macmilln & Co. Ltd. p.91.

(17) See E.C. Hughes "Men and Their Work" 1958 - Greenwood Press, Publishers, Westport. Connecticut.pp.25-27.

(18) Ibid.

(19) See Khuri, op.cit., p.56.

(20) See for details Al-Shamlan, S.M. "Tarikh al-ghaws ala al-lu lu Fi al-kuwait wa-al-Khalij al-Arabi. (The history of pearl diving in Kuwait and Arabian Gulf) 1975-76. Kuwait. Two Vol.

(21) M.G. Rumayhi, 1980, op.cit., p.56.

(22) Khuri, op.cit., p.58.

(23) Ibid, p.60.

(24) Harrison "The Arab at home" New York, 1924, p.80.

(25) United Nations "Slavery" New York,1984,p.4. According to the slavery convention of 1926 the definition of slavery which was accepted by the U.N. was "Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all right of ownership are exercised".

(26) A.G. Hopkins, "An economic history of West Africa" 1955 Longman London, p.23.

(27) Letter form Lock to the Political Resident - Bushire,19.12.35. I.O.R. R/15/1/226. See also In J. Secombe "Labour Migration to the Arabian Gulf: Evolution and Characteristics 1920-1950." A Paper presented at the BRISMES conference, University of Lancaster, 14th July 1982.

(28) Government of Bahrain 11-8-1937 F.O. 371 98464.

(29) Slavery was abolished by law in Kuwait (1947) and Qatar (1952). See also 12.5.1952 F.O. 371/98464.

(30) G.W.W. Greenidge "Slavery in the Middle East" Report by anti-slavery society (London) Middle East Affairs December 1956 pp.435-440.

(31) F.O. 371/21825, September 1937, and Biscoe, Report to the Government of India "Slavery and the Bahrain Pearling Industry"/. 18.3.30. I.O.R. R/15/3/331.

(32) The permit, called barwa was usually issued for one year only.

(33) I.J. Secombe, op.cit, p.2.

(34) Khuri op.cit pp.48-40.

(35) Government of Bahrain "Administrative Report for the Years 1926-1937. p.5.

(36) Khuri op.cit, pp.254-5. See also the same source for more details regarding the changes created by the oil industry.

(37) A. Villiers, "Some aspects of the Arab Dhow trade" The Middle East Journal Vol. 2, No.4. October 1948. p.353. He also adds that even the merchant who financed the Nukhuda was in debt to some other merchant bigger than himself.

(38) S.Y.Al-ʿIsa "The Manpower Problem in Kuwait" 1981 Kegan Paul International - London and Boston..See also S.Al-Shamlan op.cit.

(39) See J.S.Ismail "Kuwait -Social change in historical perspective" 1982. Syracuse University Press.

(40) R.Hay "The Impact of the Oil Industry on the Persian Gulf Shaykdoms" The Middle East Journal vol. 9 Autumn 1955 no.4. p. 362.

(41) Ibid, pp.146-147.

(42) See G.Ritzer, Working-conflict and change, Prentice-Hall Inc. New Jersey, 1977, Durkheim also noted three dysfunctional aspects of organic solidarity: (1) anomic, or a sense of normlessness of isolation, may increase with the division of labour; (2) There is forced division of labour, when an individual is forced to perform tasks that are not in line with his individual characteristics; (3) The division of labour may be so minute that a taskdopes not seem meaningful.

(43) E.C.Hughes op.cit., p.25. Ibn Khaldun, too (1332-1406) treated the issue of the co-operation between the individuals and communities by saying that people as individuals cannot achieve self-sufficiency; they need to specialise at certain tasks, exchange goods and create a division of labour.

(44) N. Smelser, op.cit, 1963.

(45) United Nations: Studies on selected development problems in various countries in the Middle East, 1968.

(46) R.B.Sergeant "Fisher-Folk and Fish-Traps in AL-Bahrain", In Bulletin of the school of oriental and African studies.13,486-514 1968 p.487.

(47) Ibid.

(48) See D. Lockwood "The Blackcoated worker - a study in class consciousness" 1958, London, Allen and Unwin, p.205

(49) The policy of the oil company, as a major employer, tended to discourage unionisation. In 1952 the local representative of the company reported that "Labour unions in Britain and United States are a source of anxiety and continuous disturbance", and he did not believe that "the establishment of labour unions in Bahrain will be of any benefit." Sawt al-Bahrain, Jumadi 11, 1371, p.9.

(50) Letter from the political agent to the political resident. No. c/7 85-16-5, 13th December, 1938. See for details M.G. L-Rumaji, 1976, op.cit, pp. 196-203.

(51) W.A. Beling, "Pan-Arabism and Labour" 1961 Harvard University press. p.7.

(52) F.O. 371/74942.

(53) A.Al-Bakir, From Bahrain to exile: St. Helena, 1965, Beirut. p.487. (In Arabic) In that union only Bahraiani subjects were eligible

(54) E.Hill, Modernization of labour in the Arab Gulf, 1979, (Cairo papers in Social Sciences, Vol.2, Monograph).

(55) The Bahrain Petroleum Company Limited (Bapco) was formed by the Standard Oil Company of California (SOCAL) in 1929,,..on June 1936, California Texas Oil Company Limited (CALTEX) came into being with the Bahrain Petroleum Company as the principal operating company of the Caltex Group. Bapco is now a wholly owned subsidiary of Caltex Petroleum corporation.

(56) See I.J. Secomb, op.cit. p.5. and R.Hay op.cit. p.362.

(57) Government of Bahrain - administrative report. op.cit. p.54.

(58) Government of Bahrain - Administration Report of 1949, p.5. they were mainly working in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

(59) M. Hechter, "Towards a theory of ethnic change", in Politics and Society, Fall 1971, pp.21-45.

(60) See J. Belgrave 1960 op.cit. p.60.
He also adds that at that time there were about 1,000 Britishers, Americans and other Europeans employed by the company. At that time the oil company in Saudi Arabia (Aramco) employed 20,000, two-thirds of whom are Saudis; the Kuwait oil company about 8.000, 5,000 of them Arabs. See G, Baer Labour in the Arab East. Middle Easterm Affairs. June- July 1960. pp.179-188.

(61) See M.G.AL-Rumayḥī "Oil and Social Change in Arabian Gulf" 1975 Dar AL Shab - Cairo. (In Arabic) pp.43-47., who argues that in 1970 Bapco employed 4131 Bahrainis, 3930 of them were in grades lower than seventh grade with monthly salaries of B.D.100 only. See also E. Hill op.cit.

(62) Bapco - unpublished Memorandum No. 942, dated June 19th 1951. See also for very useful details, F.I.Qubain "The Impct of the Petroleum Industry on Iraq and Bahrain Ph.D. Thesis - University of Wisconsin, 1956.

(63) Rumayḥī, 1976, op.cit. p.86. These employees were mainly Bahrainis or Iranians who entered the country illegally, and they were unable to refuse to accept any level of wage.

(64) K.S.Sāyigh "Oil and Arab Regional Development" 1968 Greenwood Press - Westport - Connecticut U.S. pp.83-83. At a later time, the Arab league recommended the new oil concessions should require the oil companies to give employment preferences first to local nationals and then to citizens of friendly Arab countries.

(65) G. Balander, "The Sociology of Black Africa", London, Andre Deutsch, 1970.

(66) P.M. Blau and M. Meyer "Bureaucracy in modern society (2nd ed. New York) Random, House, 1971, pp.18-21. See also J.S.Ismael "Bureaucratisation and professionalisation: the division of labour and occupational organisation, In Journal of Social Sciences. vol. vi no.4. January 1979, pp.210-228. Weber defined bureaucracy as an administrative system operated by official administrators who have great technical abilities and who behave rationally.

(67) Max Weber, 1968, op.cit. p.964; see also M. Weber "The presupposition and causes of bureaucracy". In R.K. Merton and others. "Reader in Bureaucracy" the Free Press, Glencoe Illinois 1960.

(68) Government of Bahrain "Annual Report for year 1956" pp.47-52.

(69) Government of Bahrain "Annual report for the year 1953". pp.41 -44.

(70) F.Khuri op.cit. p.118.

(71) See Ibid p.245 for further information regarding structure of bureaucracy in Bahrain.

(72) See I.M. AL-Awaji Bureaucracy and Society in Saudi Arabia. 1971 Ph.D. Thesis University of Virginia pp.222-5.

(73) M.T.Sadiq and W.P.Snavely, 1972,op.cit., p.154.

(74) See State of Bahrain, op.cit..pp.86-113.

(75) A.Plascov "Security in the Persian Gulf" vol. 3.Modernisation, Political development and stability. The International Insitute for Strategic Studies, 1982, by Gower.

(76) E.Hill op.cit. 1979 pp.10-11.

(77) See United Naitons "International Migration Trends 1950-1970. In papers of the world population conference. Bucharest,1974, vol. 1 pp.237-248.

(78) I.O.R. /R/15/2/1717. I.J. Secombe (1982) disagrees with these views. He argues tht Bapco imported foreign labour before the 1938 strike. He added that the number of Indian nationals registered in Bahrain had grown from 450 in 1930 to 1550 in 1938.

(79) Nakhleh, op.cit. p.77.

(80) See A. Izz al-Din Kuwaiti workers from pearling to oil p.9.

(81) Qubain 1956, op.cit., p.329.

(82) State of Bahrain"The population of Bahrain - trends and prospects Janury 1979. p.32.

(83) That was due to the acceptance of citizenship by large numbers of Iranians living in Bahrain.

(84) State of Bahrain, 1979, op.cit., p.33.

(85) A.G.Hill "The Gulf States - Petroleum and Population Growth", In J.I.Clarke and W.B. Fisher (ed) Population of the Middle East and North Africa - a geogrphical approach, 1972 University of London Press. p.258.

(86) I.O.R. R/15/2/1565.

(87) N.A. Khuouri "The Politics of Intra-Regional Migration in the Arab World", In Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies. vol VI, no. 2., Winter 1982, pp.3-4.

(88) Middle East Economic Survey 19/10/1981.

(89) D.G. Edens (ed) Oil and Development in the Middle East, 1979, Praeger Publishers - Praeger spepcial studies - London. New York, see also T.M. Rybczynski (ed) The economics of the of the oil crisis 1975, The Macmillan Press Ltd.,London and N. Fallon "Middle East Oil Money and Its Future expanditure" 1975, Graham and Trotman Ltd.

(90) See A. ʿAbd al Latīf "Public Finance in Bahrain from 1935 to 1981 - with special emphasis on the allocation of oil revenues in the Past, Present and Future", In J.B. Nugent and T.H. Thomas (ed) op.cit., pp.96-106; and A.K.al-Kawwari, op.cit.

(91) Economic Commission for Western Asia "Socio-Economic Characteristics of International Migration in the Gulf States" Paper presented to E.C.W.A. population conference, Nicosia,1981.

(92) According to government sources - Bahrain Census of population and housing - 1981, the number of immigrant workers amounted to 81,000 which does not indeed represent the actual situation.

(93) J.S.Birks and C.A. Sinclair,"The socio-economic determinants of Intra-Regional Migration" In Seminar on Population, Employment and Migration in the Arab Gulf States - Kuwait 1978.p.738.

(94) Idem "International Migration in the Middle East, with special reference to the four Arab Gulf States of Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the U.A.E", In The Arabian Gulf. University of Basrah, vol. II, no.2. 1979, pp.9-34.

(95) There is, however, a view among the Arab Gulf States that Arab immigrants might have a tendency to settle down and merge with the Gulf societies and involve these societies, despite themselves, in the vicious circle of Arab social and political disputes. See for more information, A.Nasef "Major issues in receiving countries". In Seminar on Population, Employment and Migration,op.cit., pp.361-397, and M.G. Rumayhi "A Nationl Gulf View on the Social and Political Implications of Migrant Labour", The Arab Future Beirut, no.23.January 1981, pp.68-79 (In Arabic)

(96) A Nassef, op.cit., p.372.

(97) Ibid p.371. See also J.S. Birks and C.A.Sinclair "International Migration and Development in the Arab Region" 1980 International labour office, Geneva.

(98) Birks and Sinclair, (1980), op.cit., p.109.

(99) L.Seragaldin and et al, Manpower and International Labour Migration in the Middle East and North Africa, 1983,Oxford University Press, p.50.

(100 Some people allege that these workers are a part of the United State forces who came to the area under work contracts.

(101 See F.Halliday "Migration and Labour Force in the Oil Producing States of the Middle East, "In Development and Change, Vol.8, July 3,1977, pp.263-291.

(102 See A.F.Nassef, op.cit., p.373, and R.P.Shaw "Mobilising human resources in the Arab World" 1983, Kegan Paul International, London, p.31.

(103 State of Bahrain - Population Census for the years 1971-81.

(104 Ibid.

(105 Civil Service Bureau - State of Bahrain "1983 Anual Report".

(106 W. Clatanoff, "Work and productivity" unpublished study - Ministry of labour and social affairs, 1980.

(107 Ibid.

(108 W.N.Wamaliva "The role of the Public Sector as an Employer", in E.O. Edwards (ed) Employment in developing nations, 1974. Colombia University Press, New York and London, p.356.

(109 Hill, 1979, op.cit., p. 70.

(110 E.Hill, 1983, op.cit., p.128.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN THE BAHRAIN LABOUR MARKET

4.1 Introduction:

As we have seen Bahrain and other Gulf States were - and still are - a pole of attraction for migrant workers from all over the world, and particularly from the Indian sub-continent and South-East Asian countries, as well as some Arab States. Accurate statistics of the number of immigrant workers in the area are difficult to obtain, but some sources estimate the number between three to five and a half million workers. (1)

In the last few years a considerable amount of work has been carried out in examination of flows of immigrant labour to the oil exporting countries in the Middle East. This has concentrated mainly on studying economic issues relating to this movement such as examining the volume and pattern of immigration; analysing the factor underlying this transfer of labour; studying the aspects of the impact of labour exporting and importing countries; and the projection for supply and demand of labour in the receiving countries. (2) Despite the importance of these issues in studying the new human movement, it is surprising that so few studies have been directed towards the sociological factors associated with it, such as the forms of international exploitation of labour in both sending and receiving labour countries, the working and living conditions of the immigrant workers, the social life of the immigrant communities, and the status of immigrant groups within the host country's social structure..

> "Any attempt to study working and living conditions of foreign workers in the Arab Gulf States would be considered an important contribution due to the lack of literature in this respect". (3)

An alternative approach which will be adopted here is to view the structure of opportunities available to immigrants, and to look at jobs, income, housing, even social contacts, and social organization in the host country in order to gain insight into the general social interaction between the two groups, immigrants and natives, and to understand the factors determining the position of the immigrant workers in the cultural division of labour.

The oil boom in the middle Seventies created an unprecedented demand for all types of skills. The services of highly sophisticated professionals were sought from the more advanced countries like the United States, Britain, France etc., while recruiting for semi- and non-skilled jobs in the developing countries like India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Philippines etc. Our concern will be with the second category since immigrants in the first category came through arrangements made at a high level, mainly between governments, and their duties and rights are clear and well defined.

The most important aspect to emerge in the labour market throughout the whole region was the segmentation of the labour market to primary and secondary sectors, and the emergence of a quite large "secondary market mainly for immigrant workers". (4)

> "The former (primary sector) offer jobs with relatively high wages, good working conditions, chances of advancement, equity and due process in the adminstration of work rules, above all, employment stability. Jobs in the secondary sector, by contrast, tend to be low paying, with poorer working conditions and little chance of advancement, to have a highly personalized relationship

> between workers and supervisors which leaves wide latitude for favouritism and is conducive to harsh and capricious work discipline; and to be characterized by considerable instability in jobs and a high turnover among the labour force." (5)

Considering the case of the Arab Gulf region, the primary labour market corresponds roughly to employment in the government sector, banking and insurance industry, while the secondary labour market represents employment in less attractive jobs in construction, industry, and private sectors. In the latter, where the entry conditions are less stringent and wage levels are very low; also what determines the distribution of the employees in that segmented labour market is in part related to the socio-cultural chracteristics of the employees and reflects the relative claims for power of the two groups.

The racial divisions of the labour market seem here to reflect employers' beliefs that Asian immigrants in particular (the secondary work force) should be confined to undesirable jobs because of their capabilities to do hard work and their tendency to exert a downward pressure on wage and job conditions.

4.2 Characteristics of Immigrant Workers:

4.2.1 Sex and marital status and age:

The majority of immigrant workers coming to Bahrain are young males. Female immigrants mostly come as domestic servants or are engaged in personal services.

According to the 1981 population census, there were three times as many exaptriate men as women out of the total immigrant community in Bahrain which was 112,378 in 1981: only 27,509 were females and 84,869 were male (6).

The domination of males in the migration movement may be due to a number of reasons, among them the restrictions imposed by the receiving countries upon migrants so that they might not bring their families, the lack of suitable educational and housing facilities, and the intention of the immigrant to save as much of his income as possible since the jobs are regarded as purely temporary.

Regarding marital status, immigrant males are more likely to be married than Bahraini males, although many marry at home and do not bring their wives. Immigrant females are more likely to be married, since relatively few foreign women come to Bahrain alone to work. (7)

Naturally, the majority of immigrants are of working age. About 81 per cent of the immigrants were between the ages of 20 - 39. (8) The median age of the foreign population in 1981 was 28 years compared to 17 for the Bahraini population.

4.2.2 Education and Skill Level

The educational and hence the skill levels of the majority of workers coming to the country for work seem to have been rather low. "Illiterates constituted about half the total of migrants to Gulf states in 1975; people with high school and higher education formed 15 per cent of this total" (9)

Because many of the immigrants come from a landless and impoverished rural background, the labour market has a preponderance of those with

low educational and skill levels. Although a large proportion of non-Bahrainis are unskilled, another group in the foreign population is filling a need for more highly skilled workers in the Bahraini economy. While non-Bahrainis constituted 27 per cent of the population aged 20 and over in 1971, they constituted 67 per cent of those with educational attainment beyond the secondary level. In 1981, with 45 per cent of the population over the age of 20 years, they constituted 60 per cent of those with more than secondary education. (See table No4.1)

Table No.4.1 Immigrant population, 10 years old and over by educational level

Educational level	Females	Males	Total
Illiterate	3,336	16,742	20,078
Read and Write	4,526	21,607	26,133
Primary	2,098	9,619	11,717
Intermediate	1,951	7,726	9,677
Secondary	4,344	12,222	17,066
Over	4,342	14,555	14,555

Source: Central Statistics Organization - Statistical Abstract/1983.

4.2.3 Motives for immigration and length of residence:

Factors favouring migration to Bahrain have been enhanced by recent economic development and social and economic values associated with it. According to official statistics reported in the 1981 census the major reasons for foreign workers residing in Bahrain were as follows: work, 72 per cent; accompanying workers, 20 per cent, being a spouse of a Bahraini national, 1 per cent; and education 5 per cent. (10)

The period of residence is governed by many factors. Some are connected with the immigrant himself, others are related to the employer or work contract, and some are related to the laws and regulations concerned with the residence in the host country.

Most short-term and longer term foreign residents of Bahrain are non-Arab. Most of these non-Arabs are Asians, although some are Europeans. Thus the long- standing foreign population of Bahrain is largely of Asian, rather than Arab origin. (11)

However, the Arab immigrant has a longer average length of stay (median = 5 years) than does the Asian immigrant (median = 2.3 years) or the European immigrants (median = 2 years). (See table 4.2)

Table No.4.2 Distribution of Non-Bahraini Population by Duration of Residence in Bahrain: 1981

	Duration of Residence							
Nationality	Less than One Year	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+	Not Stated	Total
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Total	14653	36189	26904	12858	5393	16127	254	112378
Arab	1478	3395	2242	1593	1010	4453	128	14299
Non-Arab	13109	32689	24571	11193	4333	11048	87	97030
European	1749	3103	1994	944	366	653	4	8813
Asian	11035	28920	22297	10157	3901	10317	82	86709
African	41	94	43	19	9	30	-	236
American	237	462	185	53	51	40	1	1029
Australian	47	110	52	20	6	8	-	243
Nationality Unknown	66	105	91	72	50	626	39	1049

= Quoted from : Directorate of Statistics - Bahrain Census of Population and Housing - 1981 - Trends and Prospects. 1983, p. 41.

4.3 **Method:**

As some sociologists have argued, the traditional research techniques of the social sciences cannot be used with much success in the study of immigrant social patterns. (12) Apart from information of a general nature about immigrant population, most data on immigration is either limited or confidential.

In collecting qualitative material, different kinds of work were undertaken; the first, largest, single source of data was unstructured interviewing with a purposive sample of 83 immigrant workers. (13) Another method employed was a open ended questionnaire circulated among a sample of the native population to which 102 responses have been received. In addition, there was a series of interviews including officials in the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, and other local government and private sectors officials and finally materials were supplemented by documentary data together with official reports and press coverage. (See tables No. 4.3)

Table No.4.3 Characteristics of immigrant workers sample according to nationality, religion and occupation

Nationality	Indian	Pakistani	Sri-Lankan	Other Asians	Total
Number	44	26	6	7	83

Table No.4.3

Religion

Religion	Christian	Hindu	Muslim	Other	Total
Number	34	12	31	6	83

Occupation

Occupation	Construction Labourer	Carpenter	Electricians	Other	Total
Number	41	13	8	21	83

Asian immigrant workers mainly from India and Pakistan constitute the main sample in our research. In terms of status this group is the lowest, not only in the labour market, but also in the totality of social relationships which makes the study of such a group of particular attraction. Their low status is not, however, explicable in terms of their natural characteristics, but has to be examined in the context of social, cultural, economic, and moral relationships in the host society. In this study this category will be classified as one social group, although it consists of a great variety of categories on the basis of linguistic, religious, and national origins. Our rationale is based on the fact that they share common working and living conditions which support our theoretical and analytical purposes.

Most of the immigrants in the sample seem to have come from villages and small towns in agricultural areas. As stated earlier, they came

on the assumption that they could earn much more than they could at home. As F.Khafaji puts it, the unskilled peasant immigrant believes that he can earn in the Gulf more than his cabinet minister back home. (14) Without any doubt, overseas migrants have left their countries mainly because of economic factors. Some other factors, however, may contribute in encouraging such movement:

(1) The feed-back information by former successful immigrants when they return home. (2) The role of governments and official institutions in the exporting labour countries in encouraging as many people as possible to migrate in order to support the country's balance of payment through the migrant remittances. This resulted in unhealthy competition among labour supplying countries which make the exporting of labour a competitive business. The following official statements are commonly to be seen in the newspaper.

> "Bangladeshi workers are well known for their honesty, sincerity and hard working qualities." (15)

> "The labour available in India is not only the least expensive, but also available at all skilled levels." (16)

(3) The role of recruitment agencies, which most of the migrant workers rely upon to a very large extent, facilitate the movement of workers.

4.4 Recruitment in Countries of Emigration:

According to the information provided by the field work and the published information of the exporting labour countries, labour export nomrally takes place through the following agencies:

4.4.1 Recruitment through government:

In this area, importing labour countries directly approach the governments of exporting labour countries to provide the requisite

number of employees, usually highly qualified or skilled workers. The request specifies the general terms and conditions of employment and the qualifications and experience required to match the jobs. The ratio of immigrants coming through this channel is small.

4.4.2 Individual or direct recruitment:

Some individuals receive work permits or visas through their relatives or friends already working in the area. This type of recruitment is popular among Indian sub-continent immigrants, especially from Bangladesh. (17) In the present sample about 35 per cent came through this channel.

4.4.3. Private Sector Recruitment:

Private recruiting agencies are the most popular and important organization in the new international migration to the Middle East. (18) These agencies account for a very large proportion of migrants recruited in the region. The number of these licensed agencies has risen significantly over the years and remains high in many countries. These agencies numbered 2748 in only four Asian countries in the early 1980s (see table No. 4.4). Almost 61 per cent in the sample were recruited through these private agencies.

Immediately after the 1973 boom in the Middle East, the work of these agencies became big business which created problems of exploitation of immigrant workers by the unscrupulous agents in the business. (19)

In particular, serious complaints were made by migrant workers against the alleged machinations of certain overseas recruitment agencies of which the most prevalent is the practice, which amounts to extortion, by which a migrant worker pays either a fee or recruitment premium for

the right to emigrate for employment. This payment is reliably reported by migrants to range between the overseas currency equivalent of £500 to £1,000, and furthermore, this sum, as some immigrants reported, has to be borrowed or provided by a worker selling his house and the rest of his property.

They sometimes promise people lucrative jobs with very high wages and good living conditions, and after collecting a huge sum from them, they disappear from the scene, or the jobs they promise may not exist. (20) One immigrant leader in Bahrain sums up the situation in the following way:

> "With a view to enhancing their income, and ridding themselves of poverty, as quickly as possible, immigrants made efforts to find foreign employment by fair means or foul. At times, they fall easy prey to the trade in social slavery. No-one is to blame other than the immigrant himself and his fellow countryman." (21)

Table No.4.4 Private Recruitment Agencies in Four Asian Countries

Country	Number of R.A.
India	900
Pakistan	323
Sri Lanka	544
Philippine	981*
Total	2748

Source M.1.Abella"Overseas employment administration: A Review of Policies and Procedures". Paper presented to Symposium on Overseas Employment Administration. Pattaya-Thailand, May 1984.
* From Government of Pakistan. Background Information Paper, presented to Tripartite Inter-Regional Round Table on International Migration, Bangkok, Thailand, September 1984.

The victim of these agencies is not only the poor immigrant. Thousands of Arab employers are being exploited by unscrupulous agencies, either by charging them huge sums of money as "brokerage" or by the placement of applicants for employment whose skill and experience or qualifications fail to match the job requirements as specified by the prospective employer concerned. (22) The workers will suffer because they have been tricked into a situation which is beyond their capabilities.

Complaints of such recruitment agencies, extortion of money and other irregularities have been raised by immigrant workers. As some said,

> "The role of the agency must not end when the immigrant reaches the country of employment. There should be a sense of following up and checking the working and living conditions of the immigrants".

4.5 Living Conditions in the Host Country

The housing situation in Bahrain is a serious one. Not only is there an absolute shortage of housing, but a large part of the housing stock is not suitable for living in.

The main objective of this section and the one following is to assess the living and working conditions of the imimigrant Asian workers in Bahrain .

While studying the problems of immigrant housing conditions, two issues have to be mentioned, first the immigrant population is forbidden by law from owning or trading in real estate, only Bahrainis or citizens of G.C.C., are so permitted, and secondly, a clear distinction has to be drawn between high-level expatriate workers from

the United States and Europe who often live in considerable luxury, in "villas" or flats provided by the employers, while on the other hand their unskilled counterparts live in old houses in groups or in camps.

The large influx of immigrant workers and foreign businessmen, combined with Bahrain's rapid growth, has added to an already acute housing shortage and accommodation problems for all income groups which in turn has led to high property prices. (23)

Many Bahrainis were already living in grossly overcrowded conditions by modern standards. The 1981 housing and population census showed the population per household was 6.1 and the ratio of housing units to households was 1.1. (24) The majority of the population live in urban settlements, principally Manama and Muharraq. (see table 4.5). The urban features of these settlements are in many ways typical of the Gulf region. They are both coastal cities, and apart from a central shopping and commercial area, houses in the central area are quite densely packed, with only narrow streets for access. In the more suburban areas, newer housing developments have taken place at much lower densities.

Accommodation is a widespread problem that the immigrant workers have to face on arrival. They are to be found in crowded accommodation, with very poor living conditions. This is both because their main objective was to save money to send home, and because the employers intention was to pay as little as possible to provide and improve the accommodation situation of his workers. Another important point is

that the hostility to immigrants had its focus on housing. The findings of the housing situation inquiry is that there are strong protests from the local population against the settlement of immigrants in the town. Among 102 Bahrainis answering a specific questionnaire, more than 47 per cent suggested that immigrant workers should not be accommodated in the residential areas, and that they should have their own camps outside the major cities. About 22 per cent suggested imposing tight control by the authority and the police over the areas where immigrants are concentrated.

Table 4.5 Growth of Housing and Population per Housing Unit: 1971-1981

	Number of Housing Units		Population per Housing Units	
Area	1971	1981	1971	1981
Total	31045	52810	7.0	6.6
Urban	25841	43848	6.5	6.4
Hidd	803	1019	6.6	7.0
Muharraq	5670	8705	6.6	6.6
Manama	13965	20109	6.3	5.7
Jidhafs	1253	2526	8.9	8.2
Northern Region	-	1580	-	7.8
Sitra	815	988	8.2	9.7
Central Region	-	1413	-	7.2
Isa Town	1260	3403	5.9	6.2
Riffa	2075	3482	5.6	6.4
Western Region	-	623	-	10.2
Rural	5203	8962	9.1	7.5

Sources:

Ministry of Finance and National Economy, Statistics of the Population Census/1971.

Directorate of Statistics, Bahrain Census of Population and Housing/1981.

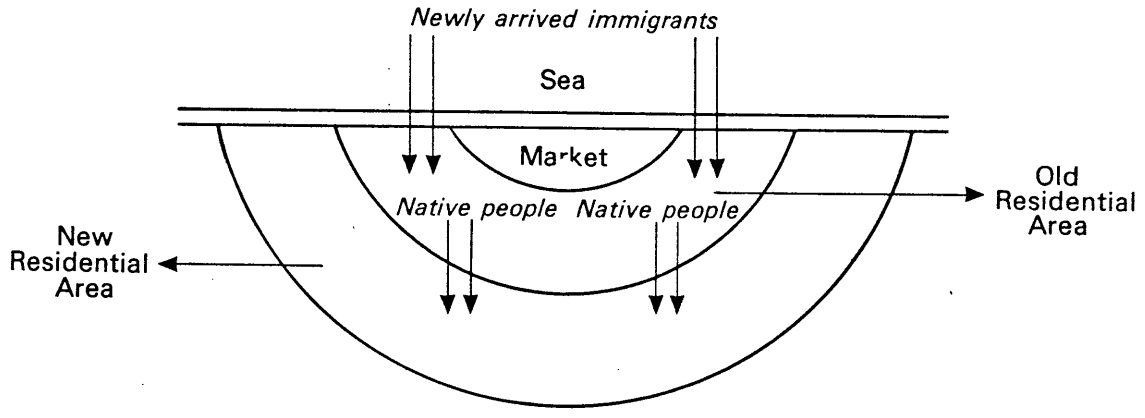
Immigrants, particularly Asian, have been also accused of making the housing situation worse for the areas in which they have settled and of causing an increase in disturbances and in the crime rate. (25)

The cities and principal villages nowadays consist of a heterogeneous mix of people frequently living in separate quarters from one another. Immigrants may be found living in nearly every part of the towns and villages. The interesting social aspect , however, is that there are no areas occupied by particular communities such as the Indian or Pakistani community etc. Immigrants representing all nationalities are usually to be found in the same neighbourhood although not living together in the same houses or camps.

Since 1975, there has been a withdrawal of the host community from the older sections of the town to newly built suburbs in the country leaving the urban areas to become centres of immigrant concentration (see figure No. 6) which has resulted in these placeslosing much of their traditional and national identity. As a Bahrainai commented:

Figure No. 6

Movement of Population within the Residential areas



> "The most serious aspects are that the old quarters in Manama and Muharraq have been shifted to' Malabar'.* The traditional dress has disappeared and been replaced by wide trousers and shirts. You can hear only Indian songs and come across the shops selling their food and magazines." (26)

* An area in India.

4.5.1 Housing Conditions

Before looking at the information provided by the field work on the quality of housing occupied by Asian immigrants, it is worth distinguishing between two types of accommodation: that in the camps, and in private collective accommodation inside the towns. (27)

(1) Regarding the first type, six of these camps provided by employers, all based in the industrial area in Sitra were visited. They were all more or less the same. The population of each camp varied from 50 to 300 workers. They consisted of two to five or sometimes more buildings built of cement blocks or wood surrounded by a wire fence. Each building contained a number of rooms. The rooms are filled by beds, between five to ten in each. Attached to the building, there are toilets, the number depending on the number of the people living in the camp. There is one large community kitchen used also as a dining-room. (See figure No. 7)

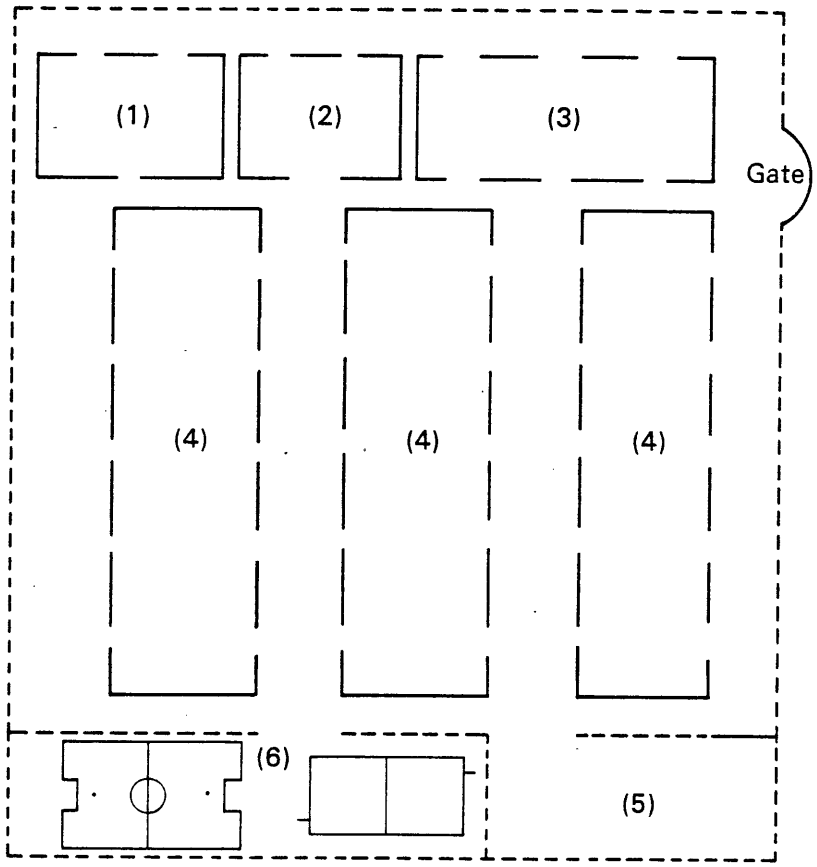
The workers' chief complaint was of little or no water supply, and no power, and appalling living conditions.

> "There is no running water, no electricity, poor and inadequate toilet facilities, and we are forced to sleep in tiny unventilated rooms."(28)

Most camps are equipped with almost the same poor furniture, which includes a few poor quality tables, chairs, cooking utensils and a few wooden lockers. There is no common room, T.V. or other entertainment

Figure No. 7

Plan of camp used to accommodate immigrant workers



(1) Kitchen
(2) Storage
(3) Toilets
(4) Rooms
(5) Open Storage
(6) Playing Place

facilities. As a rule, employers house their workers as cheaply as possible. (29) As one employee complained:

> "I share the room with nine other colleagues, with only one air conditioner between us, and we have lived like this for two years." (30)

The majority of the camps which have been visited do not conform to the health and building regulations, and also have not met the minimum standards of the immigrant workers' accommodation order issued by the Ministry of Health. This lays down that all accommodation must conform to the health standards and stipulates 40 square feet of living space for each person, with no more than eight to a room which must have air conditioning. (See Appendix no.I). For a long time, these camps were not subject to any government or municipal control:

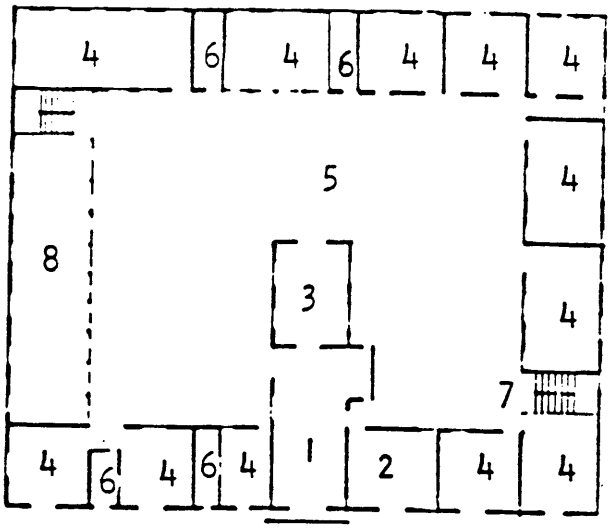
> "Labour authorities denounce the practice (accommodation practice) but still it continues...Edicts backed by the force of law lay down minimum standards of accommodation, yet we know of dozens of location where such rules are openly flouted.", (31)

(2) The second type of accommodation is the privately rented accommodation mainly arranged by a group of workers. The people living in such houses are in no better conditions than those living in the camps.

Due to the traditional style of these houses, each having a large number of big rooms with a large space in the middle of the house, (see figure No. 8) in a great many cases such houses accommodate between 30 to 150 persons.

Figure No. 8

Plan of Old House



(1) Entrance
(2) Majlis
(3) Kitchen
(4) Rooms
(5) Hoosh (courtyard)
(6) Hammam (W.C.)
(7) Stair
(8) Wall

The typical situation is that several single immigrants rent the house directly from the owners, who fix the rent according to the number of rooms in the house. The rent ranges mainly between B.D. 100-500 a month.

In order to afford the rent, the immigrants crowd together in the house, in which they sleep, cook and eat, and spend their free time. One or two members of the group are made responsible for collecting rent, and dealing directly with the domestic affairs.

Furniture in privately rented houses is similar to that in the camps and is frequently very meagre. Walls are decorated with two types of pictures and posters of Indian and Pakistani singers or actors, and some verses of the Koran. . In addition there are large numbers of pegs or hooks screwed into the walls on which to hang their clothes. In some houses there is a T.V. and even a video, owned collectively by the residents, and they stated that they needed the video in order to see the movies from their home countries.

In one case, 20 persons were staying in one large room with neither an air conditioner nor a fan. They sleep on the floor using bedsheets.

The standard rent which the immigrant pays for his accommodation varied from 10 to 20 per cent of the immigrants' monthly income. (32). Due to the poor living conditions in both types of accommodation, serious illness and disease existed among the immigrants and officials of the Ministries of Labour and Health, and some immigrant workers recognized this fact. (See Appendix No. II)(34)

> "The packing of expatriate workers in a very unhealthy manner in small or large houses, or camps, by some local contractors is a practice which is opposed to the simple health requirements and humanitarian considerations. In this manner, these workers may become a hazard to themselves and to the rest of society." (35)

All those questioned in the sample were asked about the degree of satisfaction with the accommodation. The majority, about 63% per cent, said that they were very dissatisfied; some adding extremely so. Despite the poor quality of accommodation, a small proportion of immigrants reported that they were either satisfied or managing all right with the accommodation. A high degree of dissatisfaction was more frequently expressed by immigrants living in accommodation provided by the employers, and there were clear differences in the attitudes towards accommodation according to the nationality of the immigrants.

In the light of the foregoing, it appears that as immigrants came to do the unpleasant jobs which the natives did not want to do, they also occupy the houses which the natives do not want to live in. So the housing situation of immigrants is one of the most striking features of their social position in society. (36) The housing situation of immigrants reflects the class and social standing of the immigrants in society. (37)

It is also important to recognize the fact that the length of stay has a major effect on the housing situation. Foreign workers have a feeling that they are only in a transient and unsettled status in the host country and immediate living conditions are thought of as temporary. Without any doubt, this feeling has had a negative effect

on the quality of their housing; they have been willing to accept any form of accommodation.

4.6 Social Life of the Immigrants

"Immigrant groups, in greater or in less degree, want to preserve their identity". (38) This they do by forming their own social associations, and by establishing places of worship, schools and recreation facilities. They also try to build their own communities with only limited reference to the host community. Therefore it is important to discover what kind of institutions and associations immigrants have formed in order to obtain some sort of social and cultural bearings in the new situation, and what relationships exist between their community structure as a whole and the host community. It is true that the immigrant communities have successfully created an infrastructure of communal life. (39) Apart from their success in establishing their schools, clubs and religious institutions in the country, some street corners, markets, cafés, cinemas and parks are becoming centres of their social life. Thus as a Bahraini put it:

"The cinema for them has become a meeting place. (40)

4.6.1 Immigrant clubs and societies:

Immigrant clubs and societies play a significant role as a horizontal type of association in the community. Foreign clubs were established in the first half of this century when Indians and Britishers formed the Bahrain Sports Club in 1918, followed in 1939 by the founding of a British Club by Bapco employees, and in 1947 by the Pakistan Club set up by the Pakistani community in Bahrain.

Today, there are about fifty eight foreign clubs and societies (41) providing an anchorage for the different nationalities living and working in the island. They are ethnically divided according to nationality or even religious origin, and each club or society officially operates independently of the other.

In Bahrain it is true to say that those coming from India are the most active in organizing their social life. Up to the end of 1984, Indians had 22 clubs and societies, or more than one third of the total of the foreign clubs and societies in Bahrain, the majority of which were licensed during the 1970s and the 1980s. (See Appendix No. III) The types and status of these clubs and societies vary from one to another. Among them are sport clubs such as the Bahrain Sport Club and the Karnatuka Sport Club; art societies such as the Indian Fine Art Society, the Bahrain Kerala Arts and the Konkan Singers; religious societies such as the Kerala Catholic Association, the Kerala Muslim Samaath, the Bahraini Malayalee Christian Congregation, and the Sikh Temple; and ethnic societies like, Bahrain Keraleyes Samajam, the Bohra Association, the Bahrain Kannada Sangha; and Ladies' Societies, for instance the Indian Ladies Association. Of the other 36 clubs and socieites, only one is a Pakistani Club, which, in 1985, claimed a formal membership of about 800 members. (42) Others are classified as multi-national clubs and represent most of the nationalities in Bahrain..

All these clubs and societies have one thing in common. According to their constitutions, the main objective is not to be involved in any kind of political activites, but to concentrate only on arranging

social and sporting activities and providing opportunities for members to get together. This explains why these clubs or societies whose membership is predominantly dawn from the workers have taken no action against the bad working and living conditions of their members.

> "If a member faces a work related problem, we advise him to see the officials in the Ministry of Labour. If it is an administrative problem, we best recommend him to see the Embassy...The Club has no authority or power to interfere in such affairs." (43)

Although there is nothing in the rules to prevent Bahrainis from being members of foreign clubs and societies, only a small proportion join and this is concentrated in particular clubs. The Pakistan Club claimed that they have between 10-20 Bahraini members and the Bahrain Sport Club is said to have about 40 Bahrainis out of a total club membership of 1,000. (44) Apart from that none of the other societies or clubs seems to have a ratio of Bahraini members which might be well understood by the latters' attitudes of superiority towards such institutions; for a Bahraini, being a member in such an exclusive immigrant's organization is likely to be rather demeaning.

In relation to the total number of immigrants settling in Bahrain, it seems that the membership of these associations is rather small. Just over 15 per cent of the sample are reported to belong to one of the associations, and they are Indian dominated. Pakistanis are less likely to belong to any association. Questions were asked about the reasons for this and the responses given referred to a lack of time and transport. (45)

From the foregoing review, it seems that immigrant associations played a comparatively small part in the life of the immigrant community.

These associations have neither a large nor a stable membership as the fact is that most of the immigrants are in Bahrain on a temporary basis. The conduct and activities of these associations are subjected to the strict law and regulations of the host country. What these associations have achieved is the independence and non-integration of its members within the wider society, and they reflect the identity of each race without any attempt to form a collective organization and that might be seen as the main desire of the political authority, i.e. to keep the alien group as segmented as possible along religious, ethnic, linguistic and even sexual bases so as to prevent a development of a common response in the form of collective action.

4.6.2 Religious aspects:

Mosques and churches as religious institutions are considered as guides for immigrants of several nationalities in the life of the host community.

According to the official figures, Muslims represent the highest immigrant group, followed by Christian immigrants and immigrants who believe in other religions. (46) (See table No. 4.6)

Table No. 4.6 Population by Religious Affiliation (1981 Census)

Religion	Bahrainis	Non-Bahrainis	Total
Muslim	237,986	60,158	298,140
Christian	296	25,315	25,611
Other	139	26,894	27,033

Source: Central Statistics Organization Statistical Abstract/1983, P.25.

Muslim immigrants practise their religion in the same way they used to in their countries. Thus Muslim immigrants have no need to make an extra effort to comply with the religious situation with regard to the timing or places of the daily prayers. Immigrants, especially Pakistanis, living in the cities, use the mosque as a meeting place where they can exchange the latest news about their home country.

The Christian community in Bahrain is almost entirely an expatriate one. A remarkably large proportion of this community came from South India, and the majority of them are Roman Catholics.

Most of the Roman Catholic faithful are concentrated in Manama where they have a fairly large church building, and in Awali, an oil company town. · All services are held in English because that is the only language understood by the Catholic constituency as a whole. (47)

About 500 people, mainly British, actively participate in the Anglican Church. A small congregation of Indians, belonging to the Church of South India, use the Anglican Church building for services in their own language and under lay leadership. The National Evangelical Church which is located in Manana has services in six languages (Arabic, English, Korean, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu). The Arab congregation has about sixty members of whom 40 per cent are Bahraini citizens. Indian and Pakistani groups that use the same building are the Malayalam-speaking Mar Thomites and smaller groups of people holding services in Tamil, Urdu, and Telugu. (48) (See table No. 4.7)

Table No. 4.7 Christian Community in Bahrain

	No.	Per cent of total
Oriental Orthodox		5
Syrian Orthodox Church of Malabar	200	
Roman Catholic		63
Total	2,700	
Protestant and Anglican		32
National Evangelical Church	450	
Arabic 60		
English 180		
Tamil 128		
Urdu 50		
Telegu 35		
Anglican	500	
Mar Thomic	200	
Indian Brethren	100	
Awali Interdenominational (Employees of oil company in Awali)	75	
Indian Pentecostal	75	
Church of South India	75	
St. Thomas Evangelical	10	
TOTAL	c.4,300	

Source: Quoted from: N.A. Horner "Present day Christianity in the Gulf States of the Arabian Peninsla, In Occasional Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 2, April, 1978.

It is known that it is necessary for some restrictions to be imposed on the activities of churches and Christian communities, and other religious communities and that is the first reason why the Christian religious institutions only play a marginal role in the life of immigrant communities. For instance, despite the reltively large number of Hindus living in Bahrain, there is only one Hindu temple. (49)

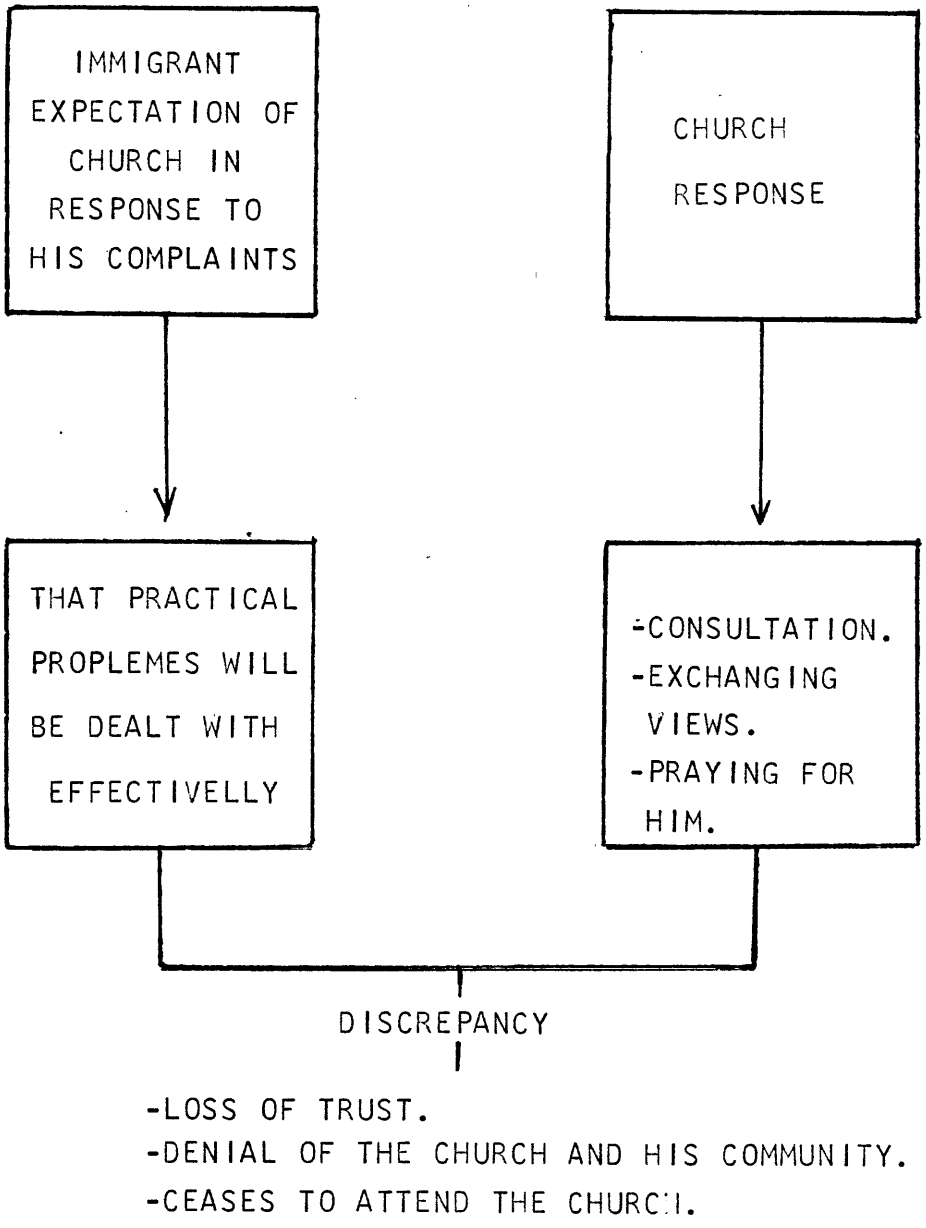
Another reason for the limited role of religious institutions is that despite some Christian immigrants bringing with them religious beliefs against the predominant belief of the host community, they seek their identification through their attachment to the church, but the majority of them showed ignorance of the existence of the church or did not participate in its affairs, and it is surprising that the attitude of expatriates towards the proper life and witness of the church is narrow.

> "Some Christian immigrants live here for two or three years, and they do not know if there are churches in the country". (50)

Two reasons may account for this, the first economic. As long as most immigrants are workers, they try to avoid any activities which might adversely affect the period of their residency, and social factors represented by the fear of negative attitudes from employers, and the host community if they became actively involved in Christian activities.

The complexity and sensitive nature of the problems facing immigrant workers in the country made the religious institution helpless in settling the immigrants'working and living related problems or showing solidarity with the workers in defence of their legitimate rights, thus failing to achieve what Breton termed "institutional completeness" - i.e. it failed to perform all services required by its members. (51) With the limited role of the churches and other religious institutions in improving the general conditions of immigrants or making their complaints publically noticed, the reactions and attitudes of the immigrants as a result became more negative towards such institutions. (see figure No. 9)

Figure No. 9 Relationship between Immigrant and his religious institution.



> "At the moment the churches are too afraid of expulsions to be focalpoints in the struggle for rights as they are in other continents. This is understandable when one remembers that the communities involved are made up of migrant workers whose chief fear is expulsion or the non-renewal of their contracts." (52)

It was agreed by three of the religious leaders interviewed that immigrant workers come to churches with three types of problems:

1) Problems related to their families in their home countries.

2) Problems related to work, relations with employers, exploitation, and non-payment of salaries.

3) Personal problems, ranging from relations with other immigrants, natives, and sexual problems:

> "when they come complaining, we keep telling them the only thing we can do is to pray for them that their problems will be solved, we cannot do more than that. (54)

The absence of an active role played by religious or community leaders is another case in point. Yet in so far as they are appointed as leaders because of their functions of being responsible for the social and religious institution they should deal with the immigrants.

The attitudinal study of the immigrant leadership was based on detailed unstructured interviews with four of them. (55) It was not possible to meet more than four because of the unwillingness of other leaders, especially among Indians such as Sikhs and Hindus, to be interviewed. In their view their main aim is to work for the welfare

of their people and provide them with social and religious services, such as giving consultation, and helping to some extent, in solving personal problems. One religious leader who has mastered Arabic in addition to English told the writer that he usually met immigrant workers in church, and some of them visited him in his home. (56)

> "We are responsible for the people who manage to reach the church and present their problems, but the sad fact is that they are only a handful, but the problems lie with the people who cannot." (57)

4.7 Interaction between the Immigrants and Host Community:

Some sociologists have stated that the interaction and assimiliation of immigrants is dependent on particular factors, among them the size of the group involved, personal and social background, on motives for emigration and expectation of the new land, the nature of the receiving society, and the legal and political status of the immigrants. (58)

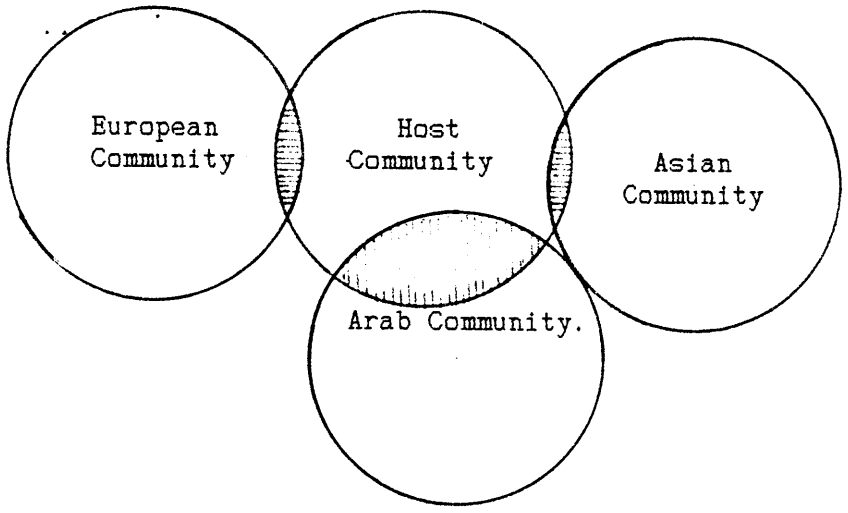
This section will examine a number of aspects which are inevitably concerned with non-work activities such as relationships between immigrant workers and the native population, the legal and social status of immigrants, and the attitude of each community towards the other. The nature of the data gathered and the situation under study has made it necessary to concentrate on difficulties of establishing social interaction, rather than on the general processes of assimilation or interaction between the two communities.

Relations between the indigenous population and immigrant communities are often marked by mutual resentment and recrimination. (59) Some have interpreted this in terms of experiences during the British

colonialist period, (60), when the immigrants, especially Westerners and Indians, were receiving higher wages, and were provided with comfortable accommodation and other facilities compared to what the locals had who were in the lowest status regarding their terms of employment and living conditions.

It seems that the degree of interaction and acceptance, however, is dependent upon the nationality and the type of job the immigrant is doing. The level of interaction between the locals and the Arab immigrant is higher even in comparison with Westerners, but the Asians are the lowest. (see figure no. IO)

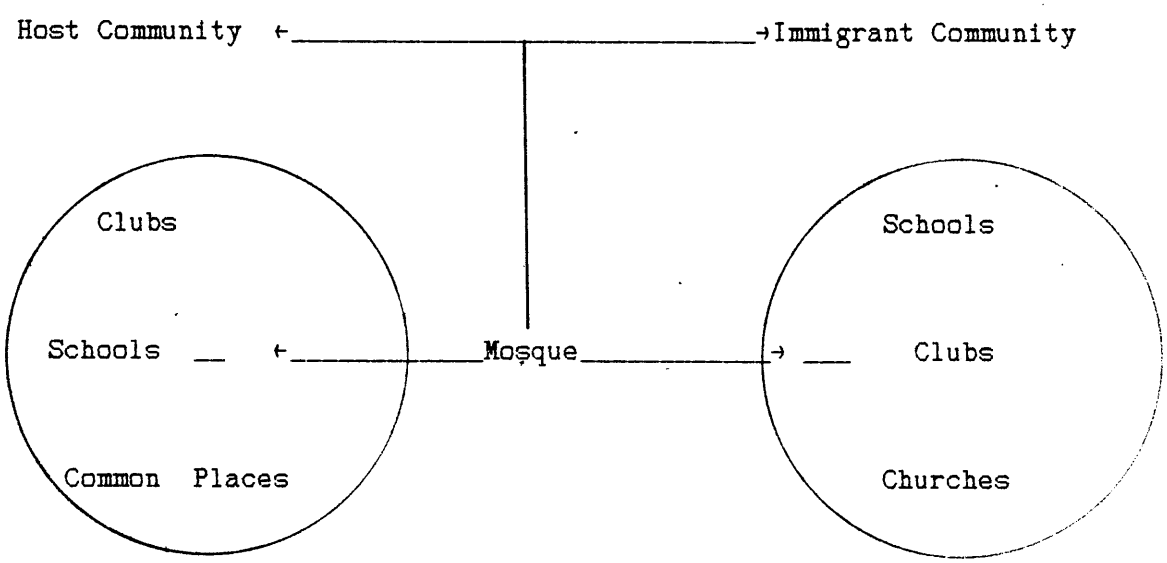
Figure No. IO Inter-ethnic social relationships and interaction.



The type of job the immigrant is doing determines the level of interaction so that the natives have little or no social contact outside normal business, with unskilled or even semi-skilled immigrants.

Moreover, the possibilities of social relations and interaction are limited by the separation of immigrants into national grouping in the living areas, the work places, and social and recreational institutions. In addition the immigrants themselves think of their residence as only temporary which discourages them from attempting to integrate in the society. (see figure no. 11)

Figure No. 11 Segregation in social life between host and immigrant communities.



> "The term "temporary" which describes them (the immigrants) is the result of reciprocal feelings between both parties - the newcomer, whose only aim is to make his fortune and return to his motherland with it, and the native resident who looks upon the former with undisguised suspicion and refuses to let him settle in his country." (61)

Other immigrants feel that they might lose their own identities and cultural values and become disorientated and insecure by integrating with a society which speaks a different language and behaves in unfamiliar ways. Thus they turn to find a sense of belonging by clinging together in national groups, described by an immigrant as;

> "the biggest and most common mistake made by the immigrants of tending to stay within his own circles, having the idea that

The nature of Bahrain society is another important factor in assessing the lack of integration and assimilation of immigrants. Bahraini society is one of the societies which has difficulties in absorbing and adopting foreigners in its structure. A clear example of this is the Persian community, which despite its long period of residency in the country -over two centuries - still speaks its own language, and maintains its traditions and customs.

The feeling among the native population that they have the money and everything it provides, whereas immigrants only came to serve them, makes them behave in a superior manner showing little respect for the immigrants who on the other hand feel they are making a positive contribution to the country in return for a trifle.

The practices and attitudes of the government in the host country are also major elements in minimising the degree of integration and interaction.

In Bahrain, as in all Arab Gulf States, immigrant workers are excluded from the social structure of the society. The immigrant has no right to obtain citizenship, (63), he cannot own real estate or open a business without a local partner, (64), and his children are excluded from state schools. (65) In this way the government is trying to avoid "the possible dangers consequent upon immigrant settlement in the country". (66)

The attitude of the authorities is best described as representing a mixed feeling towards immigrants by denying them some social right,

whilst on the other hand, praising their "great role in the industrial and economic development of the country". (67)

> "We must thank them for their great contribution towards the building up of our countries." (68)

The hostility in the national media which accuses the immigrants of responsibility for some social problems, strengthen the barriers between the two communities. (69)

Interaction and contact in the work place is no better than outside it. The immigrant labourers and locals mainly do not work in the same places, although people from both groups who work in commerce, banking, the hospitals, and government institutions have more chances for contact.

Immigrant workers were asked about the extent and types of contact they have with natives at work. Sixty five of the immigrants interviewed said they have only a very low percentage of Bahrainis working with them, while the remainder reported that they have a reasonable proportion of locals working with them. The vast majority stated that relationships and contact at work are created by the work situation and its needs, and that there is very little social contact inside the work places. They reported that they have no social relations with their employers, and some said, they have never seen them, or did not know them, and that their contacts are with their supervisors. Only a small proportion of immigrants said they get on well with their local work-mates; the others had mixed feelings about the relationship.

The general conclusion to be drawn from the above is that interaction at work has not been successfully achieved by the two groups despite the wish expressed by immigrants to be accepted by natives. The Bahrainis, by contrast, appeared to be far more cautious about their relationships with immigrants. To gain a broader view of such conduct an importance should be allocated to the social order emerging in consequence of the international migration and the economic development which resulted from the further separation of the two social groups into inferiors and superiors because of power, wealth and cultural characteristics. Such inequal status between the two groups does not allow for informal interaction outside or inside the market place.

5.7.1 Bahraini attitudes towards immigrant workers:

The purpose of this section is to analyse and examine the Bahraini attitudes and public opinions on issues related to immigrant workers and their effects on the labour market and general social life. It will reflect the result of a specific quetionnaire directed to a sample of Bahrainis, in addition to interviews with some important figures in the society. (See Appendix No I V)

The 102 Bahraini respondents included 19 women and 83 men, who are representative of all age groups and occupations. (see tables No.4.8). There was a space in each questionnaire for comments in which a number of issues were raised by the respondents, most of which referred to ways of controlling recent immigration.

Table No.4.8 Characteristics of Bahraini Sample by age, educational level and occupational status.

Age	20 or less	21 to 30	31 to 40	41 and over	Total
Number	5	56	31	10	102
		Educatonal level			
Educational level	less than secondary education	secondary & technical education	University & higher education		Total
Number	22	47	33		102
		Occupational status			
Occupational Status	Bureau crats	Private Business	Profes sional	Workers	Others	Total
Number	35	12	18	8	29	102

Since the middle of the last decade, when the absolute dependency upon immigrant workers increased, pressure from the Bahrainis has also increased to establish a clear policy to control immigrants and avoid the social and economic consequences brought by the arrival of thousands of people from different countries, cultures and religions upon the cultural identity of the area, (70), and some went so far as to describe them as the "fifth column that serves imperialist interests". (71)

> "The irony of the whole matter is that there is a duality in the feelings and the mentality of the nationals of these countries which is paradoxical. The native of the desert considers the migrant worker as an alien intruder, even though the latter may be an Arab like himself, and look upon him with hostile suspicion, bordering on xenophobia. At the same time, this native is reluctant to do the work and perform the very services for which the migrant worker was brought into his country. (72)

In answers to the questionnaire, there were those who went very far in accusing immigrants of being responsible for most of the crimes recorded there. As one stated:

> "Drug taking, murder, robbery and begging are all new types of crime which our society was not familiar with before the coming of the Asian immigrants who desecrate this pure land and spread their crime in". (73)

On the other hand, there were those who believed that immigrants are mainly peaceful and quiet and they have little initiative for crime. Some also accused the authorities and the employers of being responsible for the high rate of crime among the immigrants through their strict legislation and poor treatment of them which forced the immigrant, out of the feeling of frustration and depression, to revolt against the rule and society, or even to turn to the easiest way out by committing suicide. (74) A local newspaper in the Gulf reported cases of suicide attempts by immigrants for reasons mainly related to working or living conditions. Recent studies by Stack (1980-1981) suggest that migration is a stressful life event, and that countries that experience increased level of international migration tend to have higher rates of suicide mortality. (75)

The major criticism directed by the sample to the immigrants was that they are responsible for the rising crime rate in the country. Official statistics reveal that a total of 4,877 crimes was committed in 1983, of which the Bahraini share was 1,768, followed by Indians, 1,582, and Pakistanis 502. (76) (see table No. 4.9)

As table (no. 4.9) shows, total immigrants are, responsible for more cases (57%)of crimes than locals (43%). The official figures also reveal that the commonest types of crime committed were robbery, illegal immigration, assault, drug abuse, rape, murder, and drunkeness in public places.

Table No. 4.9 Offenders in Criminal Cases by nationality

(1982 - 1983)

Nationality	No. of Cases in 1982	No. of cases in 1983	Population by nationality in 1981
Bahraini	1,508	1,768	238,420
Gulf Arabs	325	546	4,961
Other Arabs	34	46	9.338
Asians			97,030
Iranians	57	68	-
Indian	951	1,582	-
Pakistani	411	502	-
European	55	85	8,813
American	9	6	966
Other Nationalities	146	274	1,046
TOTAL	3,496	4,877	360,574

Sources: (1) Central statistics organization.

Statistical Abstract/1982, p. 185

(2) __, Statistical Abstract/1983, p.245.

In fact, most of the respondents (about 90%) believe or might believe that immigrant workers are responsible for the rising crime rate in the country, while only a smalll number believe that immigrants are not responsible. (see table no.4.10)

The negative attitudes and the hostility towards immigrants in relation to crimes is because they are relatively more involved in sexual offences and theft, crime that catch the eyes of the general public and the media most.

Table No.4.10 Attitudes of the Sample to Crimes

Do you think immigrants are responsible for the increasing crime rate in the country?	
Attitude	Number
Yes	92
No	8
Don't Know	2
Total	102

For over a decade, the issue of controlling immigration has been widely debated. A vast majority of the people who responded to the questionnaire favoured immigration controls and a reduction in the number of immigrants admitted to the country, while only a small ratio believe that recent economic and social developments require many more immigrant workers. (see table 4.11).

Table No. 4.11 Attitudes of Bahraini Sample towards Immigration Control

Do you favour controlling immigration and limiting the number immigants entering the country?	
Attitudes	Number
Favour	63
Not Sure	23
Disagree	16
TOTAL	102

Those who favour controlling immigration, expressed the view that such action would reduce the social problems facing the country, such as crimes and unhealthy accommodation, and guarantee free mobility for the Bahraini work force within the labour market and help to raise the level of wages. Some were very outspoken in answering the question of control, as one said:

> "Let them go home and beg on the streets where they come from". (77)

Another one suggested imposing a heavy tax upon either employers who employ foreign workers or on the immigrant workers themselves in order as he said to discourage more immigrants from coming. One respondent suggested also that Muslim immigrants only should be recruited because "they are more loyal and less involved in crime." (78)

Among the respondents who opposed restrictions on immigration the view was expressed that the country is entirely dependent on foreign workers and any such action will harm the structure of the country.

Previous surveys of attitudes already draw attention to the growth of a high degree of anti-immigrant responses among the native population reflecting, it seems, their fear of the domination by immigrants of the economic and social life of society. This appeared clearly when the sample was asked to give their attitudes in offering immigrants citizenship and allowing them to own and run businesses. More than 93% rejected the idea on the ground that it would have serious consequences for the people and the country, and even the small proportion who accepted, (3%) stipulated some restrictions, for instance, that immigrants should not necessarily be offered the same right and privileges as the natives have. (see table 4.12).

> "It must be clear for them (immigrant workers) that they have been brought here as workers for specified periods bound by the terms and conditions of their contracts, and they must be ready at any time to leave the country". (79)

Table No. 4.12 Attitudes towards offering immigrants citizenship

Do you agree with the idea of offering immigrants citizenship and allowing them to own and run businesses?

Attitudes	Number
Agree	3
Disagree	95
Not Sure	4
Total	102

As might be expected, the hostility to immigrants differs according to the immigrant group concerned. The replies to the questionnaire reveal that hostility is very strong against Asians and particularly Indians, followed by non-Asian immigrants, and Arabs. Around 68% believe that there should be some distinction in treatment and employment between Arab and foreign immigrants. On the other hand, 30% believe that there should be no distinction between the two groups (see table 4.13). The reasons for this preference are due to the sharing of very basic common characteristics such as religion, identity, language and even feelings, as some put it.

Table No. 4.13 Attitudes towards Arab Immigrants

Do you think there should be any distinction in treatment and employment between Arab and Non-Arab Immigrants?

Attitudes	Numbers
Yes, there should be	68
No, there should not	30
Do not know	4
TOTAL	102

To conclude, it should be apparent from the foregoing presentation of the host community view that boundaries between the two communities persist and even strengthen with time. It is, however, difficult to say that such unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants have arisen or been reinforced by contact and competition as long as the finding confirmed little contact in the main areas of work and housing. In my view, the desire of the host community to exclude the immigrants from the social structure is better understood within the context of the so called "cultural superiority" and the feeling of powerfulness and

wealth among the natives which is heavily ingrained into our culture. Furthermore, I anticipate that such negative attitudes will intensify with the increase in the number of immigrants entering the country.

4.7.2 Immigrant attitudes to the host community:

With the division of the population into various cultural groups, each with its distinctive social ranking, runs a system of beliefs and attitudes held in common within each group about the society as a whole, about the other groups, and about itself. (80)

The attitudes of the immigrant workers towards the host community or society is not an easy topic to study because they are less openly expressed or very conservatively expressed out of fear of direct or indirect reaction from the authorities. Nevertheless, immigrant workers interviewed, in telling some of their experiences, seemed to have an emotional response to the major issue discussed.

They expressed their feeling that the native people treated them as outsiders who had come to compete with them in public services and other facilities. Moreover, the feeling among the natives that they were rich and superior to the non-citizens often made the immigrants targets for propaganda and even physical attacks by natives. As one immigrant alleged:

> "It has happened to me. After an argument with my former employer, he beat me on my arm with a piece of wood, and said some bad words in his language". (81)

More than 60 per cent of the sample reported that they do not know about the level of local workers' productivity because they have no experience of working with them. The remainder of the respondents were divided between 12 who said that they thought Bahraini workers

have a low productivity rate, and 22 per cent who said Bahrainis have a high productivity rate.

The majority of the sample agreed that labour legislation and procedures are always on the side of employers. Some said that their knowledge of labour legislation was very limited or sometimes incorrectly supplied by other workers or their employers.

The immigrant workers in the sample strongly rejected the accusation from the host community that immigrants have a very high crime rate and brought with them serious diseases. Some said that every society experiences some types of crime and diseases and these are due to a mixture of social, economic and psychological factors, and immigrant workers might play a marginal role in that respect. Every immigrant is subject to a medical test before and after his arrival in Bahrain which weakens the possibility of the second allegation, as stated by some immigrants.

It is true, it appeared from the interviews, that immigrants dislike going to the police or court to settle disagreements unless as a final alternative. Immigrants first attempt to solve disagreements by direct negotiation, and then turn to experienced immigrants for consultaton. A large number, especially among Indians, believe that their embassies are not the right places at which to make their complaints.

> "But immigrants feel that they did not come here to jump on the bandwagon of prosperity and the incredible oil wealth of the Gulf countries. They came here because they were welcome and needed in building up these countries". (82)

Furthermore, immigrants also expressed their feeling that natives considered them as servants, poor and backward people. "The non-Arab Asians are mostly bundled into the category 'Hendi' (meaning Indian) which is usually followed by the word 'Homar', which means donkey," (83), a situation which is no less racial than those Brussels landlords who display signs reading 'no dogs and no coloureds'. (84)

On the other hand, there are some immigrants who say that they themselves have never met any trouble with native people, who were described by one of them as "a very helpful and hospitable people". (85)

In asking the immigrant sample about their attitudes towards the local work force, it seemed they were agreed that locals have very little interest in learning jobs held recently by non-Bahrainis such as salesmen, barbers, tailors, goldsmiths, and other manual jobs.

4.8 Working Conditions of Immigrant Workers:

Immigrants to the area are motivated to come chiefly by the desire for better employment and high wages. However, once they reach the country of employment they find themselves doing jobs rejected by the indigenous population, either because of low pay or the worst working conditions.

Although problems relating to working conditions of immigrant workers differ from one country to another, from one employer to another, and from one group of workers to another, some of the general issues affect most groups of immigrant workers. The aim of this section is briefly to outline some of these issues that already exist and to

assess the attitudes of the host and immigrant communities towards them.

The investigation into the working condition of the immigrant workers is based upon unstructured interviews with numbers of immigrant workers. Some of these interviews were unplanned, such as those which arose from meeting immigrants on public transport in addition to some personal observation of the working situation.

As with the problems outlined earlier, some immigrants interviewed were unwilling to give detailed information about the way in which they had been treated by employers for fear that such information, if it came to the knowledge of their employers, might affect their positions at work.

4.8.1 Wages and profits for immigrants

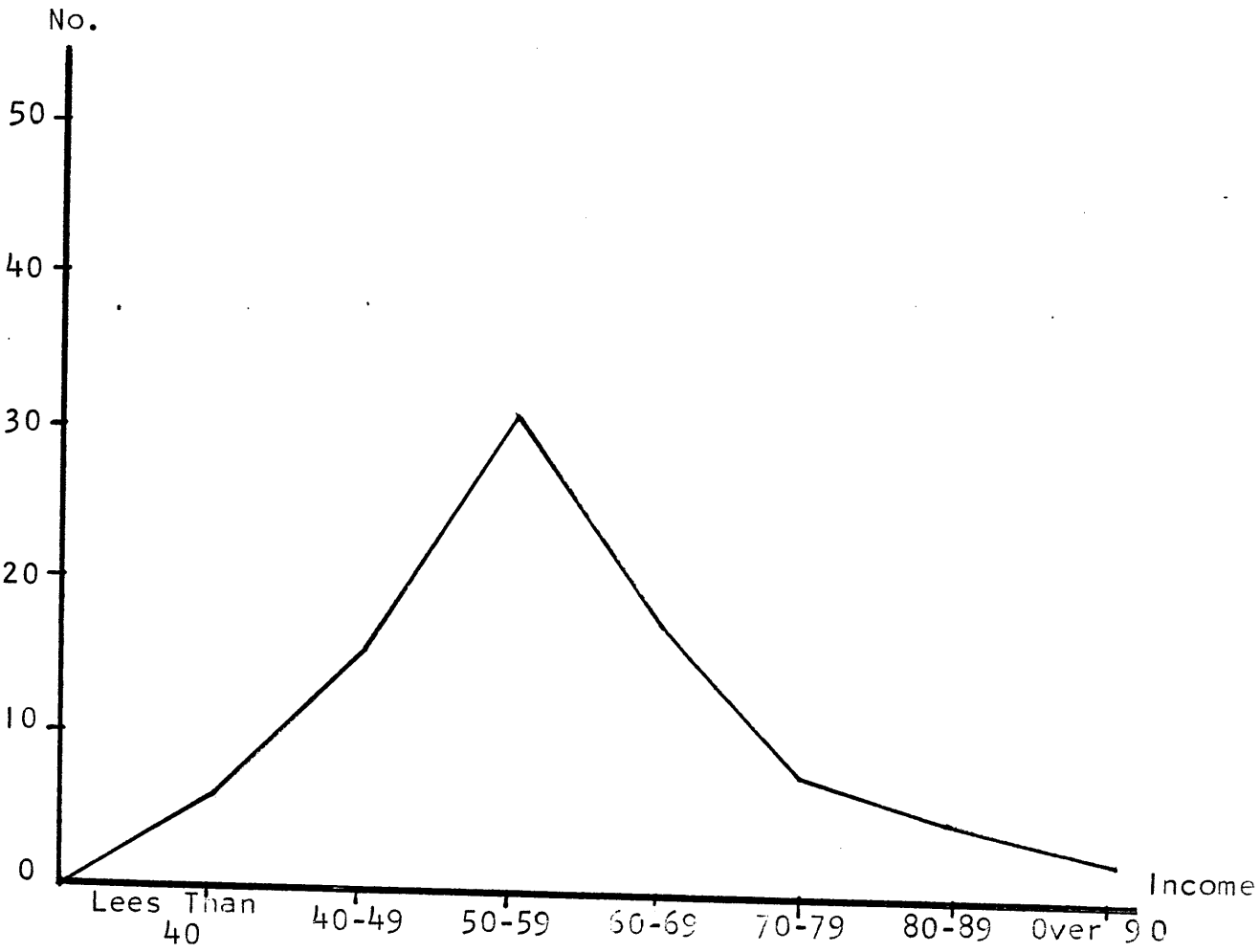
"Am I paid more, am I paid less,
Curse the knowledgeable experts
who put me in this mess.
Salary is all I think;
The thought of it drives me to the brink.
To the experts, only this I say,
Stupid as the topic is,
It will not sway
The decision of the policy-maker
To increase or decrease the paid salary
Talk on this is waste of breath, merely." (86)

Wages in small private enterprises, such as workshops, restaurants and small companies, where the immigrant workers are heavily concentrated, are complex and uncontrolled. (87) In addition to the unwillingness of some immigrants to give accurate information about their total income from their monthly wages, overtime and parttime jobs made it difficult to assess earning accurately. At any rate, Asian immigrants

are consistently lower paid than other social groups, low wages being of fundamental importance for the private sector to ensure a high rate of profit.

Among the immigrant workers interviewed, the largest group said that they received a monthly wage ranging between BD 50-59 and the lowest group said that they receive less than BD 40. (see figure No. 12)

Figure No. 16 Respondent's monthly income in B.D.



From the figures presented by the immigrant workers, it is clear that their salaries are very low in relation to the hard work they undertake, taking into consideration that they live in one of the most expensive countries in the world. Out of an average BD 55/- a month, an averge BD 20/- is sent home to the family, BD. 15/- is spent on food and BD 10/- on monthly necessities, leaving BD 10/- for savings. These figures have to be set against the fact that immigrants have sub-standard accommodation facilities.

> "It is impossible to live on BD 40, or BD 50, a month as some Indian and Pakistani labourers are compelled to do. Giving them such low wages I call bloodsucking".(88)

There was complete agreement among the sample interviewed that the current wage level does not meet the personal ambitions and living costs of immigrant workers (tables no. 4.14 and 4.15 provide information about the attitudes of the sample interviewed towards their wages).

Table No. 4.14 Satisfaction with Wages

Attitudes	Number	Per cent
Satisfied	9	10.8
Dissatisfied	70	84.4
No Comment	4	4.8
Total	83	100%

Table No. 4.15 Expectations of wages

Attitudes	Number	Per cent
Better than expected	2	2.4
As expected or not much different	16	19.3
Worse than expected	57	68.7
No answer	8	9.6
Total	83	100%

During the interviews, complaints were made of discrimination in pay on account of nationality, which can be seen also as a reason for unhappiness among the immigrant. "Payment for workers should be in accordance with efficiency and output, and not determined by a worker's nationality". (89)(See tables No 4.16 and 4.17)

Table No. 4.16 Distribution of employees by regional nationality group and monthly income (per cent).

Monthly Income (in B,D,)	Bahrainis	Other Arab	Western	Near Asian	Far Asian	Other
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Under 50	1	0,2	-	5,1	1,5	-
50 to 50	1	1	0,1	13,0	2,4	0,8
60 to 60	0,2	0,5	-	15,8	5,0	1,2
70 to 70	0,2	1,6	0,2	12,0	3,1	-
80 to 80	0,5	2,9	1	8,2	4,8	2,0
90 to 90	0,9	3,8	0,1	7,1	13,7	2,0
100 to 140	7,4	17,8	0,8	16,3	15,0	13,5
150 to 190	16,6	23,9	2,5	7,6	13,7	9,4
200 to 249	20,0	10,9	2,2	4,3	12,8	10,2
250 to 299	15,1	5,5	3,3	2,6	14,2	6,6
300 to 399	20,3	7,9	8,7	3,6	8,7	11,1
400 to 599	12,7	9,4	16,9	2,9	3,0	9,4
600 to 799	3,5	5,4	18,7	0,8	1,0	7,0
800 to 999	1,3	2,8	16,3	0,4	0,4	8,6
1,000 to 1,399	0,9	4,1	17,8	0,2	0,4	11,5
1,400 and over	0,4	3,3	12,4	0,1	0,1	6,6
Number of employees	19,474	2,205	3,823	45,441	4,693	244
Average monthly income	309	360	851	130	194	554
Median monthly income	262	198	765	85	161	342

Source: Ministry of labour, 1982,Annual Mapower Survey. 1 less than 0,1 per cent

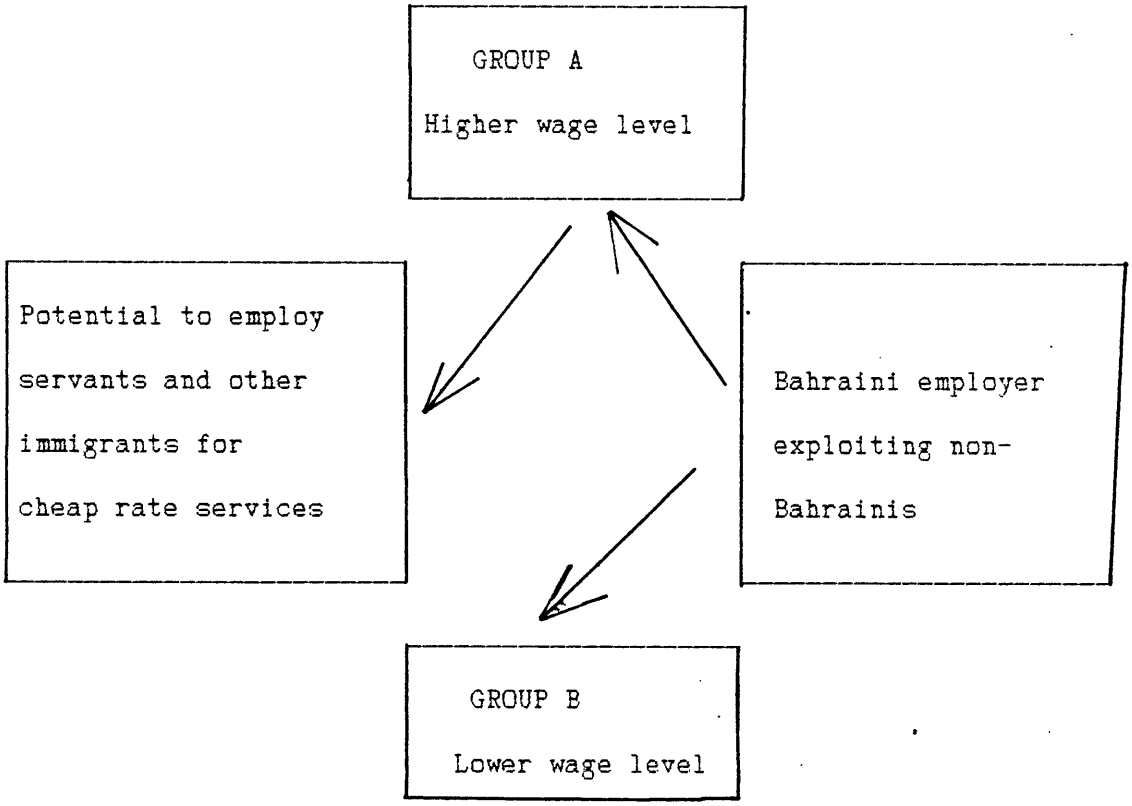
Table No. 4.17. Monthly income in construction sector by nationality

Monthly income (in BD)	Immigrants	Bahrainis
Total	100.0	100.0
Under 50	3.8	0.2
50 to 59	17.4	0.3
60 to 69	19.4	0.2
70 to 79	13.8	0.2
80 to 89	8.0	0.9
90 to 99	7.3	4.6
100 to 149	12.7	20.4
150 to 199	5.8	33.0
200 to 249	3.9	16.3
250 to 299	3.2	8.2
300 to 399	2.2	10.2
400 to 599	1.1	4.0
600 to 799	0.7	1.2
800 to 999	0.4	0.1
1,000 to 1,399	0.4	0.3
1,400 and over	-	-
Number of employees	24,488	2,334
Average monthly income	115	209
Median monthly income	77	184

Source: Ministry of labour, 1982, Annual Manpower Survey.

One further aspect which must be touched upon briefly is the argument that income distribution through wages has widened segregation between two major social groups. The first is represented by the native population with a higher reserved wage, and the second the immigrant workers who earn lower wages, and sometimes three or four times less than the wages of their local counterparts doing almost the same work. Thus this exploitative relationship of the second group vis-a-vis the first has improved the financial position of the Bahraini employers who employ a a high percentage of cheap foreign labour and get great benefit because of that, as well as improving the social and financial status of the first and offering them the advantages of exploiting the second groups indirectly. (See figure No. I3)

Figure No. 13 Exploitative Relationship Between Nationals and Immigrants



Thus immigrant workers entering the class structure of the importer society occupy the lower level because of the level of their earning and the status attached to their position in society. Bonacich (1974) defined a split labour market as one in which there is a large differential in the price of labour for the same occupation. The differential price of labour is not necessarily seen as a response to the race or ethnicity of those entering the market but results from differences in resources and motives that are correlated with ethnicity, such as the attempts of employers to displace higher paid by cheaper labour. (90)

The nature of the economic experience of Asian immigrants in the labour market conforms to Bonocich's theory. Immigrants might be brought to the host country by false accounts of wage levels, life and opportunity. They may agree to a specific wage in their homeland not knowing the prevailing wages in the new country. That absence of truth and accurate information is usually associated with the absence of political support in terms of protection from their government or other domestic or international political organization. Furthermore, the intention of immigrant workers not to remain permanently in the labour force is sometimes behind their willingness to accept a lower standard of wage and/or living since it is only for short term, and so avoid being involved in lengthy labour dispute. These factors consequently affect the price of immigrant labour.

Furthermore, there is a view among some government officials that this difference may be justified by some factors such as:

(1) The wage differentials between the host country and the country of origin.

(2) The subsidies for public services and goods provided by the government which expatriates accordingly enjoy at prices far below their real costs, these becoming charges to be added to the cost of labour as expressed by wages or salaries.

(3) The services which are provided by employers such as transportation from their contry of origin to the country of work, accommodation and other services.

In relation to the Minimum Wage Standard (MWS), there is also some difference between MWS in the private and government sector. The MWS

in the latter, which employs mainly Bahrainis is, according to the Civil Service Bureau salary schedule, B.D. 91 for regular workers and B.D. 100 for shift workers. On the other hand, there are workers in the private sector, which is dominated by non-Bahrainis who earn B.D. 30 or less than that a month. This might be related to the fact that wage rates in the private sector are set by employers at whatever rate they are willing to pay, in addition to the existence of the illegal alien workforce who are able to accept any wage offered by the employers.

A private sector employer justified the difference in MWS between Bahrainis and non-Bahrainis by stating that

> "the apparent disparity in wage rate infers no discrimination because, we must pay the cost of recruiting expatriate labour, transportation to and from the place of recruitment, accommodation, other allowances, which can amount to between B.D.30 to B.D. 40 a month for manual labour" (91)

One major contractor told a local newspaper:

> "In order to gain maximum benefit from imposing minimum wages, it must cover only the Bahraini workers, and leave the immigrant wage to be fixed according to supply and demand" (92)

Moreover, a new issue appeared in the labour market which is worth considering. Despite the economic depression which started in the early 1980s and led to a major decline in business and affected the financial position of most of the country's companies, the numbers of work permits issued by the Ministry of Labour to recruit foreign labour continued to increase, against economic expectation. The number of permits increased from 33,052 in 1982 to 37,445 in the first nine months only of 1984. (93) (see table No.4.18)

Table No.4.18 Work Permits Issued to Foreign Labourers (1978-1983)

Year	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
No. of Permits	26,017	18,665	29,553	32,196	33.052	35,400

Sources: Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.
Annual Manpower Survey for the years from 1978 -1983

This major increase in work permits was surprisingly accompanied by the raising of two labour issues related to wages, which immigrants regard as common problems facing them today. These issues are:

(1) Delay in payment or non-payment of wages by employers who are increasingly unable to pay the workers' wages on time or pay them at all. (94) Some workers reported that they themselves or other colleagues had never been paid on time or have never been paid their salaries for a period sometimes as long as five months.

"We are foreigners in this country and we re not familiar with places and ministries, where we can take our complaints or grievances". (95)

(2) Non-payment of increments or wage-reductions. Some workers complained that they had been working for several years without any increase in wages. The number of complaints received was relatively small, but this does not really reflect the actual number of cases which remain unreported. Furthermore, a report issued by the Ministry of Labour in 1985 admitted that the vast

> majority of labour disputes reaching the Ministry of Labour involved immigrant workers, and most of these cases were concerned with the payment of wages. (96)

4.8.2 Working hours and holidays:

It is common knowledge that the sectors in which foreign workers are heavily concentrated are also those where working hours are longest. According to labour law, the legal maximum number of hours of work in a week is 8 hours a day, with Friday as a weekly holiday.

A high proportion of immigrants interviewed reported that they are made to work for longer hours (almost 12 hours a day) and in most cases without payment of overtime allowances as specified by their contract. A workman reported on his case as follows:

> "After only one month in Bahrain, I was unhappy about being made to work longer hours than expected. I work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. with no day off, and receive no overtime. On several occasions I have spoken to my employer about my hours, apparently to no effect." (97)

It is believed by locals that immigrants are able physically to work long hours without complaining, and the hardest hit seem to be the Indian and Pakistani workers, who do not appear to benefit from any of the legal provisions regarding hours of work and holidays.

Moreover, the dispute between employers and immigrant workers over official holidays is a common issue. Despite the fact that only a handful of immigrants reported that they have been obliged to work on Fridays and do not always get a day off in lieu, the practice seems to be becoming more common and frequent among small employers.

An official in the Ministry of Labour told the writer that due to the absence of proper personnel departments in most of the middle and small size companies employing immigrant workers they frequently cannot go on leave at the proper time, or they are given a shorter period than the labour law requires. One case reached the Ministry (Ministry of Labour) of an Indian working in a cold store who has not been on leave for four years.

4.8.3 Labour representation:

The trade union movement is still relatively weak for a number of reasons, among them the lack of integraton within the labour class. Moreover, it seems that the practice of labour representation and collective bargaining is even weaker in those sectors and undertakings where immigrant workers are predominantly employed, especially in construction work, and in small and medium-sized enterprises. There are many reasons for this, among them that immigrant workers' concern about labour representation appears to be relatively slight because of its failure or weakness in representing their interests.

Immigrant workers are afraid of the consequences of being active members or participants in any organized labour action which might lead to the loss of his employment or deportation from the country. The immigrant will often try to pass unnoticed and to avoid any action or attitudes likely to create any trouble for himself. Finally, immigrants lack knowledge and information about unionization. Only a small proportion of immigrants interviewed had some knowledge of the

type of labour representation applied in the country. An immigrant worker expressed his attitude as follows:

Recent legislation makes a clear distinction on grounds of nationality with regard to holding posts on the General Committee for Bahraini workers. By law, Bahraini citizenship is a condition for holding office in GCBW. (98) On the other hand, immigrants are granted an equal right with nationals in regard to elections. They can be elected as members of joint consultative committees in the firms and there is no restriction on any candidate for a position in the J.C.Cs on the grounds of nationality. The member can freely express his views as long as he does not oppose the rules and procedures governing the work of these committees. (99) Today, numbers of immigrant workers occupy positions on the JCC in some industrial firms. (See table No.4.19)

Table No.4.19 Percentage of workforce in selected major industrial firms with J.C.C. and number of shop-stewards according to nationalities. (1985)

Establishment	Perc.of Bahraini employees	Perc.of non-Bahraini employees	No. of shop-stewards	Bahrainis	Non-Bahrainis
BAPCO	80	20	5	5	-
Asry	57	43	5	4	1
Batico	72	28	5	4	1
ALBA	76	24	5	5	-
B.I.S.	59	41	5	4	1
BANAGAS	69	31	5	5	-

Source: Data collected by the author.

There is also the problem of the native unionist and workers' attitudes to immigrant participation in labour representation. One Bahraini unionist interviewed objected to the idea of immigrant workers being elected because they feared that they would dominate organisations because of their numbers and by concentrating their votes in favour of particular persons of their own nationality or race. Among the immigrants elected to JCCs, however, there is no reliable evidence or means to justify the argument that immigrants collectively try to support their particular candidates. A Bahraini workman voiced his strong hostility towards immigrant workers elected in 1984 to JCCs in some industries by expressing the following views in a local newspaper:

> "How is it that strangers won the recent election for the JCCs? Is it because of the lack of qualified Bahrainis? Are we supposed to take our grievances to Indian workers seeking their sympathy? Or are they going to define and look after the interest of the Bahraini workers? It is a serious dilemma which needs to be considered seriously." (100)

4.9. Exploitation of immigrant workers:

The most interesting feature from the Bahraini's sample questionnaire is that the majority of respondents believe that the increase in the number of Asian workers employed was becauase they are obedient and because of the willingness to accept any level of wage. These answers indicate the negative attitudes of the Bahrainis towards the natural weakness of the immigrants which make them easy targets for exploitation.

New types of worker exploitation have also been practised which were unknown in the history of international migration around the world, created through the need to gain as much benefit as possible from the

powerless immigrants. Two types of exploitation will be discussed here:

4.9.1. Sponsorship trade:

Every immigrant worker intending to come to Bahrain has to have a Bahraini citizen to import and employ him. In other words, Bahraini citizens or an employer can approach the Ministry of Labour and get permission to import labour and become their sponsors. When these workers reach the country of employment, the sponsor asks for their passport and other documents. By law he has the right to employ them in a place which suits his business, and he can deport them at any time he wishes.

This system, commonly known as the "free visa" (101) system that some locals use, in some cases from high ranking and wealthy families or 'leading contractors',(102), is that after registering with the Ministry of Commerce by name only, a firm or shop asks the Immigration Department and Ministry of Labour for 50 or 100 visas or more. After getting these they either sell them to immigrant workers intending to come to the country through an agent in the emigration country for between BD. 300 to BD. 500 each, or import workers and let them loose onto the job market, in exchange for a large fee amounting in most cases to between BD. 300 - 600 a year. (103) As a report states, it is enough for a person sponsoring only ten immigrants to create great profit for himself without any real effort. This racket is common throughout the Gulf States.

The situation does not end there, when the worker realizes that his visa needs renewing, - usually after two years - the sponsor demands

another sum of money for it to be renewed "The sponsor explains that since the visa has run out, the worker is now staying in Bahrain illegally. The worker is then afraid to go to the police or report blackmail, for fear of being thrown in prison or deported." (104)

> "Since I arrived in Bahrain, I have worked in various companies with the verbal permission of my sponsor. But my visa expired in July (July 1985). I approached my sponsor and requested an extension of my work permit or a letter of release, so that I can be sponsored by the company I currently work with. He demands BD 200 for an extension or BD 300 for a release." (105)

In theory, and technically, it is illegal to pay commission to labour brokers or middlemen, but in reality there are thousands of people parting with substantial chunks of their hard-earned monthly money to middlemen. .

That situation has had two main results. The first is a surplus of immigrant workers who have been brought to the country beyond the requirement of the labour maket in order only to make a profit from their presence. According to government statistics, in 1981 there were 783 economically active immigrants unemployed (106), in addition to a considerable number of immigrants, mostly from the Indian sub-continent, who are freely available on a daily basis. Secondly, the practice led also to a serious social problem of run-away workers which now faces the country. Briefly, run-away workers are immigrants who have broken away from their original sponsors or employers to look for new wor. opportunities or to engage independently in hard work. The reasons for this, as given by some immigrant workers interviewed, and from the attitudes of some Bahrainis, may be categorized as follows:

(1) Ill-treatment by the sponsors or the employers, and the low salaries and bad working or living conditions.

(2) News circulating among immigrants of those who, by running away, impoved, to some extent, their conditions.

(3) As Bahraini journalists reported, many workers abscond because they know that if apprehended the penalties they will eventually face will be relatively minor. (107)

(4) In some cases, the run-away workers were in possession of a letter of release from the sponsors which allowed them to work elsewhere in return for paying a fixed commission, while at the same time reports were filed with the police by the sponsor only to complete formalities.

Estimates of the illegal or run-away workers are impossible to obtain,(108) but it is common information that the practice is to be found mainly among Indian sub-continent nationalities, and concentrated mostly in the private sector. The practice is seen by this sector as "a great loss to the business community and to the national economy". (109) One local contractor gave his view to a weekly magazine:

> "During their first year, immigrant workers were extremely hard-working and obedient. In the second year they started to bargain about wages and look for good work opportunities, which led the greediest of them to run away from the work place causing serious damage to the production." (110)

In international migration, it is an accepted fact that illegal immigrants face even more miserable working and living conditions, with various kinds of hardships and the threat of deportation.

Accordingly, no immigrant will choose to run away and face unattractive situations; unless he would be better off than under the conditions imposed upon him by his original employer. An immigrant believes that two years do not give sufficient time in which to recoup the cost of coming to the Gulf, or even in some cases, to repay the money he borrowed to emigrate. Thus he will hold on to the dream of going home to his family, better off - not worse off - than when he left. Table(4.20) shows the immigrant's total cost and benefit of migrating to the Gulf.

The sponsorship system is regarded in a similar manner as representing the natives' share of the benefits of modern international migration to their country. This 'human trade' comes very close to what might be called 'temporary slavery, (111) practised without any form of control. Nowadays this trade has not only become widely accepted as a customary practice, it is further encouraged as a way of improving the nationals financial position and of acquiring additional wealth.

The dependency relationship between sponsored and sponsors has not only maximized the informal subordination and weakness status of immigrant workers, it also became a factor in determining the distribution of power within the native group between those who sponsor and who do not.

Table No.4.20 Cost of coming to the Gulf.

The case of Sponsorship (in BD)

Details	Cost	
	Max.	Min.
Sum paid to recruitment agent in the home country:	250	150
Annual sum paid to sponsor The total of two years:	800	500
Sum paid for visa renewal:	400	250
Total Cost	1,450	900
Estimate monthly income	90	40
Total income for two years	2,160	960
Net profit	710	60
Estimate monthly cost of living:	15	10
Total cost of living for two years:	360	240
Final Account	+ 450	- 180

Prices and incomes estimated from interviews.

4.9.2. Contract substitution

The second common type of exploitation is the substitution of the work contract signed in the country of emigration. As soon as the immigrant reaches the country of employment, he might be forced to sign a new contract, mainly written in Arabic (112) which stipulates a lower salary or different working and living conditions (113) from those originally offered. The workers have no option other than to sign the changed contracts, as in the case of some Indian workers who reported the following to the local newspaper:

> "We were brought to Bahrain under false pretences. The salaries we were promised and signed for were BD 120 per month; when we got here we were told to accept BD 70 and like it." (114)

Complaints were reported by some immigrant workers interviewed regarding violation of contract arising mostly with small employers. Employees reported the reduction of wages paid to be half the sum agreed in the original contract.

A study carried out in 1982 by the Arab Planning Institute discovered that one reason given by employers for changing the terms of an employment contract is due in some cases to the workers themselves who came to the country as skilled or semi-skilled workers, but proved not to have the skills required for the trade. (115)

Immigrants who felt betrayed by the false information on wage levels and working conditions were soon to discover that the possibility of resistance to these conditions was minimal owing to the unlmited power of the employer and the nature of employment and recruitment policy.

In response, immigrants might, under conditions of frustration and disappointment, break the contract and flee home, or accept the subordinated status and continue working as the vast majority did.

4.10 Conclusion:

In choosing to example all these aspects of international immigration to Bahrain, by using comparatively small samples, it is not possible to offer incontrovertible conclusions, but two arguments can be put forward on the basis of the findings of the questionnaire and other research.

1) The nature of the working and living conditions of immigrant workers has led them to be treated as only a marginal category in society despite their numbers. Moreover, it is held that the group status within the labour market determines much about the course of interaction and position in other spheres of social life as well. In other words, their low status in the labour market is also reflected in their position in society regarding the attitudes to them of the authorities and native population and even the type of social treatment they receive. They are isolated from the host community in terms of accommodation and social life, and however long they remain in the country, they continue to be considered as strangers without any rights.

2) Attitudes towards work as well as the treatment of powerless workers seem not to have shifted over the period of time from the pearling industry era to the modern oil era. Immigrant workers continued to be the source of manual and unskilled workers. This reflects the fact that attitudes towards work have not been changed

very much by other social and economic changes. Moreover, in the pearling era, divers and helpers occupied the lowest rank in the labour market and social life because of their poor living and working conditions, but it seems that immigrants have only come to help these people to escape from this position by taking over their status in the new social and economic order which came as a result of the discovery of oil. The immigrants were given bad working conditions with very low wages and clear work exploitation which put some of them in debt, and the longer they continued working the more involved in debt they became. When immigrant workers took the place of the divers in society, the Nākhūdā became the sponsor who did his best to get as much financial benefit as he could from his slaves.

Generally speaking, the sponsorship institution is, I believe, a continuation of the system of exploitation which was practised during the pearling era. But with a major difference, however, which is that the relationship of dependency between the divers and Nūkhūdās during the pre-oil era was legitimised by the prevailing customary practices; whereas, in the present time the relationship between immigrants and the employers/sponsors is one of exploitative character legitimised by modern rational law and legislation which thereby makes legal and explicit what was previously only common practice. (See Appendix No. V).

Finally, the social and economic structure of labour migration can be summarized in the exploitative relations of the host community to the immigrants which take two forms. First, the individual form, through the system of sponsorship, and second, the wider, social form which is

by far the most important and is evident in excluding them from the society, by rejecting their integration through citizenship, social and economic rights, the negative attitudes towards them, and the strict ties and controls over their social and religious institutions. This inferior status-position of immigrants on the individual or the societal level, as shown in this enquiry, cannot be shifted unless the general attitudes and norms regarding working and people are changed.

4.11 Notes

(1) See: J.S. Birks and C.A.Sinclair "Socio-economic determinants of intra-regional migration, Paper presented to ECWA conference on international migration in the Arab world. 1981; F. Arnold;and N.M. Shah." Asian labour migration to the Middle East, International Migration Review, vol.18. No.2. Summer 1984; ECWA, Socio-economic characteristics of international migration in the Gulf States. Paper presented to ECWA Conference, 1981.

(2) See the work done on labour migration in Arab countries by: Birks and Sinclair; A.B.Zahlān; H.ʿAzzām; P.Shaw; N.Choucri; I. Serageldin; World Bank,and Others.

(3) Comment by F.AL-Salām, in "Foreign Labour in the Arab Gulf States" 1983, Centre for Arab Unity Studies, P.102.

(4) For more discussion see: Birks and Sinclair. 1981 ""op cit"; I.J. Secombe "Jordanian Migration: The Impact of Domestic Development, Ph.D Thesis 1984. University of Durham. England; M.Reich, et al "Dual labour markets - A theory of labour market segmentation" American Economic Review May 1973, pp. 359-65.

(5) M.J.Piore,"Notes for a theory of labour market stratification". 1975, p. 126.

(6) Directorate of Statistics - "Bahrain Census of Population and Housing 1981. February 1982.

(7) Idem, "Bahrain Census of Population and Housing, 1981, Trends and Prospects. January 1983, pp. 55-6

(8) Ibid, pp. 44-9.

(9) ECWA 1981, op.cit., p.710.

(10) Directorate of Statistics, 1983, op.cit., p.40.

(11) Ibid, p.34.

(12) P. Davies and K. Newton "The Social Pattern of Immigrant Areas". In Race No. 1, Vol. xiv, July 1972, p.43.

(13) In addition, the researcher used public transport in order to meet immigrants using this service. Others were seen at their work places or in public places, but these cannot be counted as part of the sample,. However, a large amount of data was obtained from their statements, and inquiries were pursued about their working and living conditions.

(14) F.Khalagi, "Socio-Economic Impact of Emigration from a Giza village" In A. Richards and P.L. Martin eds. "Migration, Mechanization and Agriculture Labour Market in Egypt, Boulder, Colorado: Westview and Cairo. The American University of Cairo, 1983, p.142.

(15) Quoted from S. Tarbush "The New Nomads" in The Middle East, February 1983, p. 31.

(16) Gulf Mirror April 1984, p.21.

(17) See, Country papers of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh presented to the symposium on overseas recruitment procedures for senior officials of South Asian Countries, Islamabad, May 1981.

(18) Apart from these channels, others existed but only a few people are recruited through them. For instance
(1) Group of block visa;
(2) Direct recruitment by employers from labour importing countries or his representatives;
(3) Recruitment through construction or consultancy firms.
See for further details, S.A.F. Chawdhury, "Country paper, Bangladesh" 1981 op.cit.

(19) M. Akbar "Country Paper - Pakistan" 1981 op.cit, p.29.

(20) The problem of illegal recruitment has been and still is considered one of the major problems facing labour exporting countries. In the Philippines in 1983 alone, 983 cases involving 2,618 complainants were filed with the administration out of which 804 cases were resolved. (Government of Philippines "Background information paper" September 1984 - Tripartite Inter-Regional Round Table on International Migration). In 1984 hundreds of fake passports from Sri-Lanka have been seized by Bahrain airport immigration officials. They believed that some recruiting agents take huge sums from these poor job-hunters to prepare quick but forged passports and thus get them into the Gulf (Gulf Daily News 1.March 1984). In 1978 a group of 30 Indians paid £5000 to be transported illegally to the Gulf by boat. For four days they endured much hardship at sea. On the fifth morning they were landed on a deserted beach and told that their Arab 'Contacts' would soon arrive to receive them. By the time they discovered that they had been landed almost next door to their home villages the dhow had sailed away. It was reported by the Indian Embassy in Bahrain (GDN 15 feb., 1982) that 31 Indian nationals from Punjab had been 'lured to Beirut by unscrupulous recruiting agents' on the promise of jobs - which they did not find". The newspaper commented that they were among several hundred Indians who had entered Lebanon, illegally as mercenaries and were fighting

for both the Christian and Palestinianorganization (GDN Feb.1982).

(21) Personal interview with immigrant leader.

(22) See report by Bahrain Chamber of Commerce and Industry. October 1984; Gulf Mirror August 2, 1980.

(23) To tackle the problem, the Ministry of Housing was created as a separate entity in 1974 to give impetus and direction to the housing programme. Around 10,000 houses and flats were constructed by the ministry until the end of 1985 in different areas of Bahrain. See: Ministry of Information, Construction and Development, undated.

(24) Directorate of Statistics. 1983, op.cit, p. 80. A random 10% sample survey carried out in 1974 and using a simple grid pattern indicated that between one quarter and one third of all the dwellings are unsatisfactory, given current Ministry standards. (See Ministry of Housing - A Dynamic Approach to A National Housing Programme. undated.)

(25)From the finding of the specific questionnaire.

(26) Akhbar AL-Khaleej - Gulf News. 14 -11 - 1983.
In 1984 the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs announced a project to accommodate the immigrant workers in a special residential areas, and it ordered the contractors who take on the immigrant workers to build residential complexes in the area located near the ALBA factory in the South East of Bahrain Island. The project has been welcomed by some contractors who described it as the best way to prevent the negative causes of the concentration of immigrants in the Bahrain residential areas. It is also criticized by some other contractors who see it as a threat to the stability of the country by keeping thousands of workers in one place which might cause a labour disturbance and collective action by immigrants. (See Akhbar AL Khaleej 29 -10 1984; 19 -10- 84; 28 - 1 - 83; also see Gulf Daily News 20 - 10 - 84.

(27) There are other types of accommodation for immigrant workers which are not considered here. The first is the construction camps operated by South Korean companies which are subject to official regulation governing the facilities they provide. Access to this accommodation by researchers or reporters seems impossible. The second type is the immigrant family accommodation which is located mainly inside the residential areas. In most cases this type of house is very small, consisting of one to two bedrooms, a small bathroom and a very small kitchen. It is occupied some time by more than one family, depending on the number of the rooms. According to AL-Najjar, the proportion of Non-Banraini families living in such houses represent only 12.5 from the total number of immigrants. (B.AL-Najjar "Working and Living Conditions of Foreign Labour" paper presented to a seminar on Foreign Labour Migration in Arab Gulf Countries. The Arab Planning Institute/Centre for Arab Unity Studies, Kuwait, January, 1983,p.89.

(28) Reported to the author by one Pakistani immigrant.

(29) S. Castles and G. Kosack, 1985, op.cit., P.245.

(30) Personal interview with an immigrant worker. In July 1984 around 300 immigrant workers at one major labour camp refused to work unless the living conditions in their camp were improved. More than 20 of them have been repatriated, and the company spokesman said that they did not want to work, so we let them go. (See Gulf Daily News 26 -7 -1984).

(31) Special Source.

(32) That ranged between BD 5 to 10.

(33) In an interview with a senior official in the Ministry of Labour who stated that there is a high level of co-ordination between the Ministry of Labour and Health in order to improve housing conditions and increase the standard of health in immigrants' accommodation.

(34) Some immigrants interviewed agreed that there are some illnesses such as skin illness and T.B.

(35) Quoted from the questionnaire.

(36) Castles and Kosack, op.cit. p. 315.

(37) In the sociological literature, the theory of "Housing Classes" provide a good analysis to this issue. See C.Bell "On Housing Classes" In Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology vol. 13, No. 1, Feb. 1977, pp. 36 - 40.

(38) J.Brown "The Un-Melting Pot" 1970 Macmillan and Co. Ltd. p.209.

(39) See: M. Weiner "Indians in the Gulf - the Beginning or the End of a Diaspora? 1980. Association for Asian Studies, Washington D.C.

(40) Gulf Weekly Mirror, 10.8.1979.

(41) Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs sources: It is understood from the source that there were about fifty requests submitted to the Ministry from foreigners for new licenses to establish clubs and societies.

(42) Personal interview with the general secretary of the Pakistan Club.

(43) Personal interview with members of the general committee of an Indian Club. These clubs and societies have no right to accept any donation or to donate some of its money without getting permission from the Ministry of Labour.

(44) From personal interviews with officials in both clubs. Western Clubs, especially the British Club and the American Club, have a larger number of Bahraini members because of the social nature of these clubs. Also these clubs have big waiting lists for memberships (See Gulf Mirror 20.1.83)

(45) All the clubs and societies are based in the capital Manama.

(46) This survey will cover only Islam and Christianity because other religions practised by immigrants such as Hindu and Sikh and other oriental religions are difficult to approach and research by the writer, due to the desire of the immigrants to keep their religious activities unknown from the natives, and because of the fear of the official and public attitudes towards those religions which are seen by the indigenous as alien.

(47) See; N.A.Horner, "Present-Day Christianity in the Gulf States of the Arabian Peninsula" In Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research Vol.2, No.2, April 1978.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Personal interview with religious leader.

(50) Ibid.

(51) R.Breton "Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants". In The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70, No. 2, September 1964, pp. 193-205.

(52) A Jacques. "Travel Report: Visits to Lebanon, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates." March 1983. World Council of Churches. The report recomended that a meeting should be organized between members, leaders and other concerned people in the churches in the Gulf, and the churches in Asia which is the main source of labour in the region, especially Pakistan, India, the Philippines, Korea, and Sri Lanka.

(53) Personal interviews.

(54) Personal interviews with religious leader; he also reported that a weekly meeting is held in the church to exchange views about the problems facing immigrants.

(55) The four were; two Christian leaders, the leader of the Urdu community in Bahrain, and the leader from the Keraleeya community.

(56) Personal interview.

(57) Personal interview.

(58) M.Yinger,"Towards a theory of assimilation and discrimination". In Ethnic and Racial Studies Review, vol.4, No.3 July 1981, pp.249-264 C.Price "The studying of assimilation" In J.A. Jackson ed. Migration. 1969, Cambridge, the University Press.pp. 181 - 287.

(59) J.B.Kelly "Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States" In A.L. Vdovitch, "ed" The Middle East: Oil, Conflict and Hope 1976, Lexington Books, Toronto, p. 430.

(60) B. AL-Najjar "Aspects of labour market behaviour in an oil economy - A Study of Underdevelopment and Immigrant Labour in Kuwait". PH.D. Thesis - University of Durham, 1982. p. 253.

(61) M.Khuri "The Socio-Cultural Effects of International Migration" In ECWA 1981 op.cit. p. 591.

(62) Personal Interview.

(63) Under the terms of the Bahrain Citizenship Act of 1963, Bahraini citizenship may be granted to any legally competent alien upon an application if he has by legitimate means made his regular abode in Bahrain for a minimum of 25 consecutive years. Any alien who obtained citizenship in accordance with the provisions of this article shall not have the right of voting, representation, nomination or appointment to local council. (See for further details E.A. Nakhleh "Labour markets and citizenship in Bahrain and Quatar". In the Middle East Journal, vol 31, No. 2, Spring 1977, pp. 143-56.

(64) Under the terms of Bahrain Commercial Companies Law No.28 of 1975, all companies and partnerships registered in Bahrain must have Bahraini nationality, and must have a minimum of 51% of their capital owned by Bahrainis.

(65) In addition, there was a plan for health centres exclusive serving immigrants only. The justification for this was that immigrants tend to suffer from illnesses of the same type and often have a language problem with local doctors (see Gulf Mirror, May 2, 1981).

(66) Gulf Mirror 19.9.80

(67) Interview with the Under Secretary at the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in Akhbar AL-Khaleej 18. 8. 1984.

(68) Stated by a top GCC official. In Gulf Daily News 16.6.84.

(69) The local newspapers are full of complaints directed against immigrants and accusing them of dirtyness and crimes.

(70) In 1975 a group of M.P.s in the National Assembly presented a proposal which aimed to control foreign immigration to the country. The labour unrest and strikes were demanding a reduction in the number of foreigners entering the country (from Personal Interview with AL: Rabiah, former M.P. in the National Assembly)

(71) S.Tarbush op.cit. p.31.

(72) M. Khuri op.cit. p. 602.

(73) Quoted from the questionnaire.

(74) See a study by A. ʿAbd al-Moʿtī "The effects of foreign labour on social assimilation" presented to the seminar on foreign labour in the Arab Gulf States" 1983 Arab Planning Institute; see also the Durkheim popular theory in suicide in: E.Durkheim, "Suicide: a study in sociology. 1952; S.Taylor. Durkheim and the study of suicide. 1982. Macmillan, London.

(75) S.Stack,1980 "The effect of interstate migration on suicide". In Journal of Social Psychiatry vol. 26, pp. 17-26; Idem, 1981, "The effect of immigration on suicide: a cross-national analysis In Basic and Applied Social Psychology. vol. 2 pp. 205-18/

(76) Central Statistics Organization, Statistical Abstract,1982, p.245.

(77) Quoted from the questionnaire.

(78) Ibid.

(79) Quoted from the questionnaire.

(80) See; C. Sofer, "Working groups in a plural society". In Industrial and Labour Relations Review". Vol. 8, 1954, pp. 68-78.

(81) Quoted from an interview with Indian immigrant.

(82) From interview.

(83) K. Rafferty "It is a long way to Bombay: Asian migrant workers in the oil-rich Gulf. In Middle East Review, 1981. pp. 103-06.

(84) J. Power, "Migrant workers in Western Europe and the United States" 1979, Pergamon Press, Oxford, p.48.

(85) Personal interview.

(86) Arab News 19.4.1984.

(87) AL-Najjar, op cit, p.376.

(88) Statement by Bahrain Director of Labour and Social Affairs. Gulf Mirror 16.2.1980.

(89) Personal interview.

(90)E.Bonacich, 1972, op cit.

(91) Personal interview.

(92) Akhbar al-Khalaij (Gulf news) 21 March 1983.

(93) A Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Source.

(94) In an attempt to solve the problem of non-payment of wages, in June 1982 the Ministry of Labour issued new regulations to make it

easier for immigrant workers to change their jobs in cases where their existing employer is no longer able to pay their wages or for their repatriation.

(95) Quoted from Personal Interveiw with immigrant worker.

(96) Ministry of Labour Report in Labour force in Bahrain, 6.6. 1985, (Arabic) The report stated that out of 861 labour cases registered during the first three months of 1985, 732 involved immigrants.

(97) Quoted from personal interview.

(98) According to Ministerial Order No. 10 of 1981 concerning regulations for the G.C.B.W. a candidate for membership of the committee must be of Bahraini nationality.

(99) Personal interview with a senior official in the Ministry of Labour.

(100) Akhbar AL-Khaleej. Issue No. 2095.

(101) An entirely new system began to appear after 1975. For more details see: C.Wallis, "Crackdown on the labour racketeers. Short article published in Bahrain Weekly newspaper "Gulf Mirror" 16.10.1982 p.3. and; Sada AL-Usbou, Issue no. 680, 13 November 1984, pp. 6 - 11.

(102) Gulf Mirror, 10.8.1975.

(103) A study carried out by the inspection section - Ministry of Labour - in 1978, revealed cases of some dealers who managed to make a total net benefit of about B.D.643 by employing immigrants in particular companies or the government sector. See Gulf Mirror "op cit"; AL-Adwa, 14.10.1978, and 2.5.1981.

(104) C. Wallis "op cit" p.3.

(105) A story told to the writer by an Indian on behalf of another one.

(106) Directorate of Statistics, "1981 population and housing census".

(107) Gulf Daily News 22.11.81, p.6.

(108) In 1981, one daily newspaper, Akhbar AL-Khaleej reported that between the year 1978-1980 there were 1237 reports of run-away workers, as follows:

Years	No. of workers reported as run- away.
1978	308
1979	422
1980	507
TOTAL	1237

(109 Chamber of Commerce ad Industry, "Summary report on the work of Tripartite Inter-Regional Round Table on International Migration (Arab and AsianCountries) Bangkok, Thailand 17-20 September 1984.

(110)Sada AL-Usbou, 14.8.1979.

(111)S. Ibrahim,"The New Arab Social Order", 1982, Westview Press Boulder, Colorado, p.12.

(112)Z.Zar,"Recruitment Practice and Working and Living Conditions of Asian migrant workers in the Middle East: Problems and Possible Solutions - International Migration for Employment. Working Paper May 1984, - Restricted.

(113)See; Government of the Republic of the Philippines. Background information paper - Tripartite Inter-Regional Round Table "op cit", Government of Pakistan, Background information Paper "Ibid"; S. Loveray "Country paper: India - policies and procedures on regulations of emigration of Indian workers" Paper presented to Symposium on Overseas Recruitment Procedures for Senior Officials of South Asian Countries - Islamabad, May 1981.

(114)Gulf Daily News 27.7. 1980.

(115)Arab Planning Institute "Information file on the foreign labour in the Gulf" August 1982.

CHAPTER FIVE

SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE LABOUR MARKET AND THE HOUSEHOLD

5.1 Introduction

The role and contribution of women to the Labour force and the social life of Arab Gulf societies is considered one of the most important topics which needs to be researched by sociologists, anthropologists and economists. Despite its importance and the attractiveness of the issue only very little work has been done in this subject. In the early 1980s women made up just a little less than half of the total population in all six Arab Gulf countries, while their contribution to the work force even in the most favourable countries is less than 8 per cent (see table No. 5.1). Many social, cultural and religious reasons may account for this.

Table No.5.1 Population, Participation rates in labour force in four Arab Gulf Countries

Country	POPULATION			Labour Force		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Bahrain	204,793	146,005	350,798	126,808	19,325	146,133
Kuwait*	776,639	581,313	1,357,952	428,232	63,277	491,509
UAE**	386,427	171,460	557.887	286,555	9,961	296,516
Qatar***	160,020	97,061	257,081	103.066	9,375	112,441

Sources:
(1) Bahrain Census of Population and Housing 1981.
(2) State of Qatar: Annual Statistical Abstract, 1985.
(3) State of Kuwait: Annual Statistical Abstract, 1985.
(4) I.L.O. Year Book of Labour Statistics.
* Population census of 1980. The latest census took place in 1985, but full details have not been published yet.
** 1982 figures.
*** 1982 figures.

The main concern of the present chapter is to provide an assessment of the structure of the sexual division of labour in the Bahrain labour market in the past and present and to discuss the phenomenon of

segregation by occupation and the changes that have taken place in the occupational distribution of women, arising from modern attitudes to women. Variations will be examined including measures of female labour force participation rates and educational achievement. Another and no less important purpose will be to study the effect of females working outside the house upon the domestic division of labour. The final area of investigation in the current chapter will centre on the effect on the division of labour within the labour market and the domestic divisions of labour of employing foreign domestic servants. Furthermore, by using the field work data, the analysis will examine the attitude of both sexes towards the employment of women in the modern economic sector, the attitudes and distribution of internal household duties for working and non-working women, and the role and status of domestic servants in the household, and the attitudes of the Bahraini families towards employing servants.

The term 'social groups' is invested with a broader significance to cover three groups: Bahraini males, Bahraini females, and immigrant domestic servants. This approach is adopted in order to provide a complete picture of the interactional behaviour of social groups within the social division of labour.

Furthermore, women are viewed here as a homogenous social group as well as a separate stratum along with other strata. This grouping is based on fixed sex-roles and status positions which do not seem to be fundamentally different.

The central argument of this chapter is that sexual divisions of labour within society and the household, and the participation rates of Bahraini and foreign women in productive work in society and household, is a socio-economic issue which needs to be treated and examined within the social system and social mores. In other words, in a developing country, which Bahrain is, these female economic roles are largely determined by the attitudes of society, by moral and cultural beliefs, and religious commitments, and it must be seen as a function of the social inter-relationship between women and men within the social and cultural system.

In this chapter three different kinds of data collection techniques were used. First, personal interviews with a quota sample of fifty eight working and non-working Bahrain women (35 working - 23 non-working). The interviewing technique was not formal or structured and the women were encouraged to express their views about various fields of research interest. The quota sampling method was applied here to locate as many women as possible by the inital assistance of one leading ladies' association which co-operated fully. The sample was not necessarily representative of women involved either in the labour market or housework, but was selected to test our assumptions of the two roles taken by women.

Furthermore, a total of 32 domestic servants have been interviewed in a two part field work (26 were interviewed in 1984 - 7 were interviewed in 1986). In addition, open interviews were carried out with some recruitment agency owners. Besides information gathered through the questionnaire survey of Bahraini citizens, informal talks

with some others were used to illustrate the attitudes towards the role of women. Also documentary information, studies and written sources, and a content analysis of local and regional newspapers covering the issue, were gathered.

5.2 Theoretical framework

It is curious how the majority who study the condition of women in the Middle East generally tend to avoid the theoretical issues involved in such an undertaking. (1) Such studies mainly refer to the existence of two separate and sharply differentiated social worlds: men are said to inhabit the public world of politics, religion and the market, while women are confined to the private sphere of the home. (2)

Likewise, in her most recent excellent work Women and the impact of capitalist development in Morocco, F. Merrissi (1982) argues that the perception of the social universe as split up into two sub-universes, the public and private, the economic and the domestic, is a fundamental cultural fact which orders and organises the relationship of women with the environment and as a result determines their access to (or exclusion from) power and control and the administration of wealth. (3)

Another sociologist, (W.Seccombe), supports this argument by stating that

> "with the advent of industrial capitalism, the general labour process was split into two distinct units: a domestic and an industrial unit---This split in the labour process had produced a split in the labour force roughly along sexual lines - women in the the domestic unit, men into industry". (4)

On the other hand Collins (1971) who developed a theory of sexual stratification related four ideal types of social structure (i.e. low technology tribal societies, fortified households in stratified societies, private households in a market economy, and advanced market economy) to the different types of resources available respectively to female and males. He argues that the four levels of social structure, with specific patterns of male - female relations, reflect changes in womens' bargaining power as well as their participation in the market place.(5).

A. Rassam (1982) treats the issue of women in the Arb World nearly in the same way, by arguing that the status of women can only be understood in terms of three dimensions: 1) the social organisation of power, 2) the ideological and institutional means of controlling womens' sexuality, and 3) the sexual division of labour in the society. (6)

Beechey (1983) offers as an underlying rationale of the need to locate occupational segregation in the processes internal to waged work, the point that women's position within the occupational structure cannot be simply read off from an analysis of the sexual division of labour within the family, but required the examination of the relations between domestic life and employment. (7) Moreover, Walby (1986) argues that control of the access of women to paid work is maintained primarily by patriarchal relations in the work place and in the state, as well as by those in the household. (8)

A major theoretical understanding of the status and position of women as stated by some sociologists considered the family as a unit in the

class analysis and not the individual. These sociologists determined the position of women by factors other than their occupations or income.

Parker (1979), Goldthorpe (1983), Britten and Heath (1983) and others agreed in arguing that women's status and position in the stratification system is determined primarily by their families and that the position of the family is determined by its male head either father or husband. (9)

Correspondingly, Murgatroyd (1982) pointed out that within the sphere of formal, paid employment, there remains a high degree of segregation by sex, and most jobs are considered to be better suited to one or other sex. She added that the sexual division of labour has altered along with the social division of labour as a whole. (10) At the same time, Bridges (1982) argues that, males and females enter different industries and occupations and generally perform different tasks within broad occupational categories. (11)

From a close examination of some sociological literature on sex roles it seems that one of the most valuable angles from which to discuss the role differentiation by sex and the status of women in the social division of labour is by referring to pan-cultural factors.

> "There is no doubt that some of the similarities in the social position of women cross-culturally are the result of a basic and persisting division of labour which itself is related to the universal facts of childbearing and childrearing. Womens' confinement to the private/domestic sphere, and mens' near monopoly of the public domain of formal politics, organized religion and warfare, are well known".(12)

Simone de Beauvoir's book, 'The Second Sex', is the most notable contribution in this area (13) She attributes womens' universal subordination to her identification with the domain of "nature", and nature's relationship to culture.

5.3 (2) Sexual division of labour in the pre-oil industry:

The religio-cultural background and the deep-rooted historical heritage represent the main elements which have determined the role of women in society in Bahrain and in the Arab Gulf States generally throughout history. Before the discovery of oil in Bahrain when social and economic life were based upon pearling, fishing and agricultural activities, the traditional divisions of labour between men and women, both domestic and outside the home, has its origin in a pattern of social equilibrium linked to a subsistence economy. While, as we have seen in the third chapter, men were engaged exclusively in these economic activities, the woman's role has been mainly limited to that of being wife, mother, rearer of children and housewife.

Traditional Bahraini families were large by any standard. Not only did they typically include large numbers of children, but many had parents and other relatives living together which made the family almost a small independent unit which derived its economic living from one or two particular traditional occupations in which all the members of the unit were engaged.

The socio-economic and occupational status of the family were largely determined by the occupation of the head of the family, so if he was a fisherman, all the members of his unit would have been involved in

varying degrees in fishing. (14) Moreover, a clear-cut division of labour on the basis of sex was practised, and the general principle underlying that division of labour was that men performed the tasks that involved public appearance and such tasks associated with providing an income and maintaining the economic stability of the family, whereas the main functions of the women were to cater for the basic needs of the family and they were also responsible for socializing its individual members. "Although women played a significant role in maintaining the infrastructure of traditional Gulf society during the harsh economic conditions of the pre-oil periods, their status in Gulf society during that period, and even nowadays, has been considered inferior to that of men". (15)

> "During the pearl-diving season, the wives of the pearl divers fulfilled a role similar to that of the heads of the families. They attained some links with the outside world in the form of shopping for food and organising their home."(16)

The sexual division of labour existing at that time varied with the seasons. Thus during the diving season when men were away, women took responsibility for all the economic and social tasks in the family and in addition some may have developed careers of their own such as tailoring, raising chickens and selling their eggs, or may have engaged in small-scale retail trade in order to support themselves and their children. Outside the diving season ideally each sex had its own recognised role task.

In some agricultural areas, women also participated actively. They helped their husbands in the fields and in marketing the produce.(17)

However, women of wealthy families were strictly forbidden from doing any task that involved any degree of public appearance.

The social and economic development, which was mainly a result of the discovery of oil in the 1930's, is associated with the development of early female education by the opening of the first girls' school in Bahrain in 1928 which resulted temporarily in diminishing womens' economic role, until they began joining the work force in relatively large numbers. In 1959 more than 1000 Bahraini women were economically active, distributed amaong 20 different occupations (see table No.5.2).

Table No.5.2 Economically active population by Occupations, 1959. Bahraini Nationals.

Occupation	1959 Male	Female	Total
Administrative & Clerical	2,837	163	3,000
Storekeepers	22	5	27
Salesmen	2,379	38	2,417
Motor Transport drivers	1,883	6	1,889
Metal Working & Mechanical	997	7	1,004
Electricians	209	1	210
Wood Workers	1,320	2	1,322
Other Building Trades	1,631	8	1.639
Stevendores	34	1	35
General Labourers	5,147	144	5,291
Tailors	210	79	289
Bakers	177	4	181
Laundrymen	38	7	45
Medical	50	16	66
Domestic Servants	364	373	737
Fishing	549	10	559
Agriculture	3,057	12	3,069
Merchants	546	5	551
Other	8,425	154	8,579
Total	29,875	1,035	30,910

Note:
"Others" include 3,877 oil field workers.
Source:
Government of Bahrain - Statistical Abstract, 1967 p. 27.

5.4 Sex division in the labour market

One of the major social changes to appear very clearly since the early 1970s is the relatively sharp increase in the Bahraini female labour force participation. Women have entered the formal labour force in unprecedented numbers during the past and recent decades. The Bahraini female labour force has grown faster than the labour force of any other sex or nationality category in the country, increasing 86 per cent between 1965 and 1971, and 559 per cent between 1971 and 1981. (18)

Although Bahraini women have the highest rate of labour force participation among all the Gulf States, and although these rates are increasing, almost 82 per cent of Bahraini women did not engage in economic activity outside the home in 1981.(19)

But despite the increasing involvement of women in wage labour, the lines of segregation in terms of the sex distribution of employment are clearly drawn, and women remain concentrated within a very narrow band of occupation. Ninety four per cent of women work in just three areas: (1) professional, technical and related jobs; (2) the services; (3) clerical positions. (20)

Women in Bahrain's labour force are concentrated not only in broad occupational categories, but also in specific occupations. Within the professional and technical occupations, where a majority of women find employment, they are concentrated in the traditional female occupations such as nursing and teaching and increasingly in clerical jobs. Sixty per cent of professional Bahraini women are teachers, and

these make up 26 per cent of the total Bahraini female labour force. (see table No. 5.3).

Table No. 5.3 Percent distribution of the employed population by major occupational group, sex, and nationality, 1981.

Occupation	Percent. Distribution			
	Bahraini		Non-Bahraini	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical & Related workers	9.4	43.0	8.3	23.9
Administrative, executive & managerial workers	1.6	0.5	1.7	.6
Clerical workers	16.1	39.8	5.0	16.8
Sales workers	9.9	1.3	6.3	1.3
Farmers, fisherme, huters & related workers	5.6	0.1	3.0	0.0
Miners, quarrymen, & related workers	0.2	-	0.1	-
Transport and communication workers	13.5	1.4	5.5	0.4
Craftsmen and production process workers	24.5	2.3	45.7	1.6
Services, sports and recreation workers	14.9	10.8	19.9	55.0
Workers not classified	3.3	0.3	4.5	0.3
Not stated	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.1

Source: State of Bahrain - Directorate of Statistics, Bahrain Census of Population and Housing, 1981.

Furthermore, it is significant that women are only thinly represented in the group of craftsmen, production workers, sales workers, and transport workers which are male dominated. Although women in Bahrain are now entering service and clerical jobs, expansion in these fields and in the professions may not be sufficient to allow the full employment of a growing female labour force in Bahrain if rapid development does not continue.

The social aspects which account for the different response of women to participation in the labour market and the degree of involvement in the sexual division of labour will next be considered. Five major influences affecting commitment to work among women will be studied; (1) The role of education; (2) the attitudes of society towards women workers; (3) women's attitudes towards paid employment; (4) domestic duties; and (5) the effect of the emergence of the domestic servants phenomenon.

5.4.1 Education

The education of women has been considered as by far the most important factor in bringing about the changes in their roles and status (21) . Increasing educational attainment appears to have a profound effect on the female labour force participation rate (FLFPR). "Higher education provides access to more attractive jobs and increases the motivation to use the training that has been received" (22) .

It is evident from the statistical figures that there is a very strong positive correlation between education and paid employment. Table No.5.4 indicates that the percentage of the labour force with a secondary level of education or above is high for females, though even higher for males.

Table No. 5.4 Labour force participation rates by education and sex 1981.

Educational Level	Male		Female	
	Number	%	Number	%
Illiterate	14328	80.9	2182	6.5
Read and write	11075	84.1	1061	10.6
Primary	7579	57.7	942	11.7
Intermediate	6127	57.3	1045	15.0
Secondary	8871	81.5	4327	54.1
University	4211	94.4	2570	85.4
Post graduate	261	86.4	42	70.0
Not stated	8	57.1	7	22.6
Total	52460	74.6	12176	17.5

Source: Directorate of Statistics. Bahrain Census of Population and Housing/ 1981.

Note: The % indicates the participation rates of each category in relation to the corresponding column of the total population.

"Educational qualifications provide women with greater chances to compete for employment in the labour market. An immediate result of female education is that it creates confidence in women to investigate future job prospects, and equips them with the ability to seek relevant information about employment opportunities." (23)

Despite the increase in the rate of female enrolment in all levels of education, which results in increasing the rate of female participation in the labour market the opportunities offered to females after their completion of education are limited to the traditional female occupations such as teaching and the health sector in addition to clerical jobs. Only recently have females entered new types of occupation, but the number is still very marginal.

On the other hand women's orientation and the general purpose of the education system may be responsible to some extent in preparing females for the social division of labour within the labour market. The content of female education continues to be concentrated on the arts and humanities, which in effect fits them to perform only the traditional female occupations, and does not develop their ability to learn more technical and occupationally specific skills. It appears from the data collected from the female sample of 58, that 41 have secondary education and above, and among them 32 were ending secondary education in arts and the commercial section. In this connection, (table no. 5.5) also provides further details.

Table No. 5.5 Graduates of General and Commercial Secondary Education by Sex. Selected Years

Grade / Scholastic Year	Sex	No. of graduates		
		Commercial	Science	Arts
1975/76	Male	89	389	328
	Female	93	354	549
	Total	182	743	877
1977/78	Male	98	301	259
	Female	131	443	528
	Total	229	744	787
1980/81	Male	181	500	466
	Female	244	404	736
	Total	425	904	1,202
1981/82	Male	70	130	321
	Female	101	258	305
	Total	171	388	626
1983/84	Male	525	400	151
	Female	734	551	255
	Total	1259	951	406
1984/85	Male	675	514	114
	Female	768	542	314
	Total	1443	1056	428

Source: Ministry of education - Educational statistics, 1984/85.

Moreover, for the women from an upper social class background who have a good opportunity to invest in their high standard of education, that investment is underused or not used at all. Such women are not expected to hold jobs unless these are of a prestigious nature or

managerial careers in which they can exercise the power seen to be appropriate to the family.

> "The emergence of a female bourgeoisie with diplomas and paying jobs operates not as a break in the perception of tradditional sexual inequality but as an affirmtion of class inequality and an incarnation of it." (24)

Furthermore, information provided by the field work indicates consistent class differences in the frequency of female employment. While upper and middle class women mainly engage in clerical jobs in government institutions and Banks or as lawyers and doctors, lower class women are often to be found as nurses, teachers and other types of career which required less sex interaction within the work places.

There is also an interesting aspect that, in theory at least, one result of women attaining higher levels of education will be a higher participation rate in the labour market. This theory however is not supported by the facts - while the enrolment rates of male and female in the secondary and university level are almost equal, the ratio of women in the paid market lies behind that of men. Abd al-Bari 1975 states that the educated, especially married women, have no need of money; they are educated only for social status, but rarely for obtaining a job. (25)

5.4.2. <u>The attitudes of society towards womens' work:</u>

Cultural and religious beliefs together with the strict attitudes of society towards women in general are considered the second most important factor which determines the present position of women in the social division of labour. Despite the unquestionably strong demand for the active participation of women in economic and social

development of the country, peoples' modes of thought as well as their values and attitudes towards major issues are not things which can be changed or replaced easily.

> "Men considered women in offices to be just a decoration and a sign of modernization." (26)

The most obvious aspect of widespread traditional attitudes towards women were regarding their education and employment outside the home. According to the views of some males who have been informally interviewed by the writer and the others who answered the questionnaire survey, they are all agreed that women should receive the same education as men without any sort of restriction, while in terms of employment, the attitudes of respondents divided into three main categories:

(1) The first group, the majority, were in favour of women working outside the home with some conditions such as work before marriage, but not after. As one informant stated "women would not be able to adjust between career and married life."

Most of the respondents believed that particular jobs such as teaching are suitable for women. This view may be held because such professions involve a minimum contact between the sexes in a society in which, due to cultural and religious beliefs, such direct contacts, especially at the lower level, are not approved. In addition, there is the widely held opinion that women are only suited by nature to practice very few particular jobs and teaching and nursing are the most common of these.

For a similar result, a survey carried out by al-Thakab in 1975 to assess the attitudes of Kuwaiti society towards the education and employment of women revealed that among 70 per cent of respondents who were in favour of women working, a large majority (90 per cent), preferred women to take jobs in the government sector and particularly the teaching prefessions. (27)

> "I would like my wife to work, but she does not want to teach. What else can she do?" (28)

Only two out of the men interviewed feel it is all right for a married woman to work to provide the necessities of living, or if their labour is in high demand by society.

This category represented mainly people with an upper and middle class background with a reasonable level of education, often little more than secondary or college education.

(2) The second group was strongly in favour of employment for women and for them to be given access to various occupations in the country without any pre-conditions. This group is rather small in number but with a very high level of education (not less than university education) and consists of junior employees and officials. Amongst these people, for the most part, husband and wife were often both working.

They believe, as one informant put it, that "it is essential to have all the Bahraini women working to symbolize the development of the country". Many respondents in this category reported that the employment of women will lead to an improvement in the family standard

of living, "A second salary is often a very valuable addition to family income". (29)

(3) Respondents in the third category strongly disapproved of women getting paid employment outside the home under any circumstances. The information obtained from the respondents interviewed revealed three central issues on which they based their opposition to the employment of women. The first issue, is that they firmly believed that the employment of women affects negatively all aspects of her life, especially her role in the family.

Considerable concern was expressed by this group that an employed woman, usually a married woman, will neglect her husband's and childrens' basic needs. "Woman's ideal place is in the house, and she is unfit to do anything else". (30) This concern or fear is actually a reflection of the degree of the desire of these people to maintain the traditional family unit in which women are responsible for the domestic affairs of the family and the men responsible for public and financial affairs. The respondents' view may also be influenced by the fear that women will know more about their jobs outside the home than about their families' affairs. As one informant put it: "Women of today know little about cooking and the care of children". Furthermore, it was felt that parents who send their daughters out to work, or even husbands, cannot know what degree of interaction there might be with men at their place of work, so some consequences of such interaction moight lead to the risk of bringing shame to the family or the household is possible.

F. Mernissi 1982 and D.J. Gerner however went too far as far as Bahrain is concerned in stating that in terms of traditional attitudes to female employment women who work for a wage outside the domestic unit are perceived as exposing themselves unnecessarily to men, destroying their chances of marriage, and becoming uncomfortably close to prostitution. (31)

A further issue is that women in employment represent a great threat to the traditional position of Bahraini employees in the labour market. According to the views of some respondents, the influx of women into the labour market has aggravated unemployment among males and females as well because they mainly tend to fill jobs held traditionally by Bahraini males as civil servants mainly in the government sector.

> "They do not lessen their country's dependence upon foreign workers, instead they make the labour market very competitive for Bahrainis". (32)

When Bahraini females entered the paid market, like their male counterparts, they were seeking jobs which offered high social prestige, relatively high wages and social security, and this resulted in a conflict between the sexes over particular types of jobs. The local newspapers often publish complaints written by men and directed

against those who believe that women should be in the labour market. The following view is quoted from one of these articles:

> "The entry of women in to the work field resulted in reducing the employment opportunities of youths who have no option other than to emigrate to the neighbouring countries seeking work". (33)

This category mainly represents people from lower-status families in which the influence of religion and inherited traditions is still very great. They usually have an education level not more than secondary education.

If social class origins and level of education may be factors in determining attitudes towards working women, urban or rural origin and religious sects exercise an equally important influence. According to Khuri, the urban Sunnīs or Shīʿa hold more liberal views on the education and employment of women than their rural counterparts. (34) Generally Sunnīs are more flexible in their views regarding the employment of women than Shīʿas.

5.4.3 Womens' attitudes towards employment

"Recent analyses of female labour force participation increasingly show that the woman who holds a paid job is responding to a complex combination of social, psychological and economic factors in her current and past (and even future) environments". (35)

(Leon) 1984 argues that the sexual division of labour in society allows men to enjoy a considerable degree of homogeneity in their labour force participation over the whole of their working lives; in contrast, women's participation is discontinuous and fragmented. They enter and leave the labour force several times during their life span,

their pattern of participation is associated with changes in their life cycle, with their civil status, the number of children they bear and rear, etc. (36)

The degree of influx of Bahraini women into paid employment is merely a reflection of a radical change which cannot be adequately explained without taking into account the structure of womens' attitudes towards employment outside the home which is considered as an important determinant of a woman's status.

This section will examine the view that women's attitudes towards employment must be considered as a central factor in studying women's economic roles. For the purpose of this investigation a sample of 58 Bahraini women was interviewed.* The following tables (5.6 and 5.7) will present the general characteristics of the sample.

The focus here will be on factors which determined the women's decision to take paid employment, the women's attitudes towards the structure and relations within the labour market, and the factors which handicap women from full participation.

* See the introduction of this chapter.

Table No 5.6
Background data on Women Interviewed

(1) Age Range	Number
Under 19	5
20 -29	29
30 - 39	18
40 and over	6
	58

(2) Marital Status	Number
Married	34
Divorced	2
Single	22
Others	-
	58

(3) Education level	Number	Husband's education Number
Illiterate	1	-
Read & Write	3	-
Primary	13	7
Secondary	27	33
University and over	14	18
	58	58

Occupation	Number
Non-working women (housewife-student)	23
Working women	35
	58

Table No. 5.7
Background data of employed women interviewed;

(1) Category of present job	Number
Clerical	11
Medical	5
Technical	2
Educational	13
Others	4
	35

(2) Monthly salary (in BD) Range	Number
Below 99	-
100 - 199	10
200 - 299	12
300 - 399	9
400 and over	4
	35

5.4.4 Womens' motivation to work:

In all developed and undeveloped countries, economic necessity is the most important reason which brings women to seek employment, (37) but the situation is not always the same if the case of Arab women in the Gulf is considered. These women have different reasons for working, and financial pressures are not as important as other sets of reasons such as the need for self-fulfilment or mental satisfaction, to pass the time, escaping from heavy domestic duties within the household or to achieve economic independence.

In a society where kinship relations are still very strong, women's social and economic needs should be looked after by the head of the family (father - husbands) or in their absence by close relatives, and pressure is unlikely to be placed upon a woman to meet her economic needs.

> "In the Middle East, which depends entirely upon kinship and the family as a basis of social organization, kinship institutions provide that there is always a male member (father, brother, cousin uncle) who is economically legally, and morally responsible for women, whatever her marital status." (38)

In her study on working women in the Gulf Al Ṣabāḥ discovered that the main motivation for work for Bahraini women was self-fulfilment, and this was reflected in 62 per cent of her sample. However, 24 per cent worked with the aim of improving their financial positions. (39) The vast majority of working women interviewed by the writer regarded the financial position of their families as good, and the total sample agreed that they are taking jobs from personal conviction, without any sort of pressures from their families or husbands. Only four working women out of 35 interviewed gave financial pressures as the main

reason for having jobs, while the majority gave answers such as improving their own or their household's standard.

The important point we wish to clarify in respect to the soci-economic status of the sample is that middle class, and particularly upper middle class women, were, however, over-represented in the sample at the expense of lower class women. The two main reasons for that are: first, lower class women are less represented in the labour market, beside they rarely employ domestic servants, and secondly, the relative difficulty of gaining access to this group of women for the purpose of research.

The way working women spend their salary is an indicaton of the case in point and the finding may be taken to support the above argument. The majority of respondents reported that they mainly spend their personal income on items such as clothes, make-up and car expenditure. Some reported that they paid part of their incomes to their families and only a few said they save for the future. Several other answers were given such as charitable gifts to needy people or travel. An interesting finding is that none of the respondents mentioned spending their income on improving their educational level or using the income for cultural purposes such as buying books or in other similar ways despite the fact that almost all members of the sample considered were well educated. (see tables 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10)

Table No. 5.8 Use of income from employment

Answer	Number
Clothes and other luxuries	13
Paid some to the family	11
To meet the basic needs	7
Save for the future	4
	35

Table No. 5.9 Main Use of Income by Educational Level.

Answer	Educational Level			
	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
Clothes and other luxuries	-	6	7	13
Paid some to the family	-	8	3	11
To meet basic needs	1	3	3	7
Save for the future	-	3	1	4
Total	1	20	14	35

Table No. 5.10 Main use of income by type of work.

Answer	Type of Work					
	Clerical	Medical	Technical	Educational	Other	Total
Clothes and other luxuries	7	1	-	4	1	13
Paid some to the family	3	2	-	5	1	11
To meet basic needs	-	1	2	2	2	7
Save for the future	1	1	-	2	0	4
Total	11	5	2	13	4	35

Generally, women's education, and the type of work they undertake do not entirely account for the way women use their income. However, our analysis found a substantial relationship between the women's level of income and the way in which women used their income. The greater the income of the women, the more was used for the first category - clothes and other luxuries - and that might be explained by the fact that upper middle class and upper classes are to be found in such a category.

An important finding is that only a marginal number of working women - 6 women - stated they are concerned about the level of their income, the rest were either neutral - 16 women - or unconcerned - 13 women.

> "Friends always asked me how much salary I earn. I keep telling them for a woman wages should be the last thing to think about."(40)

> "I am mostly concerned with how much my job can contribute to forming my personality rather than seeing it from the point of view of how much financial benefit one can get."(41)

To conclude, the data revealed that, independence, and particularly economic independence, rather than meeting the essential financial needs, were the principal factors which determine women's attitudes towards work. Such independence can be a source of authority for women and for their status in general and as one woman stated "to have a significant say in the running of the family".(42)

> "It was upper class women who first availed themselves of access to education. Their entry into elite employment areas was not inhibited because it did not carry any economic stigma. Permission for these women to participate in the work force was granted simply as a leisure activity and as a means of occupying their minds and their spare time, as in the case of their education". (43)

Another issue of investigation worth drawing attention to is the attitude of women, that they are less wanted in the labour market which is dominated by men. S.Walby suggests that it is the patriarchal forces within the labour market which deny women equal access to particular jobs. (44) This view is shared by Hartman who argues that efforts to exclude women from certain occupations represent deliberate attempts by male workers to better their own positions at the expense of female workers (45) Some of the women questioned complained about some sort of discrimination against women

in employment and promotion. A statement by an official in the Ministry of Labour confirmed this situation by stating that the "Ministry of Labour is having problems in convincing some employers that they should accept the employment of women". (46)

> "We might be equal in wages, but not opportunity: A woman has to work 10 years in a department before she becomes its head - whereas a man might achieve it in two." (47)

Despite the lower rates of labour force participation by women, official figures indicate a higher rate of unemployed women looking for work especially those in the age group of 20 to 24 years (see tables nos. 5.11, 5.12 and 5.13.)

Regarding the earning level in gender terms, it is more difficult to judge accurately the differentiation between the two sexes. The most striking feature from the 1982 manpower survey is that the 2,332 Bahraini women employees in the private sector had monthly earnings which averaged 9% per cent less than those of 17,142 Bahraini men namely B.D. 284 compared to B.D. 312.

Table No.5.11 Unemployed population (15 years old and over) by highest educational level and sex. (1981 census)

Highest Educational Level	Bahrainis		
	T	F	M
Illiterate	2,351	1,551	800
Read & Write	1,510	774	736
Primary	1,093	504	589
Intermediate	761	353	408
Secondary	1,488	983	505
Diploma	107	49	58
B.A./B.Sc.	127	81	46
Master's Degree	11	1	10
Ph.D or equivlent	1	-	1
Not stated	9	6	3
Total	7,458	4,302	3,156

Table No.5.12 Unemployed Bahrainis (looking for work) by sex and highest education qualification.
(The first half of 1986)

Highest education level	Male	Female	Total
Secondary education	658	338	996
Diploma	29	38	67
University qualification	48	25	73
Special experiences and qualifications	40	39	79
Total	775	440	1215

Source: Ministry of Labour & Social Affairs "Report in the Supply and Demand for national and foreign labour for the year 1986".

Table No.5.13 Unemployed population (looking for work) by age group - 1981.

Age group	Bahraini Male	Female	Total
15 - 19	921	572	1,493
20 - 24	903	634	1,537
25 - 29	314	146	460
30 - 34	120	16	136
35 - 39	73	4	77
40 - 44	59	1	60
45 - 49	79	2	81
50 - 54	75	-	75
55 - 59	56	1	57
60 - 64	28	-	28
65 year and over	17	-	17
Total - all ages	2,645	1,376	4,021

Source: From the 1981 population census of Bahrain

> "Women always face prejudice in employment from men who are unwilling to see their positions taken by women." (48)

In most societies the participation of women in the labour market is affected by marriage or the birth of children. Dex (1985), argues that if women were recognised as entering the realm of paid work at

all, they were viewed as facing a very biased choice between a career or motherhood, with most choosing motherhood. Their period of working before childbirth has been viewed as a time of waiting to get married. (49) Among Bahraini women, participation in the labour force is concentrated in the age range of 20 to 24, after education has been completed, but before marriage or the birth of the first child. (50) Our subjects were asked to express their views on this point with the aim of discovering what most influences them. Does participation in the labour market influence marriage and the birth rate, or do womens' attitudes towards marriage and children affect their careers? The majority of the respondents either refused to comment, or were unwilling to go more deeply into the matter. The result of the enquiry on this point should therefore be considered with some caution.

The majority of women interviewed agreed that early marriage hinders the economic role of women as long as married women are less likely to be economically active in the labour market or might give up their careers, and they also agreed that delayed marriage might facilitate the involvement of more women.

For Bahraini women the average age at which they marry is between 20 and 22, at an age when the girl is just completing her formal education and starting to join the labour market. Official figures show that more than 80 per cent of the Bahraini girls who were married between 1980 and 1984 were between the ages of 15 to 24. (see table 5.14)

Table No. 5.14 Percentage distribution of marriages by age groups (1980-1984)

	Husband					Wife				
Age Group	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
Under 15	-	-	-	-	-	1,54	1,54	1,70	2,40	2,08
15-19	4,22	4,55	6,24	6,98	8,13	39,76	40,19	44,23	47,14	49,79
20-24	44,02	43,90	43,72	43,21	42,55	42,17	40,15	39,01	35,54	33,40
25-29	30,53	30,72	30,66	29,32	28,77	10,22	11,98	9,51	8,76	9,02
30-34	11,01	11,69	9,76	9,82	9,36	3,04	3,21	2,71	2,80	2,43
35-39	3,79	3,76	3,10	3,80	4,00	1,30	1,46	1,27	1,27	1,23
40-44	1,81	1,58	2,67	2,18	2,00	0,63	0,50	0,72	0,83	0,77
45-49	1,26	1,42	1,32	1,71	2,17	0,51	0,46	0,30	0,43	0,38
50+	3,20	1,96	2,41	2,69	2,98	0,47	0,21	0,25	0,47	0,60
Unknown	0,16	0,33	0,13	0,21	0,04	0,36	0,29	0,30	0,32	0,30
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	2,535	2,396	2,356	2,749	2,350	2,535	2,396	2,356	2,749	2,350

Source: Central Statistics Organization, Statistical Abstract 1984.

"Most girls wish to strike a balance between marriage and a career. Pressures to get married early are higher."(51)

The feeling of Bahraini girls towards balancing the relationship between career and marriage was well described by a journalist in a Bahraini newspaper who wrote "Opting for a career instead of matrimony continues to be virtually an alien idea among local girls". (52)

The rush to marry off young girls might be understandable through the male's traditional views that girls at this age were less involved with the public, especially people from the opposite sex and, therefore, it seems unlikely that after marriage these girls will be encouraged by their husbands to get employment outside the home. In addition to that, as one of the informants said, the man always likes to have the upper hand in his family and it seems rather difficult to accept a girl who could support him financially and socially.

A study carried out by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in a sample consisting of 800 male heads of families revealed that the majority of them believe the best age for a girl to be married is between 16 and 22 years. (53)

The majority of women in the sample also see the presence of children in the home as another reason to account for the decrease in the level of women participation, although some of those questioned disagreed with this statement stating that with the increase in the number of child-care centres and the availability of cheap domestic help, children were not considered a serious problem for working women. Table (no. 5.15) provides suggestions presented by interviewees on how best to meet the question of children.

Table No.5.15 Womens' attitudes towards child-care

Attitude	Number
Women should stay at home with their children for a long time	28
Women should rely upon domestic servants	10
Women should rely upon child-care centres	7
Women should leave their jobs	13
Total	58

Table No.5.16 Women's attitudes towards child-care by educational level.

Answer	Education level: Illiterate	Read & write	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
Women should stay at home with children for long time	-	1	6	11	10	28
Women should rely upon domestic servants	-	-	3	5	2	10
Women should rely upon child care centre	-	-	-	5	2	7
Women should leave their jobs	1	2	4	6	-	13
Total	1	3	13	27	14	58

Source: Based on the interviews findings.

It has also been noticed from the interviews, that the present number of children is negatively related to the women's attitudes towards work in general and child-care in particular. This pattern of attitudes was evident in the high ratio of respondents (49%) who indicated that women should stay at home with their children for a long time. This high proportion seem to be a result of the high proportion (44.8%) of married women bearing children in the sample.

Some studies carried out tend to confirm that women do have a higher labour drop-out rate. For example, a study conducted by Bahrain Centre for Studies and Researches in 1985 observed a high degree of female labour drop-out, even higher than the male rate, although they represent less than one fifth of the total work force. (see table no. 5.17) and also the majority (around 54 per cent) were in the younger age groups, mostly between 20 and 24.

This finding conforms with the general idea that women have high rates of turnover and absenteeism (54) Dex 1984 in considering the case of Britain states that job turnover occurred usually for reasons such as involuntary job separation; moving for reasons which were often coincidental on getting married; illness and looking after sick relatives. (55)

Table No.5.17 Labour turnover rate in some occupations under study by sex during the period between 1979-1983 %

Year	Male	Female	Total
1979	16	10	15
1980	16	20	16
1981	18	18	18
1982	15	29	16
1983	14	21	15
General average rate	15.8	19.6	16

Source: Quoted from S.Zrygat and others "Labour turnover rate in private sector in Bahrain". Bahrain Centre for Research and Studies 1985.

One important feature, which is supported by the findings of the interview is that the attitudes of women towards employment outside the home is a factor which cannot be ignored in increasing the rate of female participation in the division of labour within the labour market. The fact that the majority of the interviewees rejected the statement that womens' ideal place is in the home may be seen as a positive indication towards change. 31 out of the total sample expressed the view that work for women is a right which should be protected, while some saw it as depending upon circumstances (see table 5.18).

The different responses of the women to participation in the labour market may be accounted for by the educational level of the women (the higher the woman's level of education, the more positive is her attitude). However this argument is not always accepted, as for example J. Minces argues that "the education young girls receive at home - their conditioning - combined with social pressures leads most of them to conform to existing norms despite their schooling". (56)

Table No. 5.18 Womens' attitudes towards women's work

Attitude	Number
Work is a right for women	31
Work must depend upon the circumstances*	16
Work for unmarried women only	5
Opposed women working	-
Indifferent or others	6
Total	58

* e.g. the wishes of the family and husband and finding a suitable job for women.

Table No,5,19 Women's attitudes towards women's work by occupational status and age,

Attitudes	Occupational status		Age Groups				Total
	Working women	Non-working women	Under 19	20-29	30-39	40+	
Work is a right for women	27	4	2	17	10	2	31
Work must depend upon the circumstances	6	10	1	9	5	1	16
Work for unmarried women only	1	4	-	1	2	2	5
Opposed women working	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indifferent or other	1	5	2	2	1	1	6
Total	35	23	5	29	18	6	58

Table No,5,20 Women's attitudes towards women's work by educational level,

Attitudes	Level of Education					
	Illiterate	Read & write	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
Work is right for women	-	-	2	17	12	31
Work must depend upon the circumstances	-	-	7	7	2	16
Work for unmarried women only	1	2	1	1	-	5
Opposed women working	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indifferent or other	-	1	3	2	-	6
Total	1	3	13	27	14	58

Table No.5.20 suggests that the majority of women with secondary level education (62.9%) and university education (85.7%) see work as a right for women, and that confirmed the strong positive association between education and the attitudes towards work. Also the data indicate the majority of women with the age category of 20-29 (58.6%) which suggests that younger women have more liberal attitudes towards work for women. Finally, as table No.6.19 shows, working women have a more positive attitude towards women's work than non-working women. The ratio of working women who viewed work as a right for women exceeds 77.% whereas it is only 17.% for non-working women.

It is obvious that when a woman takes a decision to work, she has to break with some of the existing traditional values and customs. Correspondingly, when she enters the labour market she has to break some of the traditional rules and the existing distribution of labour according to sex. The data shows that women's attitudes are divided about the most suitable economic sector for women.

The majority of the respondents who generally agreed with women working outside the home indicated that the government sector and teaching and health service in particular are the most suitable professions for Bahraini women. Others however emphasized the point that women should work in every economic sector without any differences.

5.5 Domestic division of labour and household duties

In addition to those factors of men's and women's attitudes which crucially affect women's labour force participation, domestic responsibilities play an important part which cannot be underestimated in assessing the factors setting limits on women's participation in the labour market. The aim of this section is to examine the nature of women's household duties and the distribution of such duties on the basis of sex, by focusing upon the reported attitudes of the subjects.

As we stated earlier, the typical family in Bahrain consists of the husband, his wife and children, with some very close kin such as the father and mother of the husband. The allocation of tasks within the household shows a variety of patterns. Some tasks are specifically allocated to one sex, mainly women, such as cooking etc., but there is a range of tasks which can be done by the co-operation of both sexes.

The size and the composition of a household are important factors in determining the kinds of domestic pressures. In sociological terms, a Bahraini household unit is well populated, the population per household unit being 6.1. (57) Some household units were compounds, groups of structures designed for collective living, with shared facilities such as those for cooking or laundry. Within the household, women fall into three basic categories:

(1) those who do not have too many domestic responsibilities either because they are unmarried and living with their parents, or because other women in the household help with domestic tasks;

(2) those who are married and employ domestic servants and are therefore almost free from daily housework;

(3) those who do not receive help from either relatives or hired servants and are devoted to housework. Cultural prescription generally assigns housework duties to women and therefore a girl is trained from childhood to carry out some domestic duties and to grow up as a housewife (a good girl is a good housewife).

Despite the traditional view about the responsibility for household tasks, the composition and domestic arrangement for housework tasks varies according to the size of the household and their location whether in rural or urban areas. The most common domestic activities with which we are dealing in this section are to be found in all households, namely cooking, washing, shopping and child-care.

The lifestyle and work patterns in the household are almost similar, and all the households are involved in the major four duties in addition. The family begins the day with a light breakfast which consists mainly of cheese, eggs, bread and tea. Lunch is considered the main meal of the day and usually includes rice, fish or meat and some salad. Dinner may be served as a light meal, and it consists some times of cooked food such as curry and bread. Coffee and tea are served several times daily.

In regard to dress, the basic garment for men is the thōb, a long shirt fastened up to the neck, with a small skull cap, called a ghutra. These two main items of clothing are usually white, and in hot weather these become soiled and need to be changed and cleaned

almost daily. In addition to the big size of the household, the house itself has a large number of rooms and halls, which means that the domestic work to keep it clean and maintain it is highly intensive.

Without any doubt, new 'technological products' such as washing machines, electric stoves, vacuum cleaners and other household equipment have lightened the physical burden of housework in the modern home, and helped to reduce the labour spent on domestic work.

In the sociological literature many studies of domestic work have stimulated interest in informal economies and their links with the formal paid-work sector. (58)

Oakley 1974 has argued that despite reduction of gender difference in the occupational world in recent years, one occupational role remains entirely feminine; the role of housewife. She added that there is no law which bans men from this occupation, but the weight of economic, social and psychological pressures is against their entry into it. (59)

In this section the household division of labour will be examined as one of the major factors which interacts with women's participation in the division of labour in the market. For this purpose, the main source of information is the replies given by the women questioned about their own household duties and the information they gave about their husbands' contribution.

While the findings of this field research confirm the fact that domestic labour is still almost entirely carried out by women, the women respondents to the interviews can be classified into two

categories. First are those women who reported that they receive no help for domestic work; and second are those who stated that help is usually offered to them in domestic tasks.

The first group consisted mainly of non-working women mostly living with their husbands and children or still living with their parents. Almost all the women in this category reported that they perform all the domestic activities in the household which includes everyday cooking, regular cleaning of the house, everyday washing and extra shopping.

When asked about their feeling concerning household tasks, the majority of respondents expressed some enjoyment with their work and some considered it as a way of passing time when they have to stay almost alone in the house. Although the majority show that they manage alright with domestic duties, the main complaint presented by the interviewees was that they received little or no assistance from either their husbands or other men living in the house and they were saying something like that men regard domestic activities as overwhelmingly a female sphere.

> "He sits in the house and wants everything to be put into his hand. He rarely takes on tasks, even in my absence."(60)

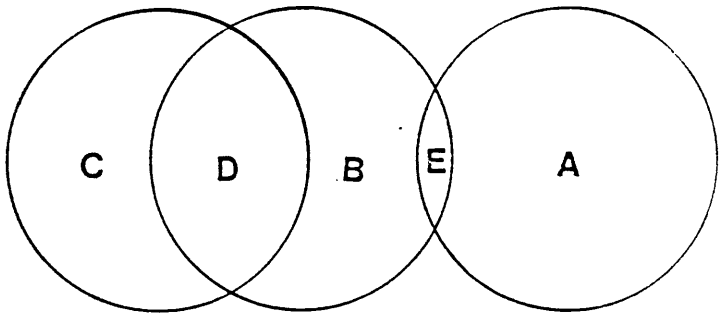
> "Men always expect women to do all the domestic tasks in the house as if she is the only person living there". (61)

This traditional male way of dealing with domestic household affairs creates a sharp division of labour. Nonetheless, some views presented

by some respondents reflected attitudes no less traditional among women than men. One wife explained that she has never thought of ordering her husband to perform any household tasks because it is her belief that such tasks should be done by women. Some women also believe that any contribution made by men to the housework is the kind of help given to women which should be highly appreciated.

The second category represent the majority of the respondents and consist mainly of working women. The main concern of this group was that their employment outside the home did not necessarily relieve them of housework which they have to deal with after returning from work. Nevertheless, the interviews with women revealed, in almost all cases, that combining work and family duties does not appear to create a great threat or difficulties with the availability of domestic servants (all the working women interviewed - with the exception of one only - were employing domestic servants) - see the next section - in addition to the minimal help they stated that men sometime offered. (See figure No.14)

Figure No. 14 Distribution of the household tasks.



A. Man's role
B. Working women's role.
C. Domestic servant's role.
D. Role taken by domestic servant.
E. Role taken by man.

Out of 39 respondents in this category, more than half claimed to receive some household help from the men in the house. The remainder claimed that men contributed only a very small fraction. On the basis of their attitudes, it is clear that the vast majority of the respondents in this category claimed to experience no significant difficulty in carrying out household chores, and we must assume that this might be related to the substantial help they receive from domestic servants. (see table no.5.21)

> "We are both working, contributing to the running of the home, sharing some of the housework."

According to the women respondents, the main household tasks men usually undertake are shopping and house maintenance. In addition, men in two career families helped in other ways, for instance by taking their wives and children to and from their places of work or study, and fulfilling all the household's external relations with the wider society. (see table no.5.22)

Table No.5.21 Domestic work load by groups

Degree of load	group 1	group 2	total
Light	-	5	5
Medium	5	24	29
Heavy	14	10	24
Total	19	39	58

Table No.5.22 Division of some household activities between men, women and servants according to womens' responses

Tasks	Carried out by
Cooking	Woman/Servant
Cleaning up around the house	Mainly servant
Laundry	Woman/Servant
Shopping	Mainly man
Household repairs	Mainly man
Ironing	Woman/Man
Child Care	Mainly woman/Servant
Transportation of the family	Only man
Paying bills	Only man

A high proportion of women interviewed, believed that men should help around the house and that might reflect some development towards more liberal attitudes especially of working women to domestic division of labour, but as a matter of fact none of the informants suggested equal sharing of domestic tasks between the two parties. Generally working women participated less in the performance of overall household tasks than non-working women, due to the domestic help received from other elements in the household. Nonetheless, some respondents commented on the negative attitudes of their husbands and other close relatives that they should give up their work and concentrate on domestic responsibilities and child-care.

The issue whether a woman with responsibilities at home should work, is a subject of long discussion and controversy. As we have seen in previous sections, many accusations have been directed at working women for failing in their basic role as housewives and mothers.

It is also obvious from the finding that while working women would be less willing to perform their traditional roles in the household and men were unable to change their traditional views regarding housework, two elements made possible an acceptable form of compromise to lessen the internal conflict. The first was the employment of domestic servants who relieve women and even men of the various laborious household chores, and second the direction of women towards jobs that have flexible hours, such as the government sector which operates for six hours daily from 7.00 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. which can allow women to increase the amount of time they have for household duties.

5.6 Domestic servants and the household division of labour

This section may be considered as a pioneer attempt to explore the relationship between the extensive use of paid domestic servants and the division of household labour, and how the massive use of this group of labour reflects some changes in the values and the views of the families and society towards housework.

Before approaching the topic in detail it is important to give some information regarding the number, nationalities, and the occupational categories of these servants.

Domestic servants are considered to form one of the largest occupational groups. Since the late 1970s, the number of servants employed by Bahraini families has increased very dramatically, reaching, according to some estimations, 20,000.(62) Bearing in mind that according to the 1981 population census the total number of Bahraini households was 33,903. This means that nearly one servant is

employed in one and a half to two households.(63) (see table no.5.23) In percentage terms domestic servants account for about 20 per cent of the labour force.

Table No.5.23 Work permits issued by Ministry of Labour to domestic servants, 1978-85

Year	No. of work permits
1974	269
1975	335
1976	444
1977*	-
1978	1874
1979	1916
1980	2808
1981	3711
1982	5401
1983*	-
1984	5260
1985	6541

Source: Collected from the Ministry of Labour - Annual Manpower statistics for the years from 1974-85.
* No data available for these years.

It is well known that domestic service is an occupation which is predominantly filled by immigrant women. Domestic servants can be grouped on the basis of national origin differentials. The vast majority of servants came from non-Arab Asian countries. Women from Sri-Lanka constituted the largest group employed in domestic service, followed by Indians, and Filipinos who represent nowadays a large and the fastest growing group. They are much more Westernised than the former two nationalities, and speak English better and so they have become much more in demand. In addition there are some domestic servants of other nationalities.

Certain difficulties of terminology arise in defining the term "servant". In the Gulf nowadays the term "servant" is applied to a

wide variety of occupations without any clear cut differentiation. It is used to cover a nanny who cares for the children, those who work as indoor domestic servants and might be applied as well to drivers and gardeners.

> "The Bahraini family and even the authorities confuse the roles of servant and nanny. In some cases one might see a servant perform two different roles such as caring for a child in the morning and cleaning the employer's car in the afternoon." (64)

The term servant will be used here to refer to any foreign female working on a wage basis in the family and performing domestic duties, while the term nanny will be used to refer to females employed to care for children and directly or indirectly participating in the child's upbringing.

Although domestic service is one of the largest occupational groups, it is also one of the few groups which is not yet covered by labour law or any labour legislation. This lack of coverage has been due in part "to the fact that the nature of the work which they (domestic servants) perform is different from the nature of work performed by the rest of the other categories of workers" and in part also to the highly personalised relationship involved in such industry which is carried out in the heart of the home. (65).

The view presented here is that the appearance of the domestic servant phenomenon in the Bahraini households is the product of several factors which are inter-connected. The first is the increase in the standard of living and of wealth among high and low especially after the middle of the 1970s, which gave rise to an expansion in the number of middle and upper class families who could afford household help and

which has also brought increased demand for most consumer articles. Services and domestic services were among these. This is linked to the decrease in the cost of hiring servants in relation to the cost of substitutes for such work.

Second, the relative expansion in female employment, as we have seen in the previous section, has resulted in an increased demand for domestic help.

Thirdly, the employment of one servant or more might be seen by a large number of families as fashionable and something to imitate rather than anything else. However, the nature of the social behaviour of people who usually live in big houses with a large number of rooms, cooking a lot of different types of dishes more than once a day, receiving a large number of visitors, and sometimes daily, and the desire to change their dresses and have them cleaned twice or so a day, give these people the impression that domestic service and help are necessary.

Finally, the appearance and the role played by private recruitment agencies represent an important issue in increasing the number of domestic servants in households. In 1981 there were 91 agencies (66), increasing to 104 by 1982 (67) dealing almost entirely with domestic servants, and the great majority of housemaids in Bahrain were employed through these agencies. Although these agencies dominated the recruitment of these household employees, their activities are generally not subject to any government control, which facilitated unfair dealing and exploitation of these people.

> "Most of these recruitment agencies have committed a series of inhuman practices in dealing with these people not as human beings but more as merchandise in a business which is nothing more than slavery." (68)

From informal visits by the researcher to five of these agencies, after getting their addresses from the telephone directory, the impression gained was that two or three employees, a table, a telephone, a few chairs and some files, in a two roomed flat seemed enough to operate as an agency.

The talk I had with owners of these five agencies reveals that each recruited between 30 to 50 servants a month. (69) In the files of the agencies, information is stored about the characteristics of these servants, their age, physical appearance, qualifications, and a photograph of the servant to be shown to the employer. Virtually all the agencies offered an employer a three month guarantee on a servant that the servant would work well and meet the requirement of the employer. After the three months have expired, the agencies do not accept any responsibility for disputes or disagreement which may arise between the two parties.

All the agencies charge the employer a fee for providing him with a servant and this ranges between BD.200-400 depending on the nationality of the servant. (70)

> "It is true that what we are doing is trading in human beings, but in the end it is a service needed by the servant and the employer alike." (71)

All the five agency owners interviewed stated that they do not recommend a family to offer the servant a day off to go out. As one

stated "In our office we prefer not to give servants a day out or a holiday because they usually misuse this advantage". (72)

Most of these agencies have one flat or more to accommodate the servants when they arrive from their country and before they are allocated to their employers. The flat is also used to accommodate servants returned by their employers during the guarantee period. A visit by the researcher to one of these flats located in the same building and owned by the agency gave an immediate impression about the way in which servants are treated.

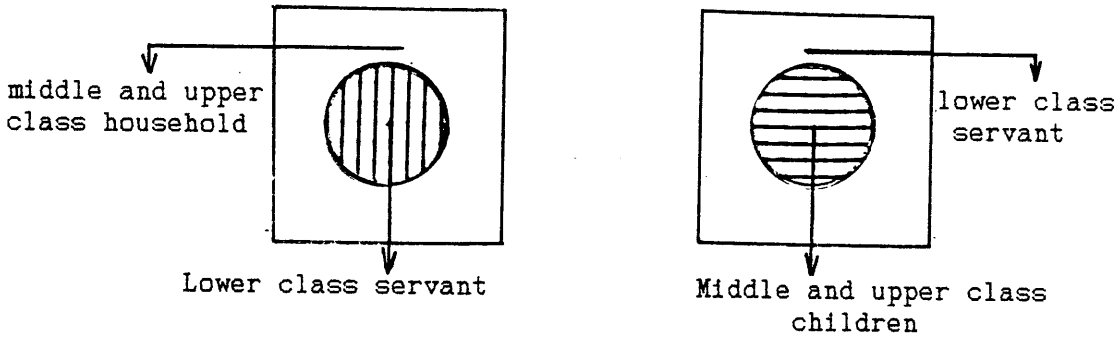
The flat contained only two big rooms with poor carpet on the floor and it was full of bags and cartons making it look like a storage. It might have been used to accommodate a large number of women who could only sleep on the floor near their luggage.

There is public opposition to the inhumane way these agencies place their advertisements in the local newspaper. One such was "On the occasion of the Annual Sale, we announce a reduction in the price of supplying servants". (73) This looked as if the agency was only dealing with consumer goods and not human beings.

The phenomenon of domestic servant might be considered as a "bridging occupation" (74) between two different cultures or a foreign agent bringing new cultural elements into the most important social institutions with which they become integrated, namely the family. There is also a class integration between low class people caring for and serving a society consisting of middle and upper classes. All upper class and most middle class families abandoned their children

and their household entirely to the care of lower class women. (see Figure No.15 D.Chaplin, 1978, argues that the role domestic service plays in socializing middle and upper class children constitutes an additional perspective for a full analysis of this strategic occupation.(75)

figure no.15) Class Inter-action - Domestic servants and the dominant class.



Moreover, the phenomenon has facilitated the religious interaction within the family when one or two or even more religious faiths are held within a household which used to be considered as a very conservative unit. Some of these religions are totally alien to the family and the country in general. Table No.6.24 provides some information in this respect.

Table No.6.24 The ratio of domestic servants in three Arab Gulf countries by religion.

	Muslim	Christian	Buddhist
U.A.E.	47,0	37,0	16,0
Bahrain	26,8	38,0	33,2
Kuwait	45,4	43,9	-

Sources: K.A. Khalif op.cit.

The basic methodological approach utilized here is a series of personal interviews. Data was collected through interviews with thirty two domestic servants who were asked to talk about tasks they perform in the household, their relations with the family, their living and working conditions and their attitudes towards their jobs. The interviews were obtained through personal contact with some families employing servants. (see table 5.25) which provides details of basic characteristics of the sample). However, one has to emphasize the difficulties of approaching this group which is considered by the family as a holder of some of the family secrets.

Table No. 5.25
Basic facts about the servants interviewed.

Age Group	Number	Nationality	Number
Less than 20	2	Sri-Lanka	18
20 to 29	16	India	6
30 and over	14	Filipino	8
		Others	-
Total	32	Total	32

Religion	Number	Level of Education	Number
Muslim	10	Illiterate	2
Christian	14	Primary	8
Other	8	Secondary	18
		More than secondary	4
Total	32	Total	32

Size of employer's family	Number	Classification of the job*	Number
Less than 4	3	Servant only	7
4 - 6	13	Nanny only	3
7 - 10	9	Servant and nanny	22
11 and over	7	Other	-
Total	32	Total	32

* the classification here is according to the servant's view of the nature of the job.

The characteristics of the servant interviews are presented with the aim of providing a basic idea about this group rather than to use these characteristics for testing relationships between different variables.

5.6.1 The nature of domestic servants' duties.

The information gathered from the domestic servants showed that the majority believe that they work in the absence of a clear cut occupational classification and job definition. They carry out tasks related to child-caring and socializing and they are responsible for all household tasks, even doing some tasks not related to their duties such as cleaning the employer's car or cars. The servants generally have a negative attitude towards what they called the heaviest domestic responsibilities which put them under pressure for most of the day. (see tables no.5.26 and 5.27).

> "I was regularly required to get up at 5 a.m. and not allowed back to bed until the early hours of the next morning."(76)

> "In addition to the hard housework, I have to look after the two children and end up working from 5 a.m. until 11 p.m."(77)

Table No. 5.26
Servants' domestic duties from the servants' viewpoint.

Task	Degree of Performance		
	Always	Some time	Rarely or not
1 Cleaning the house	32	-	-
2 Washing clothes	26	6	-
3 Ironing	11	14	7
4 Shopping	3	7	22
5 Cleaning cars	3	8	21
6 Caring for old people	3	-	29
7 Cooking *	5	22	5
8 Washing dishes	29	3	-
10 Caring for children	3	16	13

*some families have a special person (cook) in charge of this duty.

Table No.5.27 Servants' reports of the degree of womens' participation in the housework.

Degree	Number
Complete participation	6
Medium participation	18
Very little participation	8
No participation	-
Total	32

A close look at the above two tables shows clearly that domestic servants are responsible for most of the main domestic duties such as cleaning the house, washing dishes and clothes but with the exception of cooking where the women themselves either prefer to cook or to employ a special person to do such work. Servants received only marginal assistance from members of the family in carrying out their tasks. Furthermore, as the table shows, the servants are less involved in caring for or socializing children and that is partly due to the increased role of the mother in this duty.

5.6.2 Working Conditions of the Domestic Servants

It must be pointed out that the study of working and living conditions of domestic servants is fraught with great difficulty due to the special and intimate nature of the employee-employer relationship. Nevertheless, the interviews brought together interesting information relating to these conditions.

Conditions of employment are not covered by law or legislation and it is only controlled by a limited contract agreed upon in theory at least by the two parties (see Appendix No.VI) in addition to the

general customs, rules and the personal arrangements between the servant and master.

> "Many Sri-Lankans, ignorant of the law and unsuspecting of what lies ahead, come through unauthorised and illegal agencies. They come without proper agreements or contracts, some with a name board of their recruiting agency hung around their necks so that they may be identified because they cannot speak English or Arabic."(78)

Virtually all the domestic servants have to live in their employer's homes from whom they receive accommodation and food. They all work a seven day week without a free day except for a few Christian servants who receive an afternoon off to go to church. On average, servants work 15 hours a day.

All the servants interviewed received wages which are very low by any standard. Their monthly wage range was between BD.30 and 60 depending to some extent upon the nationality of the servant. (see table No.5.28)

Table No.5.28 Domestic Servants' Monthly Wages by Nationality

Wage category \ Nationality	Sri-Lanka	India	Filipino
30 - 4o	13	4	-
41 - 50	5	2	4
51 - 60	-	-	3
61 and over	-	-	1
Total	18	6	8

Only a few servants reported positive attitudes towards their monthly pay and these were mainly Filipino women, while the majority had a

negative attitude towards their wages which they saw as small and unrelated to their contribution. However, all the servants interviewed reported that they remit not less than half of their wages to their home coutries.

The treatment of a servant as a lower class person is reflected in the sleeping quarters provided for them. Although there is no doubt that their sleeping quarters fall well below the standard for the rest of the family, 16 servants out of the total sample reported that they have their own rooms in the house provided by the employers. However, the majority of them were unable to sleep in these rooms during the Summer because they are usually without air conditioning. (see table no.5.29)

Table No.5.29 Domestic Servants' Sleeping Place

Sleeping place	Number
Private room in the house	9
Room attached to the house	7
With the children	11
No particular place for sleeping	5
Total	32

A long working-day and restricted free time left servants isolated from the wider society and almost cut off from participation in any network of friends they may have among other men or women from their country or class. As we stated earlier, the majority of the servants have no time off or a holiday, and the fortunate are some Christian women who have the chance of one afternoon off a week to go to church.

Some Christian servants complained however that their employers refused to let them go to church out of fear that they might meet men then. One servant said "Time for church or to go out is up to the employer". (79) "I am given no day off, and I am kept locked in like a prisoner", (80) a servant from Sri-Lanka said. For such rural poor immigrants going to church might reflect two motives. Firstly, as Jitodal (1969) pointed out (81) that it could serve as the most obvious channel to enter the network of groups in a strange environment, and secondly, as a way of seeking identity in an alien culture.

These conditions, plus low cash wages, open the way to easy seduction and casual prostitution, (82) or might cause more psychological pressure upon the servant which may be reflected in their relationships with the family and children, The vast majority claim that they had no time to read, but they could watch T.V. especially on Friday.

One of the most important areas of investigation in the working conditions of domestic servants and their role in the household division of labour is the relationship between the servant and the family which reflects to a great extent the class and power within the household. Aubert argues that what prevented the role of a servant from becoming part of the social system of an individual family in spite of its close affinity to the family role, was the status differential. (83) The character of this relationship depended on the attitudes of each party towards the other and to the level of servant integration within the family structure. (84) All the group I

interviewed commented on this issue as an important one which affects their status and the degree of satisfaction in their work. As one commented: "We do not mind working long hours, because we migrated to work, but the most important thing is that our work should be appreciated and treatment by the family should be fair".

As the interviews' findings support, the servant degree of work satisfaction depends mostly upon the relationship with the family. Servants who reported that they were satisfied with their work related that to fair treatment and the understanding of the family, and some went as far as one who stated that her employer regarded her as a member of the family.

On the other hand, the majority who believe that they are dissatisfied with the work also related that not to the working condition so much as to the kind of family treatment. A common element in the relationship between servants and employers in this respect is the attitudes of the two parties towards each other. An employer might look upon his servant as stupid, uneducated, uncouth, and of a lower status which is reflected in the harsh treatment and the expectation to work as a machine. While from the servants' side, she might accept her employer's judgments in order to survive in her job, as the vast majority usually do, or she might behave in a contrary way by turning to crime as a form of rebellion against her inferior status.(85)

> "The eight-month-old boy lost his voice when his expatriate nanny laced his milk with a drug to induce him to sleep. He also lost his eyesight and his hearing, and doctors said he would never recover them".(86)

"The employer has often destroyed my letters". (87)

"For two days, I have been locked up in the bathroom because I tried to complain to the agent about the mistreatment." (88)

One recruitment agency owner commented on that situation by saying that most of the servants came from different cultures and ways of life and find themselves without proper introductions in contact with a new, different and unknown culture, and this, in addition to language problems, might cause trouble. He added that the family expect a servant to do everything and they usually punish her for a very minor mistake.

"I used to get calls at 2 am in the morning from a women complaining that her maid had broken a water jug." (89)

None of the 32 servants interviewed reported any sexual problems or that they were subject to sexual harrassment but it is common knowledge that some young servants are particularly susceptible to sexual advances by their employers. It is true that there is no evidence to support this statement, but news and stories published in Sri-Lanka by returning servants shows that a large number of Sri-Lankan housemaids in employment in the Middle East are allegedly subjected to physical and sexual assaults. (90)

According to an agency owner also, the most common complaints received from families employing servants are the long time servants spend in writing letters, especially during the first year of the contract. Official figures published by the police revealed that the common types of cases among servants which are usually reported by employers

are running away from the employers house, attemped suicide, refusal to work, theft, and prostitution.(91)

5.6.3 Social Cost of Domestic Servants

The rapid increase in the number of domestic servants in the households is causing anxiety about the social and cultural effects they are having on the family, children and the division of labour.(92)

Children in the servant-employing family are those mostly affected. Judging from previous reports and my own findings, the child is more strongly attached to the servant than anybody else in the home, and has a very close and affectionate relationship with her. This has created a serious problem and Gulf sociologists are now expressing strong views against foreign servants believing that they exert a negative psychological and cultural influence on the generation of pre-school children.(93) (See Appendix No. VII)

For a child, after spending a great part of the day with the maid in the house in the absence of his mother, the maid then fulfilled his early physical and emotional needs and provided companionship, so the child looks on its mother as an outsider and the maid becomes the substitute mother. What is worse, the maids are changed often, leading to the likelihood of even greater confusion.

> "We must realise that most of them (servants) are not trained to look after children at all."(94)

Another negative factor is that, due to the fact that the servants speak a different language, it is found that children are unable to

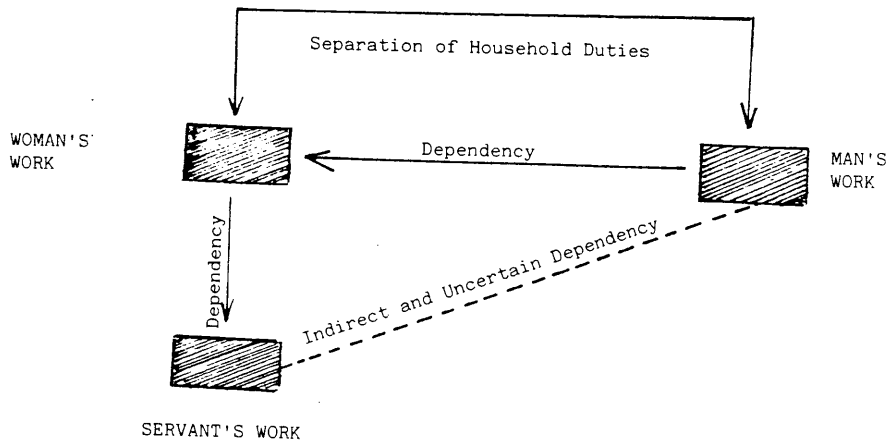
speak their mother-tongue or what happens is that instead the child picks up the broken Arabic language of the servant or learns English or whatever might be the servant's native language. In addition a child might be influenced by the servant's customs, traditions and even religious practices. The story of a family who found its four year old child repeating the prayers of a religioun alien to the household was a case in point.(95) One researcher commented:

> "A stranger observation which strikes me is that when I asked the mother coming to my clinic (paediatric clinic) questions regarding the health of her child, she turned to the servant to answer my question."(96)

Moreover, the widespread employment of domestic servants in the household seriously affected the division of labour within the family unit and helped in bringing in new work values such as dependence upon the services of others and keeping aloof from housework and the whole existing system of sexual division of labour was dramatically affected and all the members of the family became uncertain about their actual duties.. (see figure no.16)

Figure No. 16

Household Division of Labour



Judging from the information provided by the servants interviewed, housemaids are influencing extensively the household organization and the scope of domestic activities, which relieves all family members from household labour. The role of the housewives becomes one of only supervision of the household. The husband becomes, as it were, a hotel resident who could, at the touch of a bell, receive any services. Finally the child who grows up surrounded by maids and servants, learns easily how to give orders and has all his needs met. As Rubbo and Taussing (97) argue, these types of children children are rigorously socialized into the use of a very personal type of power.

> "We are faced with a crowd of servants and a mass of lazy national women who are busy chattering, using the telephone, indulging their aristocratic tastes which exhaust the national product and in addition they are armed with social class values." (98)

Another consequence of the existence of servants is the weakness of the relationships within the family. The husband becomes less dependent upon the service of his wife with the presence of servants and he can involve in long disputes and disagreement with his wife without any fear that his domestic service would be affected. The women's world outside the house has extended and centres on visits or personal shopping trips. The child also becomes less respectful and obedient to his parents and he might reject their authority and orders. In addition, the presence of a young maid in the house might arouse the suspicion or jealousy of the wife which in turn could affect relationships within the family.

To conclude, the examination of the impact of international migration on the household division of labour must be linked with the issue of domestic servants. While the men in the labour market rejected manual jobs and left that to immigrants and intensively concentrated on unproductive jobs, the family as well started gradually to look down upon domestic duties and transferred them to the foreign elements in the household (the servant), actions which represent two sides of one coin.

So, the problem is part of a wide structure of dependence. Judging from information obtained from Bahraini women interviewed regarding the impact of domestic servants on the family, a substantial number of women employing servants considered them as important elements in the household, while onlya small proportion reported that they can manage without servants.

Thus, the increase in servant numbers is first and foremost a value changing and class related issue. The presence of servants is seen as part of a shift in middle class attitudes to domestic life and a way to claim a higher step in the social scale. The social status of a family can be in some cases judged by the number of people they employ to serve them, or as (Veblen 1931) termed it the ownership of persons, especially women. (99) Thus whether the family need the number of servants or not is not the question. What does matter is that a family should be seen to enjoy a high standard and as Veblen states, women and slaves are highly valued, both as evidence of wealth and as a means of accumulating wealth (100).

> "As the standard of wealth recognised by common consent advances, the possession and exploitation of servants as a means of showing superfluity undergoes a refinement..... the maintenance of servants who produce nothing argues still higher wealth and position." (101)

Moreover, it might be seen as a way that middle and upper class women can impose power upon lower class elements in patriarchal society. Mernissi (1982) argues that the most recent development regarding the female role and relations is the emergence of a new group of women, mainly civil servants and women in liberal professions, and on the other side, the emergence of a relationship of domination and exploitation which this group maintains over the rest of the mass of women, is incarnate in the relationship towards housework. (102) Thus the appearance of domestic servants also strengthens the relations of dominant and subordinate groups and contributes to a lessening of Bahraini women's subordinate position within the household. On the other hand that situation increases the possibility of power competition within the household between a husband who does not want to lose some of his traditional control over the house, and the wife who wants openly to practise the new gained power.

5.7 Conclusion:

On the basis of the foregoing discussion of the factors which determine the sexual division of labour in the labour market and household, some observations rather than general conclusion can be drawn. First, that although social and economic development has brought about some improvement in the status of women in society judging from the emergence of certain groups of women having more or less opportunity for taking paying jobs which represents a break in

the existing traditional sex role, the influence of present-day Islamic values, and society's attitudes towards the public role of women are strongly reflected in the degree of women's participation in the labour market.

Second, the process of so-called modernization and development, especially since the middle of the last decade, contributed fundamentally in re-shaping the division of labour which is based in part on sexual differences, and in actual fact was only part of the general change in the societal divisions of labour which came as a consequence of the international migration, increase in income and changing values and attitudes. One consequence was that men and women came virtually to operate in separate labour markets and in particular occupations.

Third, the sexual division of labour in the Bahrain households has been widely affected by the introduction of a new social and cultural category (domestic servants) which to some extent assisted in the process of re-shaping the sexual division of labour and affected the existing traditional relations of task distribution between the two social components, male and female, and generally that change was linked simultaneously with the general social division of labour in society.

Fourth, it is clear that sexual division of labour is a part of a structural organisation of the societal division of labour. The social forces interacting and distributing the tasks within the society are the same in the household. The women are still treated traditionally as responsible for housework and child care and even

when they enter the labour market the access is for certain jobs, and the man continues to hold the superior status and despite the improvement in their educational and employment status, women fail to challenge male superiority: and finally the foreign groups in the household occupy the lowest status with poor working and living conditions. Finally, perhaps the most important point to be made is that if the new role of women in the society is to be accepted, new action should be taken. Domestic education can be treated as primarily a way to prepare young men and women for essential participation in their own homes. In addition, it is necessary to provide more facilities for looking after children such as nurseries which can help women to be able to cope with work. In the end these and other reforms might prevent any possibility of a direct clash between sexual roles in the labour market and the household.

5.8 CASE STUDY

Shanty is a 26 year old unmarried lively woman coming from a rural area of Sri-Lanka. (103) "I have been working as a domestic helper for more than 19 months" she said. (104) She is serving a relatively small family of six members. The husband is a bank employee, the wife is non-working and there are four children. The oldest child is a boy aged nine years and the girls are aged six, four and less than two years old. The family lives in a newly built house which consists, according to the servant, without giving a precise number, of a large number of rooms. Looking at the house from the outside one gets an idea that more than one servant works there.

When we were talking to her she was sitting on the floor, while we were sitting on the comfortable sitting-room sofa, and that behaviour seemed a habit the servant was used to.(105) "I do almost all the house work, except cooking.(106) I have to wake up at 5 to 5.30 a.m. during the week days and at 6.30 a.m. on Fridays. I am always the first one up, and go to bed when everybody else does. I work for about 15 hours, seven days a week, and before the day is over I would have the house swept, the clothes washed, and the dishes washed. All that while I am also required to look after the two younger children and I get only very little assistance from members of the family". She added that "for all that I am paid the normal wage of BD. 35 which looked so attractive in Sri-Lanka but not here. For me the wage is not always the point, but I have heard of other servants paid more than that or even double for doing the same work", she added. Shanty remitted most of her wage to Sri-Lanka and used the remainder for personal expenditure. "I have not had any problem of wage payment and I always receive my wage on time".

She said that in her first year she had had an unhappy experience with the family. "Despite that I have been very faithful to them. They mistreated me badly, especially the wife and my complaints to her husband went unheeded, and in the sixth month I said I did not want to continue working with this family. No, I have never thought of running away from the family". She said that the situation has now improved to some extent. She added "It is hard to serve others, especially when you do not know their customs and language, and that increases the chance of disillusionment.

Her two years contract ends in three months time, and she said "I want to go back. I miss my family".

Although she is a Christian and living in Manama where most of the churches are based, she said "I have been to the church only twice and that was during my first two months in Bahrain. Then after that everything has changed. They have forbidden me to go outside and have not even given me time off for fear that I might meet men. On the other hand, I admit that they take me with them when they go out on Fridays, but that is not the type of recreation I enjoy because I will be under their orders. I do not have any relatives or close friends in this country and I am almost cut off from society even though I know some Sri-Lankan women working in this area".

"I have my own room in the house, although I usually sleep with the children in one of their rooms because of the lack of air-conditioning in my room." Regarding her free time in the house she said: "I sometimes watch T.V. with the family but I have no time for reading although I like to do so". She concluded by saying that she holds a degree equivalent to a high diploma, and "accordingly I could work as a teacher in Bahrain and not as a domestic helper".

5.9 Notes

(1) A. Rassam "Towards a theoretical framework for the study of women in the Arab World". In Social Science Research and Women in the Arab World. 1984 Frances Pinter Publishers, Lond, P.123.

(2) Ibid P.124.

(3) F. Mernissi "Women and the impact of capitalist development in Morocco". In Feminist Issues, Fall 1982 p. 73.

(4) W.Seccombe "The housewife and her labour under capitalism" quoted from M. Coulson et al "The Housewife and her labour under Capitalism - a critique. In New Left Review No.89 Jan-Feb 1975 p.60

(5) See R.Collins, "A conflict theory of sexual stratification". In Social Problems vol.9 1971 p.3-20.

(6) Rassam (1982), op cit, 127.

(7) V. Beechy "What is special about womens' employment? A review of some recent studies of women's paid work, Feminist Review No.15.

(8) S.Walby "Patriarchy at work - Patriarchal and capitalist relations in employment" 1986 Polity Press.

(9) See F. Parker "Marxism and class theory: a bourgeois critique, 1979, Tavistock London; J. Goldthorpe "Women and class analysis: a defence of the conventional view: Sociology, 17 1983, pp.465-88; N. Britten & A.Heath "Women, man and social class". In E.Gamarnikow, et al "ed" Gender,class and work" 1983, Heinemann,London.

(10) L. Murgatroyed "Gender and Occupational Stratification". In The Sociological Review no. 4, Vol. 30, Nov. 1982.

(11) W.P. Bridges "The Sexual segregation of occupations: Theories of labour stratification in industry. American journal of Sociology, vol. 88 1982 pp. 270-95.

(12) A.Rassam "National development and the Arab Women: contradictions and accommodations",In University of Basrah,"Man and Society in the Arab Gulf" op cit P.242.

(13) Quoted from "Ibid"p.240, see S.D. Beauvoir "The Second Sex" Translated from French: 1953, London. and E.Baserup "Womens' role in economic development".London 1970.

(14) See F.Amin "Study of the family situation in Bahrain" Social Study Series No. 3 Bahrain Sociologists Association 1983 (in Arabic); B. AL-Najjar "Women and mode of production in traditional Gulf Societies" Paper presented to the Second Regional Conference of Women in the Arabian Gulf, Kuwiat 1980.

(15) S. al-Misnad "The development of modern education in the Gulf" Ithica Press, London, 1985 p.21. She also added that pre-oil society has been described as the womens' society.

(16) A.Hamaydan "Les Femmes et le Movement Feminim a Bahrian" University de Paris, Nanterre, 1978 p.20.

(17) M.G. Al-Rumayhī "Bahrain - Social and Political Changes since the first World War" "op cit" p.135.

(18) Director of Statistics, 1983, op cit p.86.

(19) See Ibid, p. 89; E.J.Fordyce et al. "The changing roles of Arab Women in Bahrain" In J.B.Nugent, op cit p. 58.

(20) Director of Statistics op cit p.102-3;
82 Annual Manpower Survey shows also increasing participation of Bahraini women in the private sector. 1979 Survey counted 1,435 Bahraini females working in private sector & had increased to 2,457 - a 71.2 per cent gain in only three years. According to the 1982 survey, women are heavily concentrated in clerical occupations and they also comprise a greater than proportional share of professional and technical and managerial and administrative workers. See Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs - Annual Manpower Survey for Private Sector - 1982.

(21) G.V. de Miranda "Human Resource development and female labour force participation in Brazil". In P. Streeten and H. Maier "Concepts, Measurement and Long -Run Perspective Macmillan Press Ltd. 1983 p.426

(22) Fordyce et al, op.cit., p.59.

(23) S.al-Misnad, 1985, op.cit., p.301.

(24) Mernissi, op.cit, p.97.

(25) A.A.ʿAbd al-Bārī "On working women in Kuwait and the Gulf", a paper presented at the first Regional conference on women in the Arabian Gulf, Kuwait (In Arabic) 1975.

(26) Quoted from: K. Nath "Education and Employment among Kuwaiti Women" In L. Beck & N. Keddie "Women in the Muslim World" Harvard University Press London 1978 p. 183

(27) F. AL-Thakab "The attitudes of Kuwaitis towards the position of women in present Kuwaiti society". Paper presented to the First Regional Conference of Women in the Arabian Gulf, 21-24 April, p. 7 (Arabic)

(28) Quoted from The Middle East August 1985, an article written by S. Searight "Growing up in the Gulf" p. 47.

(29) J. Minces "The House of Obedience - Women in Arab Society" ZedPress - London 1967 - p. 75.

(30) Personal interview.

(31) D. J. Gerner "Roles in transition, the evolving position of women in Arab-Islamic countries". In F. Hussain "Muslim Women" and F. Mernizzi. op. cit.

(32) Personal interview.

(33) Quoted from an article written by A. Jassim "The general consequences of womens' employment" in Akbar AL-Khaleej. Another fact which can support that argument is what has been published in the same newspaper, dated 7 November 1983, that when the Civil Service Bureau started the registration of Bahrainis willing to get clerical jobs in Government Ministries, 500 persons registered in the first three days, the vast majority of whom were Bahraini females.

(34) See F. Khuri , op. cit., p. 130 and p. 146.

(35) J. A. Dowdall "Structural and attitudinal factors associated with female labour force participation". In Social Science Quarterly vol. 55 1974 p. 121.

(36) M. Leon "Measuring women's work: methodological and conceptual issues in Latin America". In IDS Bulletin, 1984, Vol. 15 No. 1 (Institute of Development Studies, Sussex.)

(37) See for details: R. K. Brown, et al, "Changing attitudes to work" 1983 Department of Employment, Research Paper No. 40; J. B. Agassi "Women on the job: The attitudes of women to their work" D. C. Health and Co.; Lexington, Mass., 1979; and A. Hunt, "A survey of women's employment, Government Social Survey Division HMSO: London 1968.

(38) N.H.Yousseff, "Differential labour force participation of women in Latin American and Middle Eastern Countries:The Influence of Family Characteristics", Social Forces December 1972 vol.51,No.2 p.145.

(39) S.M.AL Sabāh, "Working Women in the Gulf" in The Arab Gulf Journal. vol.5 No.1 April 1985, p.52.

(40) Personal interview.

(41) Personal interview.

(42) Personal interview.

(43) AL-Misnad op.cit p. 305.

(44) S.Walby 1986 "op cit" p. 84.

(45) H. Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and Job Segregation by Sex" In Z.R. Eisenstein "ed" Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist feminism 1979 N.Y. Monthly Review Press.

(46) Akbar AL-Khaleej "undated"

(47) Interview with Fayzh al-Zayyani a social affairs supervisor in the Ministry of Labour by Financial Times Tuesday,June 2, 1981.

(48) Personal interview.

(49) S. Dex "The Sexual Division of Work: Conceptual Revolutions in the Social Sciences" 1985, Wheatsheaf Book Ltd., London, p. 79.

(50) Directorate of Statistics" 1983, op cit, p.93.

(51) Personal interview.

(52) Gulf Mirror 17 April 1986.

(53) Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 1975.

(54) See M.C. Seguret, "Women and working conditions: prospects for improvement". In International Labour Review,122, 1983, P.303

(55) S. Dex, "Women's work histories:an analysis of the women and employment survey" Department of employment, Research Paper No. 46, 1984, p.22.

(56) J. Minces, op cit, p.74.

(57) Directorate of Statistics 1983, op cit, p.80.

(58) See for example; A Oakley "The Sociology of Housework" 1974 Marion Boyars, Oxford; and D. Hobson "Housewifes: Isolation as Oppression" In Women's Studies Group, Women Take Issue. 1978, Hutchinson: London.

(59) Oakley, Op cit, p. 29.

(60) Personal interview.

(61) Personal interview.

(62) B.AL-Najjar "Comments on the reasons for the widespread use of foreign nannies in the Gulf", paper presented to the scientific seminar on the study of the effects of foreign nannies on the family in the Arabian Gulf. 1986 - Bahrain.

(63) It is estimated that there are over one million engaged as indoor domestic servants in the Arab Gulf Countries. In Saudi Arabia alone there were about 750,000 domestic servants in 1983 which means 20 servants for every one working woman. (AL Yamamah, Issue No. 745, 30 March 1983 pp. 3-9). In Kuwait in the first half of 1980, it is estimated that more than 154,000 servants were employed. (Ministry of Planning, September 83) No data is available regarding these numbers in Qatar, U.A.E. and Oman, but the situation will not be very different from the previous three cases.

(64) Personal interview with recruitment agency owner.

(65) Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. "Labour Seminars for Employers" 1978 p. 9-10.

(66) Akbar AL-Khaleej 25 November 1981.

(67) Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs "Field Study of the Recruitment Agencies in Bahrain" 1982. According to this study the first agency opened in Bahrain in 1974. In an interview with the researcher, an agency owner stated that the number of Recruitment Agencies reached 130 by the end of 1984.

(68) Statement by Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in Bahrain - In AL-athad 9 May 1984

(69) In my belief this number falls far below the exact number of servants they recruited monthly which they prefer to keep unknown, especially since they are dealing, in addition to Bahrain, with citizens of Saudi Arabia.

(70) Servants from Sri-Lanka are the cheapest in their rate, while Filipino servants are the most expensive of all.

(71) Personal interview with agency's owner.

(72) Personal interview. The misuse of the day's holiday might mean here (1)going to church, or (2)meeting men.

(73) Ministry of Labour - 1982, op.cit, p.13.

(74) I borrowed this term from E. Higgs "Domestic Service and Household Production" In 'ed.' A.V. John"Unequal opportunities - Women's Employment in England 1800-1918" Basil Blackwell 1986.

(75) D.Chaplin "Domestic Service and Industrialization" In R.F. Tomasson (ed) Comparative Studies in Sociology vol,. 2 1978 p.102

(76) Personal interview with Sri-Lanki domestic servant.

(77) Personal interview.

(78) S. Ratnatunga·"Sri-Lanka known for nannies" In Migration today No.32 1984 p.16,. Since the beginning of 1980 there have been numbers of complaints by women domestic servants who have been exploited in the Gulf countries and these allegations have been so serious that the Colombo Government sent a diplomatic representative on a fact-finding tour. (See Gulf Mirror 6 Sept.1980 - Gulf Daily News 31 August 1980 and 29 January 1983)

(79) Personal interview.

(80) Personal interview.

(81) T.T. Jitadal, "Migrant status and church attendance" In Social Forces, Vol. 43, No.2. December, 1969, p. 246.

(82) See L.D. Lockwood "Domestic Service and the working class life cycle" In Bulletin for the Study of Labour History, vol.26 Spring 1973 pp. 10-12.

(83) V. Aubert, "The Housemaid - An Occupational Role in Crisis" In S.M. Lipset and N.J. Smelser. "Sociology: The Progress of Decade" Englewood Cliffs: Prentic-Hall, 1961.

(84) See S.B.Luton "Women Servants in Southern Italy: Changing pattern of honour and economic constraint" In L.A.Tilly and et al. "Female Servants and Economic Development" Michigan Occasional Paper No.1 Fall 1978. Second Printing 1981.She provides a good theoretical discussion regarding the nature of servant-employer relationships.

(85) In Bahrain and all the Gulf countries newspapers reported sometimes stories about servants murdering their employers or their children, or servants who had committed suicide etc.

(86) Khalleej Times Oct. 13-82.

(87) Personal interview.

(88) Personal interview.

(89) Statement by Recruitment Agency Owner, in Gulf Mirror 8 August 1981, p.7.

(90) IPS_____"Sri-Lanka and the Gulf" In Migration today Issue No.25 1979, p.9.

(91) Ministry of Interior/women police section - 1982 statistics. The figures show that 68 out of 175 cases reported to the police regarding domestic servants were of servants running away, followed by 17 refusals to work, 14 attempting suicide and 13 for theft. The majority of these cases (89 per cent) were registered against Sri- Lankan servants, 7 per cent against Indian servants and the rest were registered against different nationalities.

(92) See (1) Arab Bureau of Education "Study of the impact of foreign nannies on the characteristics of the Arabian family in the Arab Gulf 1982. (2) State of Bahrain Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs "The effect of foreign nannies on the Bahraini family" 1983. (3) J.AL-Essa "Social impacts of foreign nannies on the family" In N.Frjany and others Foreign Labour in the Arab Gulf States. Centre for Arab Unity Studies 1983.

(93) See A.A.Saud "Qatari Women - Past and Present" 1984 Longman Group Ltd. England p.194.

(94) In interview with B.AL-Jishi, head of childrens' department of the Supreme Council for Youth and Sport in Bahrain. In Khalleej Times Oct.13 1982.

(95) Gulf Mirror April 1985 p.9.

(96) A.Mohsn "The effects of employment of foreign nannies on the Public Health" Paper presented to the scientific seminar to study the effects of foreign nannies, op.cit, P.232.

(97) A.Rubbo and M. Taussig "Up off their knees: servants in South West Colombia" In L.A. Tilly and et al op.cit.

(98) M.A. ATYAT, "AL-Ray al Ardny Issue No.4001. 20 November 1982.

(99) T. Veblen "The theory of the leisured class, A economic study of Institutions 1934, The Modern Library. N.Y. p.53.

(100) Ibid.

(101) Ibid p. 62-3

(102) F. Mernissi, op.cit, p. 96.

(103)This case is an output of a personal interview with a Sri-Lankan domestic servant, and it is selected from among the rest interveiwed because the servant concerned was in between the very dissatisfied and the very satisfied with their work.

(104)Domestic helper is a term usually used by educated servants to define their jobs.

(105)During this interview I was accompanied by a Bahraini lady who was my access to most of the families employing servants.

(106)Some women prefer to do the cooking on their own without relying too much upon servants and that might be due to a common idea that maids are dirty.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CONTRIBUTION OF EDUCATION TO THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

6.1 Introduction

Bahrain, like all the Arab Gulf countries which within less than a decade experienced rapid economic and social development, is faced with serious shortages of manpower and especially qualified personnel at all levels and in all key posts. Paradoxically these shortages exist side by side with some unemployment and a surplus of personnel with particular qualifications. This chapter tries to illustrate some issues concerning the relationship between education and training on one side and the divisions of labour in society on the other, and the role of education and training in preparing each generation for the social division of labour as a whole and the response of the social groups to it. Also how attitudes towards education, training and work have affected the redistribution of labour within the economic sectors in the labour market.

This chapter will be divided into three sections. The first will study the development and structure of education with particular reference to technical education; the second section will deal with formal training and the problems facing it; while the final part presents the findings of an empirical study of two of the training schemes in Bahrain where personal interviews were conducted with a sample of 60 trainees.

6.2 The role of education:

Bahrain was the first state in the Gulf to establish government schools and to introduce female education. In 1919 the first primary boys' school, which was mainly financed by public subscription, was

opened in Bahrain. Following this, and in less than ten years, the first school for girls was opened in response to a demand for female education made by a few of the more progressive Arabs. (1) This step faced considerable opposition from the religious and conservative people who feared that this innovation would allow women "to correspond surreptitiously with men outside their home". (2)

Historically, and before the establishment of that form of education, religious schools or Quranic schools known literally as "Muttawa" were the only means of education available locally. In these schools young boys or girls were taught only to recite and to memorise the Quran which was the only text-book.

The year 1937 witnessed the next important development in education in Bahrain with the opening of the first technical school.

The development of education since that time has been rapid and as a result of the increase in government expenditure the number of schools and students has expanded. Until the end of 1941 there were only 8 government schools, two of which were girls' schools. At the beginning of the school year 1954/1955 there were 24 schools for boys and a technical school of 6,544 boys. Together these were staffed by 282 teachers, of whom 93 were foreigners. In addition, there were 3,386 schoolgirls attending 11 schools with a staff of 125 teachers. (3)

Primary schools at that time were divided into two categories according to their urban location: the regular primary schools of the cities and the village schools. The latter did not differ much from

the former, but they placed more emphasis on the practical and vocational interests such as agriculture and coastal industries such as fishing and boating. (4) This distribution of primary education according to geographical locations, created a division between the type of education received by city residents (mainly Sunnis) and that by village people (mainly Shias). The goal of the village school was to give village children studies which would obviously have benefited them and their families, and to educate a new generation with positive attitudes towards work. (5) Although this system no longer exists, it seems that it was highly effective in its aim of creating an interest in practical education among villagers.

Like the development of education for boys, that for girls was considered to have been too rapid but "most of the opposition has died down". (6) The girls' schools provided education on the same lines as the boys' school, though specializing in girls' subjects, such as domestic hygiene cookery and dress-making at the expense of English language and the sciences. An official report in 1958 stated:

> "The chief object of the schools is not, as in the case of boys' school, to train girls to earn their own living...the aim of the schools is to teach the girls better methods of managing their homes and bringing up their children". (7)

The result of this policy was that before the Seventies, of the four streams included in secondary education (the regular or academic, the teacher-training, the commercial and the technical) the girls were excluded from the two latter.

At the present time the system of education in Bahrain is based on a 6-3-3 structure for primary, intermediate and secondary education respectively. See table No. 6.1 and figure No. 17

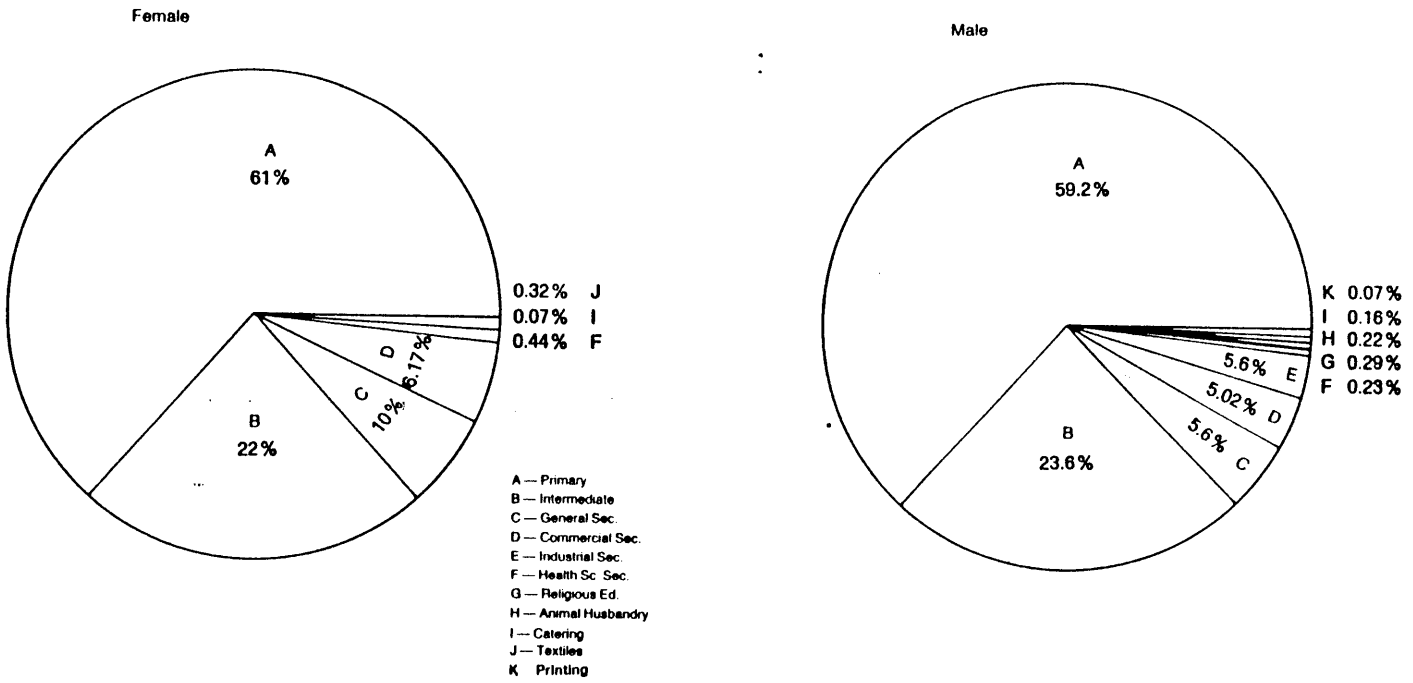
Table No. 6.1 Number of students by level and type of education and sex for the years from 1980-1985.

Scholast. Year Level & Type of Educ.	Sex	1984/5	1983/4	1982/3	1981/2	1980/1
Primary	Male	25291	24945	24313	23770	23804
	Female	24355	22847	21946	20924	20305
Intermediate	Male	10099	9948	9941	9657	9036
	Female	8777	8278	8291	7981	7394
Gen. Second.	Male	2386	2188	2094	2194	2699
	Female	4017	3421	2906	2486	2938
Health Sc. Sec.	Male	98	89	48	16	-
	Female	175	175	160	105	61
Comm. Second.	Male	2145	2029	1677	1181	751
	Female	2466	2492	2134	1455	927
Indus. Second.	Male	2413	2062	1748	1306	1071
Religi. Educ.	Male	126	93	99	102	97
Animal Husb.	Male	95	62	30	-	-
Catering	Male	70	39	24	-	-
	Female	30	16	-	-	-
Textiles	Female	127	81	23	-	-
Printing	Male	29	22	-	-	-
Total	Male	42752	41477	39974	38226	37458
	Female	39947	37320	35460	32951	31625
	Total	82699	78797	75434	71177	69083

Source: Ministry of Education "Educational Statistics 1984/85", p.31.

figure No. 17

Number of Students by Level and Sex: 1984/85



Source: Ministry Of Education Educational Statistics- 1984/85 P.26

6.2.1 Technical Education

Technical education started in 1936 with two carpentry classes, one attached to a primary school in Manama and the other to a primary school in Muharraq. In 1939 the two classes were joined in one technical school. (8)

Since the establishment of this type of education, its expansion has been very slow and has fluctuated. An official report stated that "until 1959 the number of students never rose much above 60. This was because crafts were looked upon as something lacking social status and therefore very few wanted to attend the school and learn a trade". (9)

The majority of such students lived in poor circumstances, (10) and attended only to benefit from the small allowance given to students in this particular type of education.

There are now three technical schools in Bahrain. They accept only male students, and the aim is to produce skilled labour for various economic fields, preparing the students for higher education, and producing technicians to meet the manpower needs of local industries. (See table no·6.2)

Table No.6.2 Development of enrolment in technical education.

Year	Number of Students
1960/61	120
1962/63	260
1964/65	461
1965/66	422
1966/67	395
1967/68	387
1968/69	437
1969/70	464
1970/71	489
1971/72	588
1972/73	596
1973/74	659
1974/75	692
1975/76	681
1976/77	652
1977/78	666
1978/79	815
1979/80	813

Source: Compiled from: Government of Bahrain Annual Reports for the years from 1960 to 1970, and State of Bahrain education statistics for the years from 1971 to 1980.

6.3 The implication of the educational system for the division of labour:

Education in Bahrain has undergone remarkable development and improvements since its foundation in the second decade of the the 20th century with the objective of providing and raising the quality of the labour force to meet the demands for qualified people. However, the capacity of the education system to meet the manpower demands and the fair distribution of the population into the economic sectors fell very far short of its major objectives. Many factors were responsible for that failure:

(1) From its foundation in 1919 the education system was almost totally linked to and embraced by the privileged and upper class merchants who looked upon education as a means to educate their sons to help in running their businesses and to obtain leading positions in society and not to provide labour for the economic market. Their domination of the education system reflected the conservative outlook which rejected any radical change in society. Education became the preserve of the upper and middle class student. When technical education was introduced in the 1930s, it attracted only a few poor people either of Persian origin or Shi a villagers. (10) Thus when education becomes more widespread it is not only divided on a class basis but moreover the perceptions of education vary according to class differences. While the lower and middle classes may view universal education as a mechanism for personal upward mobility into white-collar jobs, by contrast, the 'elite view it in terms 'of intentions of holding power. (11)

In summing up, in the history of education in Bahrain, as everywhere else, the schools have emerged not as part of equal distribution of skills and knowledge, but rather to meet the needs of the dominant groups by providing them with a mechanism for social control and power. The regional distribution of schools, where all schools of the early education time were allocated in the two main cities of Manama and Maharraq is a case in point.

(2) As an underdeveloped former colonial country, when education was founded in Bahrain it was also influenced by the colonial power (British) and the emphasis was on art and cultural subjects.

Education was geared to the administrative needs of providing clerical people to serve the colonial bureaucracy rather than to technical education. The status of Bapco as a major foreign industrial firm in the country was a case in point. Although the company operated in the country from the late 1920s, it showed no interest in the development of education in the country before 1953 when it built three small primary schools. (12) The contribution of Bapco to technical education was almost nil and was represented by sending some employees for basic training in its' school.

In a conference organized by the Bahrain Society of Engineers and the Gulf Polytechnic in 1983, a Bapco official admitted that it would be unrealistic and too demanding to rely on the state education system to meet the specific needs of every firm in Bahrain. Therefore, even more cooperation will be needed from companies in the future to train, develop and provide higher education in those fields of engineering that are specific to their needs.

(3) Although educational development has extended to cover a large range of the population, it has failed to affect the existing traditional attitudes, values and norms towards employment and the choice of types of work. According to some accepted explanations of the relationships between students' choices of type of education and the needs of the labour market, students are generally expected to look carefully at the needs of the labour market before making their education decisions which results in a realistic balance between the supply and the demands of the labour market. But what is happening in the case of Bahrain is almost the opposite. What determined the

students' choice of the type of education was their own individual and family wishes to choose a particular form of education. In addition, they are not free from the influence of important social factors such as societal attitudes and norms and cultural values. (13)

Consequently, general education became much more popular as a bridge to white collar posts in preference to technical education which was less favoured as it is associated with manual works, and people orientated to that field might find themselves in a social category similar to that of immigrant labour. (14) As Ibrahim (1977) stated a sharp conflict between general education and technical education has been created and the proper balance between the two types was never established. (15)

Those negative attitudes towards technical education are clear in most developed countries such as the United States, Britain and Australia, which import foreign labour. It is, however, surprising that such a phenomenon is dominant in the less developed countries. As T. Runger states that in Kenya, Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe for example, Africans deliberately rejected vocational training because they considered it as a second-best education, designed to maintain the dominance of their European masters. (16)

> "Education, Government and society as a whole will have to gain a better understanding of the nature of vocational education and of its value to the individual and the country before this branch of learning can acquire the prestige to enrol the kind and number of students who need it." (17)

This gloomy picture has to some extent improved positively in the last three years due to the economic depression which faced the area and consequently students realise that there is only a handful of jobs in

the bureaucracy to compete for and under these conditions a reasonable attraction for technical education has been noticed. It has to be admitted that unemployment among young graduates has to some extent succeeded in creating some shift in the students' selection of education.

(4) Vocational and technical education is regarded as an inferior form of education not only by students and society, but by the authorities and educational planners. Students who go forward to this type of education are often the less privileged in the society class structure or the least gifted students in intermediate educaton. As a technical school headmaster commented, some schools send their unsuccessful students for a half day trip to his school in order to encourage them to join the technical school and to get rid of them from the general school. (18)

> "The negative social attitudes towards technical education is reinforced by the civil service system which has applied neither financial nor non-financial incentives effectively." (19)

Moreover, of the students who personally chose technical education a higher proportion of them took up occupations completely unrelated to their former training and specializations.

A UNESCO report in 1979 confirmed this fact and revealed that the tendency of many Bahrain technical school graduates to seek non-technical jobs was justified by the low wages paid to technical and manual workers in comparison with salaries in non-technical jobs. (20)

In his study on the attitudes of Saudi youths towards work and vocational education, AL Ghofayli found that Saudi vocational students do not have a preference for vocational work and only entered vocational schools, not because they really wanted to, but because they were not accepted in the academic schools. (21)

(5) The policy of discrimination in technical education enrolment on the basis of sex has prevented full equality in access to education and also produced a problem for employment and for educational planners and resulted in enormous pressure upon general education and helped to maintain the traditional sex segregation in the labour market.

The foregoing discussion reveals that although the educational system has expanded very widely in response to a serious demand for modernisation, that demand was not paralleled by a full understanding of the relation between education on the one hand and the economy and the needs of society on the other hand, which resulted in the two main institutions operating in different directions.

6.4 The role of training.

6.4.1 Training plan for 10,000 Bahrainis:

This scheme was launched in 1980 with a basic target which is to place 10,000 Bahrainis in middle management positions within ten years. Many of them will replace expatriates or occupy newly created positions mainly in the private sector.

The scheme was orientated towards establishments in the private sector. Employers who wish to take advantage must nominate Bahraini employees for appropriate courses of study, which may also be taken by unemployed Bahrainis. Government employees are not eligible to take part in this programme.

In terms of numbers, 2730 persons have been enrolled in this scheme during its first five years, and 828 of them have successfully graduated during the same period. (22) (see tables nos. 6.3 ,6.4 and figure No. 18).

A report prepared by the Ministry of Labour for the International Labour Organization in 1983 listed three main problems facing the plans: (23)

(1) Overall, the drop-out/failure rate on courses has been excessive, i.e. averaging 57% during the period January 1981 to June 1982.

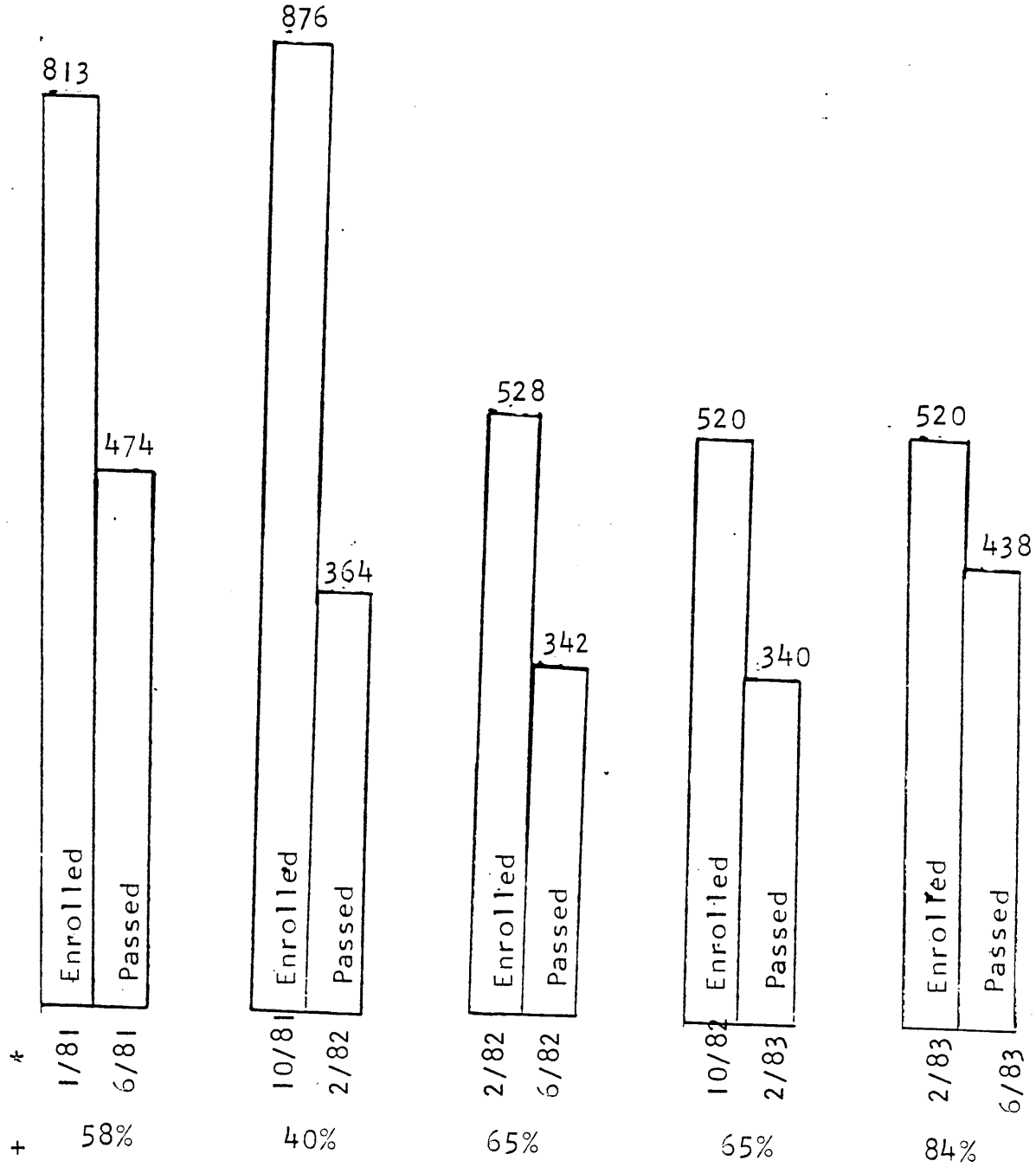
(2) Courses are taught in English, but it has been found that a large number of those wishing to follow a course are not up to the required standard in the English Language.

(3) A large percentage of those following courses were unemployed e.g. out of an enrolment of 842 in 1982, 322 were unemployed approximately 38% of the total.

(Figure No. I8)

No. of Enrolment and Passes- Jaunuary 1981

June 1983



* Years.

\+ Pass Rate.

Table No.6.3 No. of Enrolments, Passes and Failures and Drop-outs in the training plan for 10,000 Bahrainis for the period from January 1981 to February 1985.

	Jan 81 June 81	Oct.81 June 82	Oct.82 June 83	Oct.83 June 84	Oct.84 Feb.85
Enrolments	646	592	587	630	436
Drop-outs	187	206	122	76	16
Failures	73	123	71	61	21
Graduates	386	263	394	493	399

Source: Quoted from - Ministry of Labour "Evaluationary report in the work of training plans for 10,000 Bahrainis and continuous management education plans, March 1985

Table No.6.4 No. of Graduates from the training plan by specialization from 1981-1984.

Specialization	No. of Graduates 1981	1982	1983	1984	Total
Clerical Supervision	-	28	19	-	47
Data Processing	-	18	10	9	37
Construction Technician	-	10	3	-	13
Management Studies	-	39	24	-	63
Office Practice	111	111	47	154	423
Insurance Clerk	-	14	-	-	14
Travel Clerk	-	9	-	-	9
Book Keeping	-	8	3	24	35
Mechanical Technicians	-	-	3	19	22
Electrical	-	-	3	12	15
Accounting	-	-	17	3	20
Secretarial	-	-	24	19	43
Computer Programming	-	16	25	31	72
Fine Machine Technician	-		6	9	15
Power Plant Operators	-	-	-	8	8
Total	111	253	184	288	836

Source: Quoted from - Ministry of Labour "Evaluationary Report... op.cit.

6.4.2 The Apprenticeship Training Programme:

This programme was started in October 1981 as an important link between industry and the education system.

The programme takes young Bahrainis with intermediate level schooling offering them one year "off-the-job" training at the Vocational

Training Centre in Isa Town, followed by two years of "on/off-the-job" training within establishments. The objective of the first year programme is to train young people in the fundamentals of a trade or occupation with a view to providing them with the necessary basis for specialization within the industry. Each candidate selected for training undergoes a 12 weeks probationary period during which those who are proved to be unsatisfactory are discontinued.

Training is based on 50% workshop practice, 20% related theory and 30% academic subjects, comprising mathematics, science and communication skills.

Subsequently students have to be sponsored by various employers who provide them with "on-the-job" training which aims to provide an opportunity for apprentices to gain relevant work experience within the production units of the undertakings. (24) Table No.6.5 provides details of the number of student enrolled according to specialization.

Table No.6.5 Development in the enrolment of apprentices to the Apprenticeship Training Programme by specialization from 1981 to 1986.

Specialisation	1981/2	1982/3	1983/4	1984/5	1985/6
Building Electrician	22	47	65	63	62
Automobile Mechanics	8	25	53	68	66
Auto-electrician	-	-	-	23	47
Heavy Duty Mechanics	12	24	49	56	56
Welding & Fabrication	18	40	59	69	66
Carpentry & Joinery	13	29	47	57	69
Masonry & Concrete Work	9	27	40	69	45
Electrician Maintenance & Repairs	-	-	26	44	64
Plumbing	-	-	30	62	63
Airconditioning & Refrigeration Mechanics	11	36	57	68	68
Mechanical Maintenance	-	-	-	-	16
Total	93	228	446	579	622

Source: Vocational Traiing Centre - Training Statistics - op.cit.

The first year of the programme was planned to accommodate 123 students, but only 93 joined which meant a loss of 24.4 %, and of the total who joined only 60 students remained until the end (25) - showing a loss of more than 32% of the total number enrolled which represents a huge loss for the fund set up to pay for the training. (see table 6.6).

Table No.6.6 Average annual cost per Apprentice at the Apprenticeship training programme for the first year students (1982).

Specialization	Average Cost in BD.
Building Electrician	2,349
Automobile and Heavy Duty Mechanic	2.294
Airconditioning and Refrigeration Mechanics	2,136
Welding and Fabrication	2,933
Carpentry and Joinery	2,386
Masonry and Concrete Work	2,395
Average cost for all specializations	2,416

Source: Ministry of Labour "Training Statistics 1982" p.43.

Apart from these two major training schemes, others have been introduced with the aim of enabling Bahrainis to take over jobs in the private sector. The most important one to consider is the Hotel and Catering Training Centre which represents a project with a lot of problems and handicaps. Although the number of trainees enrolled in the centre has increased yearly since its establishment in 1976, only 141 trainees have graduated (see table no.6.7) and that might be

explained by the high drop-out rate which might be the highest in any training scheme in the country.

Table No. 6.7
No. of students enrolled and graduated from Hotel and Catering Training Centre by academic year (1976/1977 - 1983/1984).

Academic Year	No. enroled	No. graduated
1976/77	41	-
1977/78	78	34
1978/79	79	23
1979/80	90	21
1980/81	70	41
1981/82	35	15
1982/83	60	7
1983/84	123	-
Total	576	141

Source: Statistical data provided by HCTC.

Although the main aims of the scheme were to encourage young Bahrainis to be more represented in the hotel and catering sector - they made only about 9% of the total labour force in this section - (26) in addition to removing the prejudices towards such trade, the large majority of jobs in this sector seem to be extremely unattractive to young Bahrainis.

> "The reluctance of parents to allow their sons and daughters to work in this sector, and the young Bahrainis' reluctance themselves, are major problems facing the Centre". (27)

6.5 Implications of training for the division of labour:

After reviewing government manpower planning policy in Bahrain and the existing manpower evaluation and training programmes, the aim of this section will be to assess the quality of the training pattern and its role and contribution in changing the pattern of the division of labour and in shaping new values and attitudes towards work, and the response of the social groups to such a process.

The analysis will be centred around two training institutions selected for the case study - the 10,000 scheme and the apprenticeship scheme. Unstructured interviews were conducted with appropriate officials in the two training schemes in addition to interviews with 60 apprentices from the second scheme, who provided the primary data for the analysis which will follow. The investigation concentrated around assessment of apprentices' attitudes towards the training methods in the vocational training centre and workplace, their attitudes towards themselves as vocational trainees, their future plans, their attitudes towards work and their personal aspirations.

The interviews were conducted in two places. The first were carried out in the training centre and these were mainly with students in their first and second years. The interview sample was selected in two ways. First, individual cases were chosen from the fields provided by the administration according to the student's residential area, age, specialization etc. In some instances respondents were chosen for interview by the administration and that might have been

because they were more loyal to the administration, or particularly good students, and therefore some allowance must be made. Secondly, interviews were held in the working place with apprentices in their third year.

Although there were some advantages in interviewing apprentices in their working environment where the researcher could observe their behaviour, there were some disadvantages arising from the wishes of some industrial establishments for their trainees to be interviewed in a group and for a limited time with the result that some interviews could not be conducted in depth and were not as valuable as had been expected. (28)

At the same time, much useful documentation and statistics and many reports concerning these two schemes were made available.

All interviewees were Bahraini males whose average age was 17 and whose period of training under the apprenticeship scheme was 3 years so that the trainees generally graduated at an average age of 19. Information obtained from the respondents revealed the following characteristics which will be presented here as background information.

Table No.6.8

Characteristics of Apprentices:

Residential locality

	No.	%
City	18	30.0
Village	42	70.0
Others	-	-
Total	60	100%

Apprentice's assessment of their Family's socio-economic status

	No.	%
High	-	-
Middle	43	71.6
Low	17	28.4
Total	60	100%

Father's occupation

	No.	%
Professional position	3	5.0
Government employees	14	23.3
Skilled labour	10	16.7
Unskilled labour	15	25.0
Run private businesses	3	5.0
Other	15	25.0
Total	60	100%

(1) The central objective in the manpower development policies and training programmes available is directly to achieve the strategy of Bahrainization of the workforce by replacement of foreigners by local nationals. Accordingly the output of these training schemes in relation to the policy of Bahrainization needs to be examined.

Bahrainization of labour has come increasingly to be used by labour as an emotional rallying cry against the presence of expatriate employees. (29) An official stressed that "Bahrainization requires not only an investment in training..., but a real commitment from Bahrainis at every level of employment, who aspire to more responsible jobs and higher income". (30) Harbison and Myers argue that a programme of localization involves much more than the mere replacement of the foreigner when and if a qualified local national becomes available. They add that in the newly independent countries, it may be necessary to persuade certain former civil servants or expatriate school teachers to remain for varying periods of time. It would appear that effective utilization of foreign labour, rather than the rapid displacement of the foreigner, may be the key to success. (31)

The fundamental questions are: What are the priorities in the policy of Bahrainization? Are they to fill skilled and professional positions, the so called "key positions", or should they be more concerned with unskilled manual occupations in which the majority of expatriates are employed? It seems that the official and even the public view is in favour of giving priority to Bahrainization in the first category. The two following official statements seem to confirm this.

> "We must facilitate their (Bahraini citizens) enrolment into higher education and training to take over supervisory and other important positions. We do not want Bahrainis to be employed in very menial jobs". (32)

> "Bahrainization of employment should act to improve the Nation's balance-of-payments position, as the replacement of high-paid expatriate workers by Bahrainis reduces the foreign exchange outflows caused by workers remittances". (33)

However, promoting technical training, primarily through apprenticeship and the 10,000 training scheme, constitutes an important vehicle towards intervention on the supply side of the labour market. These existing schemes have proved unable either to supply in sufficient numbers the qualified people needed for industrial development or to produce sufficient to extend the policy of Bahrainization.

Quantitatively, while the 10,000 scheme was intended to provide 1,000 qualified Bahrainis a year over a period of 10 years, only 828 have graduated in the past five years which represents 17% of the target number. (34) If we assume that the level of enrolment and graduation will continue at its present rate for the next five years (the age of the project) the total number of graduates will be around 1,656 which represents a very marginal figure in relation to the general target number.

Moreover, the apprenticeship scheme is in no better a position. While originally the project was planned to produce about 500 craftsmen a year, only about 241 trainees graduated for the labour market throughout its first five years. (Table No.6.9 provides details regarding the numbers and specializations of the trainees who graduated). Even on the most optimistic forecast it has to be admitted that Bahrainization in the industrial sector is very far from being achieved.

Table No. 6.9 No. of Trainees graduating from the A.T.P. with specialization for the years, 1983-1986.

Specialization	1983/4	1984/5	1985/6	Total
Welding & Fabrication	9	17	19	45
Automobile Mechanics	7	13	16	36
Auto-Electrician	-	-	-	-
Heavy Duty Mechanics	4	7	15	26
Mechanical Maintenance	-	-	-	-
Maintenance Electricians	-	-	13	13
Building Electricians	11	18	7	36
Airconditioning & Refrigera.	5	20	19	44
Carpentry & Joinery	5	8	11	24
Plumbers	-	-	10	10
Masonry & Concrete Work	1	5	1	7
Total	42	88	111	241

Source: VTC Training Statistics for the years from 1981-1986.

Taking the construction sector as an example, the highest number of trainees to graduate here was five in 1985, and bearing in mind that the total number of foreign labourers in this sector at the end of 1985 was 42,991, (35) this means that the project on the basis of its present success rate will need 8,400 years to reach the full Bahrainization of this trade, that is if we assume that the labour force requirement in this sector remains at its present size.

(2) The second issue is very closely inter-connected to the previous one. The attitudes of people towards work and training represent a major handicap for the manpower development planners. The success or failure of any training project depends mainly upon the response and reaction of these people towards it. The National Vocational Training

Centre at Muharraq is a good case in point of the deep-rooted negative attitudes towards training for manual work. The project was launched in 1976 by the Ministry of Labour with the ultimate aim of training initially 150 Bahrainis in the construction trade when the demands on this trade were very high after the 1973 construction boom. However, the low enrolment for the project, when at best only between 6 - 13 trainees joined, (36) resulted in its closure after two years when it had become less than attractive to Bahrainis.

While perhaps the negative attitude towards vocational training and manual work was almost a movement, especially after 1975, in most of the Arab Gulf region due to the onset of three major factors, wealth, foreign labour and the extension of government institutions, the late 1970s witnessed some changes. However the relative increase in the number of adults joining training programmes, especially after 1983, does not necessarily indicate a radical favourable change in social values and views towards manual and industrial work.

Economic and social conditions can be treated as factors influencing the expectations of people as long as these factors are constant. With the economic recession which hit the oil producing states of the Middle East, the ability of the government to create new jobs has been limited and the only opportunities to find jobs were in the private and industrial sectors. People, at least temporarily, show a tendency to seek technical training and only come to industry when pressed by economic circumstances, and as soon as these circumstances no longer

exist or a non-manual job has been gained they no longer want to be industrial workers.

Apprentices were asked about their future career plans and the type of employment they will be settling in after completion. Although a bare majority of the respondents reported that they will be seeking employment in the field for which they have been trained, others reported that they will make their decision according to availability of employment in industry or in the industrial sector. The ratio however changed dramatically in the answers to the next question which was: If you have the opportunity to choose between working in Al-Hukūmah (government sector) or with Muqāwil (a contractor in the private sector) which would you choose? The vast majority (almost 74%) indicated that they would choose the first alternative despite the fact that this sector offered mainly administrative, non-technical jobs. This answer might also reflect the positive attitudes the public have towards the government sector which conflicts with the generally accepted argument that young people's expectations about their future occupations are related to their actual educational and training attainment. (37)

> "If I continue working in my present job, I will be just a worker with a low wage, and under orders from ajanb (foreigners) throughout my life". (38)

If we accept the notion that the purpose of training is to prepare a person for particular work and a corresponding life-style and to change the existing social attitudes towards some types of work, then the principal strategies and approaches to training have to depend

upon training young people to accept the social values and relations attracted to the jobs they are trained in.

Gleeson and Mandle were almost correct in stating that most technical courses prepare apprentice - students to fit in with "rather than challenge the existing order of things". (39) The case of the Hotels and Catering Centre graduates best illustrates the wishes of the Bahraini trainees.

The old prejudices regarding the hotel industry still rumble, although students accept the training which can lead to jobs in that field. Many graduates have joined hospitals where the work is strictly catering and done behind closed doors. Many more intend to join banks where the pay is more lucrative, taking advantage of their standard in the English language.

Furthermore, differences between Sunnī and Shīʿa regarding their attitudes towards industrial work and technical training seem to offer a fruitful area for sociological and psychological research. It seems to be common knowledge (as we stated earlier) that technical education and training are predominantly undertaken by villagers from the Shīʿa sect (90% of the students interviewed were Shīʿa), and in the apprenticeship scheme they represent more than 92% of the total students. (40) Table No.6.10 gives some details based on student residential areas. More than 75% of the apprentices come from five areas dominated totally by the Shīʿa community and these are the Western, Central, Sitra, Northern and Jidhafs areas. Apprentices coming from areas such as Riffa, ʿIsā Town and Hia'd were from the

Sunni community which are well represented and account for about 7%. The two big cities, Manama and Muharraq cannot be used in that classification in as much as both communities are represented.

Table No. 6.10 Apprenticeship Programme According to the Residential Area and Grade. 1984/85.

Grade	Total	Area									
		Western	Riffa	Isa Town	Central	Sitra	Northern	Jidhafs	Manama	Muharraq	Hidd
Grade 1	280	45	7	14	25	45	36	45	27	32	4
Grade 2	189	24	10	9	19	39	19	19	23	25	2
Grade 3	110	12	2	7	14	30	9	15	8	13	—
TOTAL	579	81	19	30	58	114	64	79	58	70	6

Sources: (1) Ministry of Education, "Educational Statistics 1984/85"

(2) VTC, "Training Statistics for the Apprenticeship programme - 1981-82/1985,86.

The influence of religious affiliation on socio-economic achievements and orientation to work has been and continues to be of major theoretical and research interest. (41) Warren (1970) argues that religious affiliation should be viewed as a family background variable. In particular, the religion in which a person is raised is the variable which should be examined as having a causal influence on socio-economic achievement. (42)

Religious explanations of differences in group attitudes towards work are difficult to assess. Although, both sects believe in the same Islamic principles, and furthermore, the idea that one sect is religiously or socially superior is also, in theory at least, rejected on the basis of social and human equality upheld by both the Qur'an and the constitution of the state, the manner in which they interpret their religion may have differing social consequences for each group.

Our explanation of differences in behaviour and attitudes towards work has therefore to be confined to differences in culture and social environment. Shi'as mainly live in rural village areas where the desire to undertake manual jobs is still strong and is accompanied by the low economic standard of the village people which affects their attitudes towards industrial work. In addition, village youth tends to be emotionally closer to their families and communities and to contribute more to their family budget and they marry earlier and so want to enter the labour market earlier and in a field where the demand is high and the competition with other local groups is low or almost nil.

Moreover, Shi'as of Persian origin tend to direct themselves towards technical education as a way to guarantee jobs for themselves in the industrial sector because their access to the government sector is very limited. For these reasons they want to get away from the general pattern of education which is Arabic language oriented.
Moreover, the socio-economic status of the family in which a man is raised cannot be underestimated in accounting for a person's attitude and behaviour towards labour market issues. The respondents were asked questions to self asess their family's socio-economic status and their family attitudes to being vocational trainees. The majority of the respondents believed that the economic status of their families fell within a middle range of income, while the remainder which represented 28% believed that their economic status was low. None of the interviewees indicated that he came from a high economic-status family.

Table No.6.11 presents the interviewees' views regarding the attitudes of their families to them as vocational trainees. As the table shows the majority reported that their fathers approved of their desire to be vocational trainees (more than 50%) while most of the rest were distributed among those not certain (38%). In these cases the fathers either knew little about the educational and training system, because of their own educational attainment, or were less interested in directing their sons in this matter. A small proportion (10%) disapproved.

An interview with an administrator in the VTC revealed that one of the main problems the administration is facing is the lack of co-operation

and the high rate of indifference by the parents on issues such as encouraging and following up their son's courses of study, and that might be related to the issue of the attitudes to vocational training, which has resulted in a high rate of drop-out among apprentices.

The other problems indicated were the students' laziness and lack of interest in studying combined with administrative problems such as absences, drop-out, poor discipline, or personal and emotional problems related to the apprentices.

Table No.6.11 Attitudes of apprentices' families towards vocational training as indicated by the apprentices.

Attitudes	No.	%
Fully approved and encouraged	2	3.3
Approved	29	48.3
Not certain	23	38.3
Some disapproval expressed	6	10.0
Disapproved completely	-	-
	60	100%

The attitudes of the apprentices' friends and colleagues outside the training centre cannot be underestimated in affecting apprentices' views towards themselves and the training they undertake. A high proportion of respondents reported that their friends always undervalued the training they do and sometimes as one stated "make jokes about us".

The replies of the rest fell into two sections: first those who reported that their friends are understanding and supportive, and

those who said that their friends do not interfere or have no views to express. (see table No.6.12)

> "I have always told them I come of poor parents and I do no have the backing, and vocational training is my only way to get a job". (43)

> "They scoff at me, and sometimes I feel that what they are saying is correct". (44)

Table No. 6.12 Attitudes of apprentices' friends towards vocational training as viewed by the apprentices:

Attitudes	No.	%
Disapproved and undervalued:	29	48.3
Not certain or have no view:	18	30.0
Approved and supported:	13	21.7
Total	60	100%

Apprentices were asked about the main factors which caused them to enrol for vocational training. (The apprentices' responses are given in table No. 6.13). The most important of the factors given was the interest in vocational training followed by the career opportunities such as training opened up, while the factor or pressure from the family was the least important.

At the same time, interviewees were questioned about their source of information regarding the vocational training centre before they enroled in the scheme. As indicated in table 7.14 most of the students gained their information through two main channels, their intermediate school, and their network of friends, while the media played no role at all as a source of their information.

Table No. 6.13

Main reasons for attending vocational training.

	Reasons	No.	%
1.	Interest in vocational training:	22	36.7
2.	Provided monthly income:	9	15.0
3.	Allocated by the Ministry of Education:	11	18.3
4.	The certainty of employment after graduation:	17	28.3
5.	Pressure from the family:	1	1.7
	Total	60	100%

Table No. 6.14 Students main source of information about apprenticeship scheme.

	Source	No	%
1.	Information provided by the school:	34	56.6
2.	Frieds who had chose the same field:	25	41.8
3.	Information provided by the mass media	-	-
4.	Information provided by students' families:	1	1.6
	Total	60	100%

We have already seen that a proportion of those who pass through technical education or training do not go on to take jobs in the

occupations for which they have been trained. Instead, they might prefer to seek administrative jobs offering higher social prestige and less responsibility.

It would be expected that most of the students who were admitted into the field of their first choice would be more inclined to plan for working in the field of training. On the other hand, what might be responsible for that also is the lack of appropriate occupational guidance and orientation within the scheme which results in minimising its outcome. By giving much more attention to a guidance and counselling service, the response to the need to keep a link between training and employment will be much more apparent than it is at present to young people and even to their families.

Likewise, even within the specialization selection, students indicated a high preference for particular fields, and almost a dislike for some others. In the apprenticeship scheme those enrolled concentrated more on demanding specialist training for electrical maintenance and as building electricians rather than other specializations such as masonry, carpentry and plumbing which are much less popular with them. A study carried out in 1980 by the Arab Education Bureau confirmed this, and states that social and historical factors lie behind the desire of students to select trades more socially acceptable. (45) It appeared that even within the manual jobs, a sort of job hierarchy exists ranging between jobs which are mainly manual and those which are less manual.

(3)The attitudes of private sector employers might be considered as another factor determining the contribution of training to the division of labour. The lack of cooperation between the training authorities and the private sector in Bahrain regarding training activities has effectively contributed to the shortcomings of the training programmes. R. Mertz believes that the longstanding dispute between the two parties over the question of training is rooted in the companies' view that government should provide almost fully trained personnel who lack only a minimum of polishing or specialized training in the system or particular requirements of the company or industry, while on the other hand, government has sought to shift the burden of some training onto the private sector in order to reduce its own financial costs. (46)

Bonacich briefly considers three groups in the market place: employers, the group comprising higher paid labour, and cheap labour. In the context of Bahrain, the first group represents the private sector employers who aim at having as cheap and docile a labour force as possible to compete effectively with other business. Thus, the preference is to hire immigrant workers as long as they can be exploited to increase profit. The second group, the national labour face two forms of action. They suffered numerous attempts either from the employers to exclude them from the market, or from the immigrants who tried to raise their status and prevent any threat to their positions.

On the other hand, the nationals themselves rejected competing with immigrants in undesirable low-paying jobs, taking advantage of the

availability of various optional institutions, notably the employment in the government sector, or the financial support from parents and kin, which give people an option other than doing the work or starving. The third group, represent the immigrant workers who are able to sell thair labour at significantly lower rates, which offered them the advantage of preventing any competition with other forces, and led to the formation of a caste system within the workplace.

The negative attitudes of the private sector towards training is a common phenomenon in most of the underdeveloped countries, but what characterises the case of Bahrain is that the private sector, especially the small and medium size establishments, is much more ignorant about active participation in national training programmes. This is due to the nature of the labour market with the availability of semi- and unskilled foreign labour at bargain prices which reduced the incentive to train or employ Bahrainis. (Table No 6.15 illustrates the difference in average monthly pay in selected trades in the private sector) In addition, it is a widely held idea that Bahrainis frequently leave jobs after some time to take other employment with different establishments which makes the employers unwilling to incur the cost of training Bahrainis.

Table No. 6.15 Average Monthly Pay for Bahraini and Immigrant Workers in Selected Economic Activities. 1984.

Economic Activity	Bahraini's Rate	Immigrant's Rate
Construction	195	105
Manufacture of food & beverages	179	61
Wood Products ad furniture	300	92
Wholesale trade	219	175
Restaurants and Hotels	192	109

Source: Ministry of Labour, Labour statistics for private sector, 1986.

Regarding the 10,000 plan, figures published in 1985 by the Ministry of Labour showed that private sector firms have very little involvement in the project. Only 61 trainees were enroled during that year by private sector establishments (excluding the major companies which have their own craft-training centres) which number around 1,600, and and employ more than 90,000 people. An official in the training scheme reported to the researcher that some firms have stated that since the scheme is directed towards training Bahrainis, none of their employees is eligible as long as they are all foreigners.

Regarding the Apprenticeship scheme and where the legal obligation is limited or does not exist, the employer's decision to take on an apprentice for on-the-job training and employment is made on the basis of financial consideration and the general economic situation. This argument is based on the finding that employers often regard entering into a contract for training and employing apprentices as a costly measure or a high risk proposition. (47)

On the first point, employers take the view that apprentices or former apprentices demand high salaries or their costs in terms of monthly payments or investment in training which are very high in comparison with the counterparts among the immigrant workers. (See Table No. 6.15). One of the most serious developments came as a result of the recent economic recession. Due to the shift in the economic cycle, the marketability of apprentices has been reduced, and only a few employers are still interested in recruiting and retaining apprentices. It is argued that training confers power and that power confers influence and access to jobs. (48) However, in the case of apprenticeship such power is illusory as long as it is not strong enough to place trained apprentices in the labour market despite the fact that their skills acquired in training are in great demand by the economic sectors. At any rate, as other factors operate irrationally in the market the argument of training power becomes invalid.

According to a report prepared by VTC in 1985, the percentage of unrecruited apprentices has reached almost 40%, and that has forced

the administration to re-plan the duration of time for vocational and theoretical subject in the VTC.

Another point confirmed in interviews by administrators was the practice of dismissing former apprentices, especially in small firms, and justifying this on the ground that either they were not needed or were not considered good enough. Bonacich's comments on that dilemma are extremely valued; he states that "the higher paid worker faced more than the loss of his job; he faced the possibility that the wage standard in all jobs would be undermined". (49)

The apprenticeship scheme was also handicapped by other defects, largely arising from the fact that the scheme was adopted without any study in depth of relations within the labour market. Furthermore, there was a lack of organization and coordination with the industrial sector in addition to the absence of clear job descriptions, a training plan and supervision which caused some harm to the general perception of the scheme.

First and foremost, the number of establishments sponsoring apprentice is relatively small in size and the facilities and the nature of work carried out do not always allow for the provision of really effective training. Bearing in mind the lack of government intervention and control over the training process to ensure that apprentices were trained according to agreed criteria, many apprentices, after spending some time with a firm complained that they had been offered only minimal training.

In order to discover the pattern and degree of satisfaction expressed by apprentices about the training provided by the establishments, the responses are presented in table No. 6.16. This seems to indicate the absence of any important development taking place in the abilities of the trainees to carry out the work for which they had been trained, as far as their own attitude offers any evidence.

Table No. 6.16 Apprentice attitudes to training offered by establishments.

Attitudes	No.	%
Satisfied	23	38.3
Some dissatisfaction:	27	45.0
Completely unsatisfied:	10	16.7
Total	60	100

The majority of apprentices reported that they were not satisfied with the training facilities. This might be related to the size of the establishment, the lack of attention given to relations and interaction with the management and other workers, or the system of rules or organization.

The apprentices' dissatisfaction was evident in such matters as irregular attendance at establishments, increasing absenteeism, or as reported by a VTC administrator, the increasing demands by apprentices to be transferred from one establishment to another.

In the same way, a question was put to apprentices on whether they intended to leave their present establishments. As indicated in table

No.6.17, slightly over half of the respondents intended to change their present firms, the rest not expressing any desire to do so. These views might be explained by the fact that trainees at that age are, by nature, less stable and are difficult to absorb within the complex relationship and atmosphere of an industrial firm. Furthermore, the fact that the majority came from a rural background and were transferred quickly from the school system to an industrial environment where they were placed under strict rules and supervision with a change in routine and unfamiliar industrial practices may have increased the possibility of instability. (See figure No. 19)

Table No 6.17 Apprentices reported views on intentions to change their present employers.

View	No.	%
Intend to change employers	32	53.3
Do not intend to change employers	20	33.4
Do not know	8	13.3
Total	60	100

Among the facts which must be taken into account in this respect are the trainees' feeling that such establishments have been imposed upon them as an institutional arrangement between the government administration and employers, while their freedom in the matter was very restricted, and as some of them put it they felt that, compared with foreign workers, they were less wanted by Bahraini employers, and this would result in increasing their alienation and insecurity. This

might well lead in the long, or even the short run, to a high turn-over from particular establishments or even from the industrial sector as a whole. Besides, the attitudes and practices of the expatriate workers in training Bahrainis are also sometimes questionable: their quality cannot be taken for granted. As reported by many apprentices interviewed, expatriates have not always provided appropriate guidance and on-the-job training for Bahrainis. A labour expert stated that:

> "It appears, according to feedback, that too many expatriates have decided to make working in Bahrain a 'lifelong career' rather than a "temporary assignment" to train Bahrainis to replace them". (50)

In such a situation the immigrant workers' behaviour and practices in the industrial sector can be characterised by a mixture of a powerlessness by accepting low pay levels and poor working conditions, and powerfullness by preventing other forces from having access to sectors dominated by them.

Other questions were asked about various aspects of relationships between training and employment. Respondents were asked to estimate the value and adequacy of programmes and curricula in the vocational centre and in their practical work in the establishment. The majority of the respondents believed it was to some extent adequate, while it is noticeable that a high proportion of those questioned indicated that they were uncertain. (See table No.6.18).

Figure No. I9

Apprentice's Career Cycle

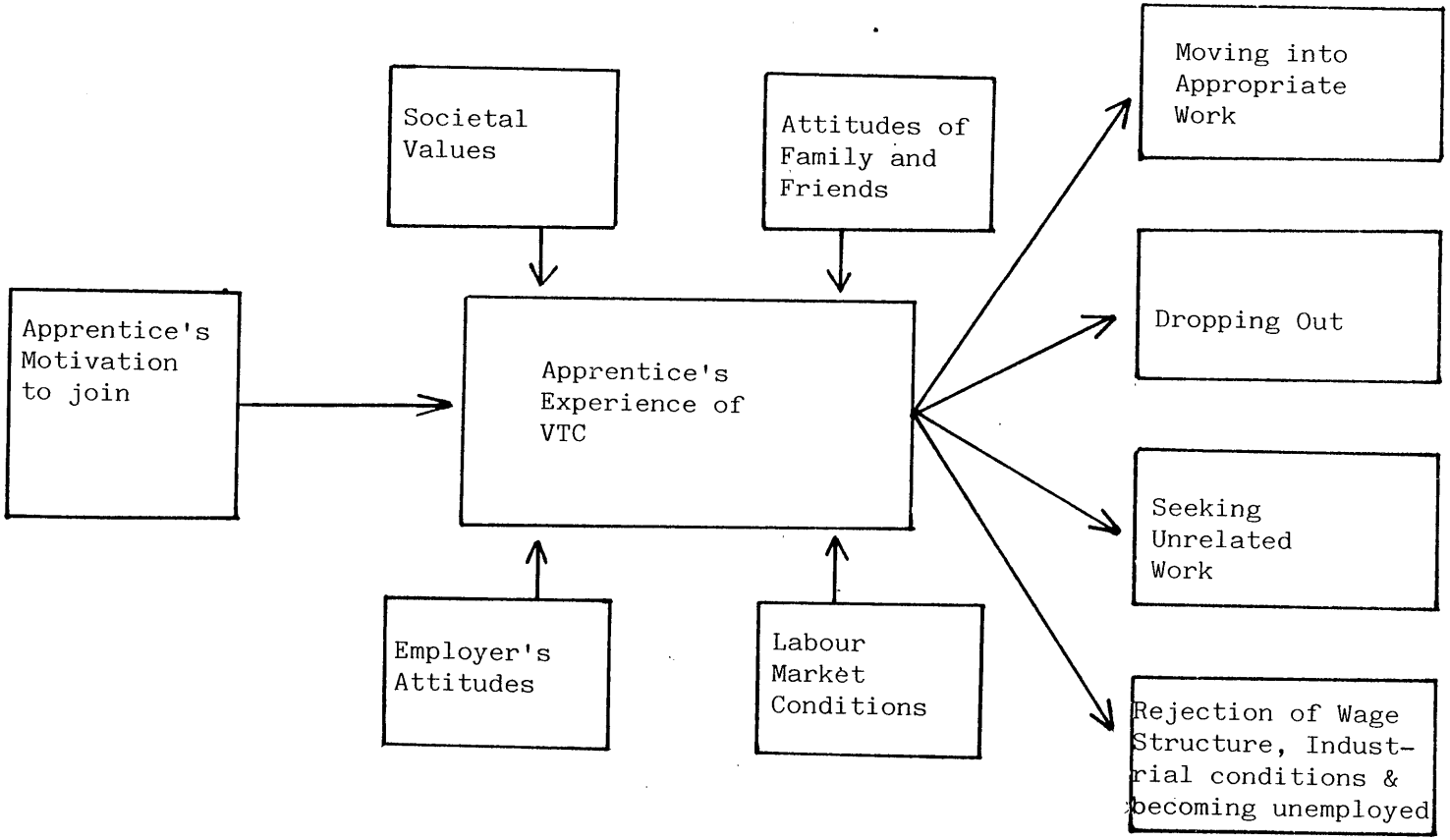


Table No. 6.18 Apprentice reported views of programmes and curriculae and their relations to labour market needs.

Views	No.	%
Adequate	4	6.6
Less than completely adequate	25	41.6
Do not know	18	30.0
Inadequate	13	21.8
Total	60	100

To conclude, the economic order introduced by the employers and the immigrant workers accounted for the maintenance of the subordinated status of the immigrants on the one hand, and minimized group conflicts and social mobility on the other. It is particularly impossible for native workers to accept the wage level and working conditions of their immigrant counterparts, and consequently they were excluded from participation in that newly emerging economic order.

This has resulted in economic competition having a very minor relevance in analaysing the relationship between the two groups. Such a result represents a clear example of expedience for immigrants who are opposed to competitition and simply maintain the economic position every group held in the division of labour.

Moreover, apprenticeship has proved its value in a number of developed and developing countries as a system of training and employment, and as has been shown the apprenticeship and 10,000 schemes are much

needed. But, despite the fact that they have been instrumental in encouraging a small number of Bahrainis to participate, the point needs to be made that such training schemes are progressing very slowly and in an unsatisfactory manner in relation to the actual developments and needs of the economic sectors and the labour market. The absence of a clear policy of training; employment attitudes towards training and industrial employment; and the relationship between social forces in society and the labour market must bear the blame for the shortcomings of the schemes.

6.6 Conclusion:

(A) Although one general purpose of the educational system and training is widely recognised as a necessary one to prepare future generations for the social division of labour as a whole, our analysis has, however, shown that the responses of social groups to the education and training were mainly influenced by a complex of social economic and cultural processes and relationships. These include inherited cultural perspectives and attitudes which still have a force and significance and represent a potential challenge to the attempt to re-shape the traditional existing divisions of labour, thus handicapping the plans for the present pattern of economic and social development.

The influence of deep-rooted values and cultural norms upon the development of education and training is still strong. The relatively recent movement of numbers of Bahraini youth towards some types of technical education and training does not indicate a great shift in

the attitudes and norms of society. Such movement is only an outcome of a general change in social and economic circumstances and a reflection of an uncertain economic climate, the irrational employment behaviour of the private sector and of the increase in unemployment among academically educated graduates. Some writers, such as P.J Foster, (1966) have assumed that the failure of academic programmes to produce employable graduates justified a shift in the orientation of secondary education towards more explicitly vocational programmes. (51) However, attitudes towards work and social prejudice about particular jobs cannot be easily changed in a short period of education and training.

As is shown from the investigation, religious and cultural variations often account for the development of education and training processes and the level of distribution of qualification. Also different responses to education and training among religious and ethnic communities and groups varied according to sex, thus assisting in deepening the social cleavages and heightening the already exisiting forms of structural inequality based on the distribution of status, power and wealth. It is note-worthy that the role and the place a person occupied within the educational and training process, whether privileged or underprivileged, reflected his social and cultural background.

Finally,and most importantly, education and training should not ignore the social objective of developing the quality of individual ways of thinking which should be done in addition to preparing a person for the economic market. As Ball (1981) pointed out, the task of

education is not simply to train specialists for particular development roles in the economy, but also...to bring about a process of value transformation within the population as a whole. (52)

6.7 Notes

(1) See, Government of Bahrain "The development of education in Bahrain - 1919-1936", Annual Report for the Year 1956 and R.B. Winder" Education in AL-Bahrain" In J.Kritzeck & R.B.Winder "ed" "The World of Islam" 1959, Macmillan & Co.Ltd. London. pp.283-335. Private schools run by missionaries were open for boys and girls even before that. In 1892 the Arabian Mission opened the first Western style girls' school, and another school for boys was opened in 1905.

(2) Government of Bahrain 1956, op.cit, p.85.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Winder, Op.cit. p.297.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Government of Bahrain, Op.cit., p.85.

(7) Government of Bahrain, "Annual Report for the Year 1358". Bahrain: February 1939 - February 1940. p.33.

(8) A.AL Showmali, op.cit, p.2.

(9) FO 371/39932, "The Technical School" a report by G.E. Hutchings. p.35.

(10) Winder, op.cit, p.303.

(11) See; B.Abū lāban & S.M.Abū lāban "Education and Development in the Arab World" In the Journal of Developing Areas No. 10 April 1976 pp. 285-304.

(12) Government of Bahrain, op.cit., p.88.

(13) See A.A.AL-Jalāl "Welfare socialization and background development". An introduction study to the educational in the Arab oil producing country of the Gulf". Kuwait 1985 (Arabic)

(14) See AL-Misnad, op.cit, p.177.

(15) See A.H.Ibrahīm, "The Relevance of the Manpower Forecasting Approach to Education Planning in Bahrain.", M.ED.Dissertation. University of Wales, 1977.p.110.

(16) T. Ranger, "African attempts to control education in East and Central AFrica, 1900-1939, In Past and Present, No. 32, 1965. pp. 57-85.

(17) I.J.ALHāshemī "Difficulties and issues in planning technical and vocational education in Bahrain". March 1982. p.14.

(18) AL-Khaleej 11 May 1986.

(19) O. Abal al- Rahmān "The dilemma of development in the Arabian Peninsula" 1987 Croom Helm, p. 131.

(20) UNESCO "Report on the improvement of technical and vocational education" Bahrain 1979.

(21) I.F.ALGhofaily "Saudi youth attitudes towards work and vocational education" Ph.D. dissertation 1980. p.81-82.

(22) See, Idem "Evaluationary report in the work of training plan for 10,000 Bahrainis and continuous management education plan". March 1985.

(23) Ministry of Labour, op.cit, 1983

(24) For further details see; Idem "Guide-line of the Apprenticeship Training Programme" undated; Idem, "The Apprenticeship Training Programme Information Booklet"; undated; and Idem, Report in the work of the directorate of manpower development, op. cit.

(36) Vocational Training Centre "Training Statistics for the years from 1981-1986".

(26) Central Statistics Organization "Bahrain Census of Population and Housing - 1981."

(27) Ministry of Labour, 1983, op.cit, p.12.

(28) In one of these establishments (Marcedace Garage) I was instructed to interview all the trainees, at that time 11, in one meeting, and the apprentices seemed to enjoy that method of being together and considered the interview as a free time for them and that affected the quality and the output of their responses to the questions.

(29) E.A.Nakhlah, 1976., op.cit, p.84.

(30) Statement by Bahraini Minister of Labour and Social Affairs. Financial Times, 2 June 1981. In 1982 the government of Bahrain listed about 70 priority occupations for Bahrainization as strategic jobs including engineering, accountancy and computer operating.

(31) Harbison and Myers, op.cit.

(32) Statement by Bahrain Ministry of Labour under security in AL-Bahrain, Issue no. 699 - 16 February 1983 p.5.

(33) K.S.M.ĀL Khalīfa, (Minister of Labour) "General issues in development and employment" Paper presented to Symposium on development and employment organized by Bahrain Centre for Studies and Research. 1983 p.13.

(34) Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 1983, op.cit, p.4.

(35) Idem, "Labour Statistics (Public and Private Sectors)". 1986. Report No. 3. p.20.

(36) F.A.AL-Zyrah "The role of the Vocational Training Centre in developing a national workforce in Bahrain" 1981, Arab Planning Institute, State of Kuwait. p.34. AL-Zyrah tried to justify that contradiction to the lack of rewards and benefits for students or trainees.

(37) See L.J.Saha"The legitimacy of early school leaving: occupational orientation, vocational training plans, and educational attainment among urban Australian youth". In sociology of education 1985, vol. 58 p.228.

(38) Personal interview.

(39) D.Gleeson and G.Mardle "Further education or training: A case study in the theory and practice of day release education". 1980 (London Routledge & Kegan Paul) p.146; See also R.Deem "ed" "Schooling for women's work", 1980 London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

(40) This figure confirmed by an adminstrator in the VTC. Moreover, the predominance of Shia students can be easily recognised from the names of students and their residential areas.

(41) See C.W.Mueller "Evidence on the relationship between religion and educational attainment". In Sociology of education 1980 vol.53, July,pp.140-152; G.Gockel "Income and religious affiliation: A regression analysis". American Journal of Sociology, 1969 vol. 74, pp.632-647.

(42) B.L.Warren, "Socio-economic achievement and religion: The American case" In E.Laumann "ed" "Social stratification: Research and theory for the 1970s" 1970 New York. Bobbs-Merril Company. pp.130-155; moreover, Max Weber provides an interpretation of the effect of religious background on differential economic orientation. He held Roman Catholicism responsible for economic backwardness in Western Europe, whereas Protestantism was thought to be a progressive force in economic development. He argues that Catholic traditional values were conceived to act as an endogenous constraint on economic development. See M. Weber 1962, The Protestant Ethic and the Spring of Capitalism. London: Allen & Unwin.

(43) Personal interview.

(44) Personal interview.

(45) Arab Education Bureau, "Comparative study of vocational training centres in the Arab Gulf States". Part Two 1980 pp.69-71.

(46) R.A.Mertz "Education and manpower in the Arabian Gulf" 1972 American Friends of the Middle East, Beirut, p.28.

(47) From personal interviews with some administrators in V.T.C.

(48) OECD "The future of vocational education and training" 1983 p.21.

(49) Bonacich, 1972, op.cit, p.554.

(50) T.Kubī "The value of high performance expectation toward the work" In AL-Amal. Issue No.13, March 1980. p.60.

(51) P.J.Foster "The vocational school fallacy in development planning" In C.A.Anderson and M.J.Bowman "ed." Education and Economic Development" Frank Cass and Co. Ltd. 1966.

(52) S.J.Ball "The Sociology of Education in Developing Countries". In British Journal of Sociology of Education vol.2 No.3, 1981 p.303.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This chapter focuses on some of the inferences derived from a general examination of the overall structure of Bahraini society and in particular the characteristics and mechanisms of the labour market; it also points briefly to some possible policy implications of the present study.

Discussion

The early stage of modern economic development was mainly a response to the discovery of oil. It required the creation and elaboration of a market where labour and services could be bought and sold for wages or salaries. This market had to be an efficient and equitable institution for the allocation of resources and power. At that stage, the labour market and the new forms of division of labour that emerged were to some extent determined by the existing hierarchical structure of the social groups in Bahraini society.

Thus the outcome for these groups, whether advantageous or disadvantageous, depended less upon qualification and ability, but more upon socio-cultural factors such as group affiliation

In recent time, as the labour market modernized and extended, the institutions for the distribution of actors and resources within the market also developed. After the middle of the 1970s, the labour market grew rapidly, both in terms of the size of the workforce, due

particularly to the increase in the international immigration, and in response to the diversification of the economy. The growing capitalization of the economy consolidated the already hierarchic status of the social groups engaged in the workforce, and increased the segmentation of the primary and secondary labour market.

As the labour market became more segmented with religious, ethnic and sexual forces continuing effectively to assert their power within the market, new institutions emerged which gave support to the tendency of the labour market to segment even further. A prime example of such institutions are the employment practices, which in most cases operated informally to allow favouring particular groups at the expense of others in recruitment and in job rewards. This crystallized the unequal distribution of resources and power between the social groups. The emergence of the institutionalized exploitative practices also arose in the form of legislation. Various forms of legislative sponsorship were aimed at the institutionalization of the existing stratification system between the social groups and reinforce the powerlessness of immigrant groups.

Informal and formal discriminatory practices based upon racialism and sexual differences, have become institutionalized and spread from the labour market to other social spheres and to the general context of society. Thus there is created an exploitative relationship within what Hechter described as core-periphery relations. The core represents the dominant groups who occupy places in a primary market and who have a great access to resources and power. The periphery

represents the subordinated groups placed in the secondary labour market and denied access to power and resources.

There is an absence or ineffectiveness of collective bargaining and action by labour, ethnic and sexual based organization, despite the extension in the size and number of such organizations in recent years. Two factors can account for that; first, the great heterogenity in ethnic, religious and class characteristics among the subordinated group. This helped to weaken their solidarity and their ability to take collective action. Second, state policies towards labour and ethnic organizations appear to have facilitated the introduction of such organizations with apparent but not real power.

> "The policy of merger and assimiliation of foreign labour does not threaten the Bahraini regime only; it leaves all the ruling families in the Gulf and Arabia off balance. Not only does it bring into the political scene traditionally opposed tribal grouping; it also creates new political formations working against these families". (1)

This development contradicts the argument of the theories of modernization which assume that ethnic attachments weaken as the industrialization process progresses. Recent expansion of industry and advances in the economy (notably by the exploitation of oil), modernization of the education system and increase in the scale of international immigration have in fact consolidated religious, ethnic and sexual cleavages rather than weakened them. It should be remembered that Eastern loyalties remain fixed and strong towards familial and tribal sources whatever the influence of modernization is. A study made of loyalty among Arab students at the American University of Beirut clearly underlines these points. Those students may be the most highly modernized, yet their loyalties reflected

particularistic tendencies. The result of the study shows that social loyalties among those students come in rank order as follows: family, religion, ethnic group, political party, and the constitutional order of the state. (2) Furthermore, the rise of Islamization or Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East is another factor not taken into account in most of the modernization theories.

As a matter of fact, the increase of the size of international immigration which came as a result of modernization of the economy is an important area for examination for the resulting waves of immigration have promoted ethnic stratification instead of reducing it. (3) The original legal and political insecurity, the inferior labour market position of the immigrants and the lack of policies or a desire to assimilate and integrate them within the host society, all result in the persistence or even intensification of ethnic identity.

Concerning sexual hierarchy, it is apparent from recent analyses that, even in modern industrial and urban societies, sexual inequality has neither been reduced nor eliminated. In fact, in a parallel manner processes of modernization may reinforce sexual hierarchy rather than minimise it. (4)

When capitalism developed and took a clear form, it operated in such a way as to strengthen the institutions of exploitation and discrimination. Hakin argues that, not only does a particularly sharp split exist between jobs available to men and to women, but in certain respects it even appears to be increasing (5). In Bahrain, women did not, or could not, act so as to establish wider access to power and

resources. Instead, they tended to act in such ways as to reinforce the traditional societal norms and value.

The ethnic, religious and sexual cleavages existing today have a cultural aspect on the one hand and, on the other, aspects related to the centralization of power and wealth. The congruence between these factors produces what some sociolgists term the cultural division of labour. In other words, it results in the concentration of members of social groups in the social structure of the society, the stratification system, and in the economic sphere. What determine such a distribution and allocation of groups are cultural factors such as group identity and affiliation in terms of religion, race, ethnicity, sex, etc. on the one hand, and dominance factors such as the size and degree of power and wealth each group has, on the other.

The combination of power, wealth and cultural identity is the heart of the matter. Though distinct, these elements constantly interpenetrate in the labour market and the wider socio-economic structure of the society and affect the social division of labour.

According to Bakers, power as a factor in intergroup relations is viewed from two perspectives substantively, as resources and mobilization capabilities, and relationally, as reflected in the interaction of groups. (6) The dominance or subordination of groups is judged according to the degree of their closeness to the centre of power and wealth. It is not to be judged in terms of their numerical strength.

Furthermore, the numerical superiority of a social group does not in any case ensure an advantageous position or more access to power. For instance, immigrants believe they are the majority among the population, but their socio-economic status and their position in the social structure were more indicative of a minority who might be expected to have inferior status. Although women believe that numerically they are more preponderent than males in the society, their status is inferior. In other words, if identifiable groups suffer disabilities in status, they are regarded in the same way as minorities and are expected (by others) to suffer inferior status. But there are probably differential perceptions according to whether such groups are indigenous or alien. Undoubtedly, alien minorities are doubly-disabled. The fragile nature of society is reflected in some form of under cover conflict between these groups for social and economic power. This view of society is based on the examination of these groups in terms of their beliefs and value systems, institutional characteristics and dominant attitudes about the other groups, and about themselves.

Religious affiliation is the most important single attribute determining an individual's social status in Bahraini society, and, therefore, some emphasis was placed on the examination of the relationship between the two affiliations in Islam, Sunnī, and Shī'a, with special attention to the interaction of the two groups in the labour market. For a long time the two factions succeeded in maintaining their separate extensive networks, their segregation in terms of residential quarter and areas, the complete separation of

their religious and social institutions, and their different ways of judgment and interpretation of religious, social and political issues. What is apparent additionally is that the emergence of a labour market in its modern form and the corresponding administrative institutions helped to increase the degree of the separation between the two groups rather than to decrease it, and gave rise to different labour markets where each group operated freely, giving rise to a process of social closure which cut off one market from another.

Garroll (7) argues that in about one-third of the Arab states the main effect of religion is to foster conflicting internal political communities. He offers the examples of Iraq, Bahrain and the Yemen Arab Republic where the cleavage between the main Islamic sects is quite distinct and reinforced by inequalities in the distribution of power and wealth, while in other societies such as the Sudan, Syria and Lebanon, the cleavages are mainly between Muslims and Christians and are centred, for the most part, around competition for political power. Furthermore, when no one particular group has sufficient power to declare itself the core, the result will be either countries which contain but do not eliminate the conflict, such as Fiji, or others such as Sri Lanka and Lebanon which have and still are suffering from the worst bloody civil war. The application of the combination of cultural characteristics and power - wealth factors in the Sunni-Shi a relationship could fit Hechter's notion of core-periphery.

> "The Sunni control of the centre, state and city, has significant implications for economic organization and the distribution of wealth between religious groups across Arab countries. The Sunni came to concentrate in those countries with rich, open, and fertile plains such as Egypt, Syria, and Morocco, and simultaneously dominate in the most fertile lands of other countries where they count less than a majority. In Lebanon they cluster in the rich coastal plains of Akkar, Tripoli, and Sidon; in Yemen in the open batina region, the coastal plain that stretches from Sharja to Muscat: in southern Iraq Bahrain, and the Eastern province of Saudi Arabia they tend to be the landlords, and the Shi a the cultivators". (8)

As well as the barriers which exist between the Bahraini people themselves, there is one between them and the immigrants of different nationalities and races. In the beginning of the oil era, the majority of immigrants were associated with high status occupations, with relatively high rates of pay and good living conditions, in comparison with their local counterparts.

These groups were mainly established and heavily backed by the colonial power at the expense of the subordinate groups represented by native workers, and some immigrants from Arab and non-Arab countries, particularly Oman, Iran and Pakistan, who suffered the consequences of political domination and economic exploitation matching the case of Bahrain. Colonial Malaya provides a good example of exploitative colonialism where the indigeous group was subjected to discrimination policies and exploitation, while some other immigrant groups were exploited as cheap labour. (9) Colonial power played a considerable role in the manipulation of ethnic and racial groups in order to

maximize their economic exploitation. These processes consequently constituted the early stages of the cultural division of labour.

The new migratory groups, by contrast, have been characterised generally by having the status of unskilled labour. They had low pay and poor working and living conditions, with no trade union or legislative backing and were subject to open methods of exploitation which resulted in placing this group, despite its relative size, in a marginal place of the social structure. They and their disadvantaged placement in society is popularly thought to account for most of society's problems such as crime. Whether from their choice or that of society, they are concentrated in separate residential areas which are characterised by poor and crowded conditions.

Housing does play an important role in the maintenance of their subordinate identity. Their houses are built, owned and controlled by employers or sponsors, who are mainly resident in the more elegant part of the city or in the surrounding suburbs. Like Black American ghettoes, the Asian ghettoes in the Arab Gulf States represent the actual relationship and balance of power between the inferior and superior sections of the society.

This situation has minimized the degree of social interaction between the immigrant workers and their hosts, so that they have become separate groups living in the society but not part of it. The system of placing most of the natives in well paid administrative jobs and putting immigrants in poorly paid, hard, unskilled work is not always

a matter of structural differentiation but of a superior - subordinate relationship between the groups.

The subordination of the immigrant population is not only reflected in their unpleasant working and living condition, but also extends to cover both the hosts' unaccommodating attitudes towards them and unreceptive societal attitudes towards their religious and social institutions. These are constantly a matter of debate as to their acceptance or non-acceptance.

In fact, what needs to be clear is that "the mobilization capabilities of workers "are being circumscribed by" the insecurities of their position". (10) The intention of the capitalist employers is to recruit workers from different sources and to create a large heterogenous workforce, weakened by processes of easy replacement. The nature of the migratory labour system also limited the duration of residence and work to a limited period, and all these factors contributed negatively to the insecurity and low status of these groups. They are, therefore, handicapped in any attempt to organize for collective action for self-protection and work improvement.

Socio-cultural heritage also tends to dictate the division of society in terms of sex. Historically, men and women have never interacted in public places such as markets or places of worship, and each side has its recognisable 'norms' which distinguish it from the other. Although the coming of the modern oil era can be credited with having brought the admission of girls both to education and consequently to the labour market, wide segregation is maintained in educational

institutions. Women were directed, whether by the educational system or by the 'norms' of society, to concentrate in particular specialisations. A sanction has been imposed upon women in technical and religious education which results in women either maintaining their traditional role as unpaid family labour or child rearers, or to being confined to a fairly narrow range of jobs within the occupational structure. Hence there is a rigid differentiation in the labour market along sexual lines. The patriarchal characteristics of the society are consolidated.

It has been argued that the linkage between womens' roles and their status in society is not difficult to understand in the context of Arab Gulf Society. Womens' disadvantageous position is derived from the historical and cultural basis of a society which places them in a subordinate position in comparison with the status of their male counterparts. Accordingly, in modern times, when women acquired modern education and widened the network of their social relations, the aims were not to challenge the superiority of men or to stand against the existing traditional inequality between the sexes but rather to enforce their status and position in society. The result is that any fundamental shift in the balance of power and authority between the two groups remains far from being achieved.

Relations within the household division of labour are a good case in point. When women demanded some change in their position as family labour with secondary status, it was not through intensive participation and competition in the labour market, or through demanding more male participation in the household work, but by

turning to a new social group, namely the domestic servant, to take on the secondary position in the household. This phenomenon offered women a golden opportunity to practise a primary power without affecting the patriarchal family structure.

The question of the position and status of the domestic servant category within society, and in the household in particular, can be effectively interpreted within the framework of the interaction of class, immigrant status and gender relationship. She is exploited as worker in a capitalist relation, and exploited as an immigrant element in an ethnic oriented social structure. And she is, with the full authority of tradition in a patriarchal society, exploited as a woman. Consequently, the domestic servant has become the worst victim of all of the systems of social group interaction, with the lowliest human identification. She is also the most deprived of means and opportunity for individual or corporate self-protection.

Like their male immigrant counterparts, when the domestic servant group entered the social structure, they found harsh working and living conditions waiting for them. They are paid less than the minimum wage level with no protective legislation or trade union backing. Whether negatively or positively, this group has played a pivotal role in reshaping the long-standing sexual division of labour in the household, and in so doing has affected the total relationship between the sexes. This phenomenon is unlikely to be without cost, although future generations may be in a much better position to assess such costs accurately.

Although it is recognised that the main purpose of education and training is to prepare each generation for its position in the social division of labour, at the same time, family background, religious affiliations, class, tradition and belief systems are the major structural cultural variables explaining the differentials in attitudes and responses to education and industrial training.

The difference in educational access between men and women especially in technical education and industrial training results in these being sex-typed, and further helps in maintaining the traditional social division of labour. By limiting opportunities to acquire particular skills, the system restricts opportunities in competition, for jobs in an open, gender-neutral labour market.

Although education in general is open to nationalities on an equal basis, a clear distinction exists between religious sects, which are channeled into particular educational streams. These streams may officially be seen as equal, but they are not socially so. Technical education, for example, is commonly considered inferior, at least when compared with general education. Therefore, it is not surprising to find groups differentiated on the basis of class, religion, and geographical location, also determined by the distribution of students within the educational branches.

Therefore, although educational development improved the socio-economic status of the native population it has, on the other hand, reinforced the cultural division of labour. This argument contradicts

the modernization theories which argue that educational development is strongly associated with a decline in ethnic boundaries maintenance.

Differential educational provision and opportunity among social groups has helped to perpetuate and to deepen the existing structure of social differentiation and inequality. In such a situation, inequalities of wealth, power and class in the wider society are clearly reflected in educational attainment. In other words, the position that one occupies in the education system is, in part, a function of the position one's cultural section occupies in the hierarchies of class, status and power. Education, therefore, as Prewitt describes it, is a part of the social processes which promote the further institutionalization of inequalities. (11)

The common view is that technical education and training lead to inferior opportunities in the industrial sector which is dominated by immigrants who want this sector to be exclusive to themselves seeing it as the only way in which they can continue to remain in the country. This practice again helps to lessen the occupational interaction between these groups and to maintain the separation of the occupational sectors.

Conclusions

The following points arise in consequence of the foregoing discussion: (1) That structural differentiation has given rise to the appearance of a labour market made up predominantly of socio-cultural disadvantaged categories, including people of non-dominant female and immigrant elements. This situation has played a

crucial role in affecting the balance of status, opportunity and reward between social groups in the society and increased the tendency of such groups to be more separated and concentrated each in its own milieu.

(2) The division of labour in society or the workplace is an interrelated issue, and the status of a single unit worker in the workplace is a reflection of his or her status and place in the wider society. The more disadvantageous the position the worker occupies in the wider society in terms of residence, social interaction and social attitudes to him or her, the more that worker will be placed in a disadvantageous position in the labour market. Consequently, for a better understanding of the division between the various groups within the labour market, an interpretation of the status and the position of such groups in the society at large is required.

(3) The distribution of people within the social division of labour is not purely an economic matter. It is much more complex and inextricably tied to the social bases of society such as the power and the stratification system, the cultural context, the norms and belief system, the network of structured relationships within groups, and finally peoples' attitudes and judgments.

The inequalities in the distribution of power and wealth between core and periphery groups, according to Hechter's model of 'internal colonialism', have been reinforced and heightened by the advance of industrialization and modernization. These lead to a cultural division of labour where every group is placed in a particular setting

within the social and economic structure. It is also related to the stratification system, so that economic development and modernization will promote status groups, or groups defined in terms of life style, prestige and social honour to be more competititve. In other words, as economic and social development took place typically with the exploitation of oil, diversification of the economy, the evolution of bureaucracy, the increase in international immigration, the emergence of salaried labour in capitalist form,etc., as argued in chapter three, ethnic group formation and boundary maintenance were expected to become more, not less, salient, and to produce conditions under which it was possible for a segmental cultural division of labour to be pervasive. In terms of occupational structure, such economic expansion has created the need for work, and as long as cultural standards are used as a criterion for occupational assignment, development is likely to be associated with an increase in socio-economic distance between cultural groups, and in ethnic boundaries maintenance. Cross argues that ethnic and cultural identities are not likely to be especially vital forces in people's lives unless and until they find themselves in a situation of structural inequality.(12)

Such a situation might contribute to the development of cultural differences between the social groups and indeed to the development of a cultural or ethnic division of labour in which ethnic sections of the society become more functionally and occupationally specialized.

The direct outcome of such a situation is that first: various sections of the public sectors are reserved for natives, and of the private sector for immigrants.

Another related issue is that opportunities for mobility from one sort of occupational category to another becomes limited, which is an indication of the strength of the cultural division of labour which persists over time. In addition, the maintenance of such cultural division of labour would not have persisted without reinforcement by the actor's beliefs and attitudes backed by strong political measures which operate as a means of preventing any internal or external threats to the social and political structure in a country whose labour force is polyethnic.

(5) The mechanism by which rewards and wage levels in the labour market is determined cannot always be accounted for by existing differences of efficiency or skills. Rather it is strongly influenced by social factors and the power of social forces operating within society and the labour market. This skill and efficiency form only one factor in accounting for inequalities in society.

The relationship between the culture of the workers and their earning pattern is important in accounting for differences in the price of labour. According to Hechter, one economic consequence of the cultural division of labour is that wages in culturally distinctive occupations (private sector) will be lower than they would be in the absence of any salient cultural categories within the occupational structure. (13) This occurs because the culturally distinctive

workers must compete with each other for the jobs that are within their range. Furthermore, the wage an individual obtains depends on which job he/she can get access to. Nationality, sex, religion and other attributes are important for the individual to get access to better jobs and hence for the rate of promotion to higher wage levels. As already indicated, Bonacich's model of split labour market explained a large differential in the price of labour for the same occupation. She sees it as a response of differences in resources and motives that are correlated with the ethnicity of those entering the market.

Policy Implications

Although it is not possible to derive general policy conclusions from the situation under study, an attempt is made here to formulate some specific policy suggestions for each of the situations examined.

It might be accepted on the basis of the arguments and evidence rviewed that variation in the degree of access to the labour market and discrimination practices occur on the basis of religion, race and sex. In many cases the practices have prevented society from achieving a rational patern of employment and reward distribution. If full use is to be made of the human resources and conditions available, society should make increased use of educational qualifications as a main basis for recruitment, selection and promotion.

If human rights are to be respected, it must always be borne in mind that migration movements involve human beings. Consequently, immigrant workers should be treated as people with social, economic and even political rights. In this view the need at present is to improve the working and pay conditions of these people hand in hand with improving their living conditions and restricting exploitative practices which operate against them by means of appropriate policies and action-oriented programmes.

Increasing women's participation in the labour market is one of the key points in resolving labour market problems and in making maximum use of indigenous Bahraini labour. In order to ensure more participation of women some action must be considered. First, the conservative attitude of men, and even of many women, towards the public role of females must be reformed, while at the same time policies should be adopted to increase the degree of equality between the sexes within the labour market. This could be increased by non-discriminatory actions regarding access to training institutions and by eliminating the sex labelling of occupations. Within the household structure too, men should be encouraged to take a more active role in domestic affairs.

Through legislation, women should be encouraged to take part-time work, with flexible working hours and nursing periods, which would correspond to the demands made on women in the labour market and the household. Furthermore, the government should provide, or encourage the provision of, child welfare institutions such as child-care units

and kindergartens, as these make it easier for women to undertake their dual responsibilities.

The extending engagement of domestic servants to cover a wide range of Bahraini households is without any doubt a new phenomenon. A chief characteristic of it is that the relationship of the two parties involved and their duties and responsibilities are not defined. Even though some enlightened households do exist now, the general relationship is either ill-defined or completely unorganized and may vary from one household to another and even within the same household from time to time. Accordingly, it seems that a codification of a proper way to control and organize the relationship between the employer and the servant within the workplace (the home) wpould be desirable, such a codification would be essential in order to define the rights, duties and rules of the work and to establish a fair working relationship for domestic servants.

Notes to the Conclusion:

(1) Khūrī, 1980, op.cit, p.146.

(2) L.H. Melikian and L.N. Diyab,"Group affiliations of University students in the Arab Middle East". In The Journal of Social Psycology, Vol. XLIX, 1959, pp. 145-59.

(3) Hechter, 1978, op.cit, p.311.

(4) See; C.H. Eloe, Ethnic conflict and political development Boston: Little Brown, 1973; J. Nash, "Women in development dependency and exploitation "In Development and change. Vol.8, 1977. pp. 161-82; and I. Tinker, "The adverse impact of development on women". In ed. I. Tinker and M. Bramsen, Women and World Development, New York, Overseas development council, 1976, pp. 22-34.

(5) See; C. Hakīm, "Sexual division within the labour force: occupational segregation". In Development of Employment Gazette, 1978, pp. 1262-79.

(6) D.G. Bakers, Race, ethnicity and power: a comparative study, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983, p. 197.

(7) T.G. Carroll, "Islam and political community in the Arab World", In International Journal of Middle East Studies. Vol. No. 18, No. 2, 1986, pp. 185-204.

(8) F. Khuri, Sovereignty and stratification in Islam. Paper presented at BRISMES annual conference, July 1987. University of Exeter, p.6.

(9) See, C.E.R. Abraham, "Racial and ethnic manipulation in colonial Malaya". In Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 6., No. 1, 1983, pp. 18-32.

(10) Bakers, op.cit, p. 84.

(11) K. Prewitt, "Education and social equality", In ed D. Court and D. Chai, Education, Society and Development - New Prospective from Kenya. Oxford University Press, 1974, p.202.

(12) M. Cross, "On Conflict, Race Relations and the theory of the Plural Society" Race, Vol.12, No.4, 1971, pp 477-94.

(13) Hechter, 1979, op.cit.

APPENDICES

(Appendix No. I)

Ministerial Order No. 8/1978

PRESCRIBING THE HEALTH AND HOUSING REQUIREMENTS FOR WORKERS' HOUSING ACCOMMODATION

The Minister for Health.

In pursuance of Article 92 of the Labour Law for the Private Sector promulgated by Amiri Decree Law No. 23 of 1976 and of the Public Health Law promulgated by Amiri Decree Law No. 3 of 1975 and of the Building Construction Law promulgated by Amiri Decree Law No. 13 of 1977, and with the agreement of the Minister for Labour and Social Affairs.

Orders :

Article 1 :

Every employer shall be required to provide the minimum standards of health as prescribed in this Order in respect of the housing accommodation for his workers. New housing accommodation shall be constructed in compliance with such prescribed requirements and in Municipality concerned.

Article 2 :

The area and interior arrangements for sleeping accommodation shall comply with the conditions prescribed hereunder :-

(a) An area of not less than forty square feet shall be provided for each person and the height of the walls shall be not less than ten feet.

(b) No single room shall accommodate more than eight occupants thereof.

(c) Each such room shall be provided with adequate beds and cupboards.

(d) Each such room shall be provided with adequate means of ventilation.

(e) Beds shall be not less than twelve inches above the floor level and each bed shall be separated from the adjoining bed by not less than thirty-six inches on all sides.

Article 3 :

Each employer shall provide each housing unit with adequate kitchen facilities including drinking water, washing facilities and suitable provision for the storage and preservation of foodstuffs.

Article 4 :

Each housing unit shall be provided with a water closet in compliance with the undermentioned conditions and requirements.

(a) It shall not be more than one hundred and twenty feet distant from the door of any bedroom.

(b) It shall not open directly on to a kitchen or dining room.

(c) The distance from the water closet to the kitchen or dining room shall be not less than fifteen feet.

(d) The water closet shall comply with the conditions prescribed hereunder :

(i) At least one such toilet for every eight persons provided that it shall be of a water-borne flush-type system.

(ii) At least one urinal for every fifteen persons.

(iii) At least one bathing shower for every ten persons.

(iv) At least one wash-basin for every ten persons.

(v) Adequate changing accommodation.

Article 5 :

Adequate accommodation for laundering shall be attached to each housing unit.

Article 6 :

The floors of such facilities referred to in the aforementioned three Articles of this Order shall be constructed of permanent impervious material with effective drainage and adequate lighting and ventilation.

Article 7 :

The water supply to each housing unit shall be obtained from a safe water source and fit for human consumption in accordance with the conditions prescribed by the Ministry of Health. The supply of such water for consumption by each person shall be not less than thirty-five gallons per day.

Article 8 :

Each housing unit shall be provided with adequate sanitary means for the disposal of waste water either by use of the public drainage system, septic tank or soakage pit, as appropriate.

Article 9 :

The employer concerned or his authorised agent shall provide each housing unit with a suitable type and adequate number of refuse containers in addition to sufficient means for extinguishing fire as shall be approved by the Fire Service.

Article 10 :

The housing units and facilities relating thereto provided for workers shall be maintained in a clean and sanitary condition and shall comply with the health requirements prescribed in this Order.

Article 11 :

The authorised inspectors shall be empowered to enforce the provisions of this Order so as to ensure compliance therewith.

Any person who contravenes any of the provisions of this Order shall be liable to the penalties provided for in Article 165 of the Labour Law for the Private Sector, 1976.

Article 12 :

This Order shall become effective three months after its publication in the Official Gazette.

Minister for Health
Ali Mohamed Fakhro

Dated : 16th October, 1978
15 Thoiqadeh 1398

(Appendix No. II)

Is this the way to treat human beings?

We are against imported foreign labour in all its forms. We have always advocated organizing foreign labour, cutting it down and eventually getting rid of it. But at the same time we believe in humanity; we believe in Man as a human being, regardless of whether he comes from Asia or Africa or any one of the four corners of the World.

We also believe that if we employ a human being we have to treat this human being with a certain measure of humanity. That should be the starting point of our dealings, because when we pay this human being, we expect labour equal to the payment we make.

This picture in which more than forty human beings are lumped together in one small room in which they eat, live and sleep is by no means near to human treatment.

These human beings have been imported by a contractor to work and produce. Can they be productive labourers in such devastating conditions?!

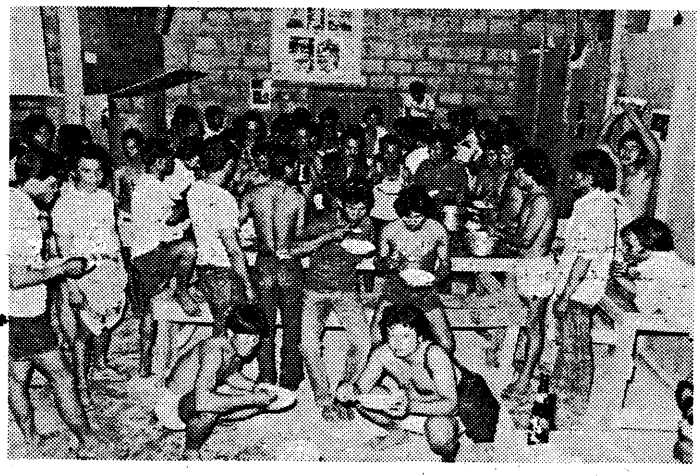
Moreover, supposing this contractor has forgotten everything about humanity and has rubbed it completely off his conscience, is it not possible that this crowd, in one small room, will provide an ideal environment for diseases which may spread to the rest of the society?

Is it not possible that the presence of these numbers in such conditions will initiate crimes of various types and standards?

Many questions we address to your conscience and to the health authorities and all other authorities in the hope to find some answers.

Akhbar AL-Khaleej.
9 May, 1982.

أهكذا يعامل الإنسان ؟!



نحن ضد العمالة الاجنبية بمختلف اشكالها .. وقد دعونا وما زلنا ندعو الى التخلص منها والى تقليصها والى تنظيمها بقدر الامكان .. ولكننا نؤمن بالانسان لمجرد انه انسان سواء جاء هذا الانسان من اسيا او افريقيا او اى جهة من جهات العالم الاربع ..

ونؤمن ايضا اننا اذا استخدمنا انسانا ما علينا ان نعامله بشيء - ولو قليل - من الانسانية وان نتعامل معه من هذا المنطلق .. لاننا حينما نعطيه اجرا نطلب منه عملا معينا مقابل ذلك الاجر .

وهذه الصورة التى ضمت اكثر من اربعين انسانا يعيشون ويأكلون وينامون فى غرفة واحدة وبهذا الضيق وبهذه الكيفية بعيدة كل البعد عن المعاملة الانسانية ..

هؤلاء البشر جلبهم احد المقاولين ليعملوا وينتجوا .. فهل يمكنهم ان يكونوا عمالا منتجين وهم يعيشون على هذه الصورة ؟! .. ثم لو تناسى هذا المقاول الانسانية والغاها من ضميره .. الا يكون وجود هذا الجمع فى غرفة واحدة سببا فى نشوء الامراض التى قد ينشرها هؤلاء فى المجتمع المحيط بهم ؟ .. الا يسبب وجودهم هكذا جرائم من مختلف الانواع والمستويات ؟!

أسئلة نوجهها الى الضمير .. والى الصحة .. والى جميع المختصين علنا نجد عليها جوابا !!

(Appendix No. III)

List of Indian Clubs/Association as on 1.11.1984.

Sr. No.	Name of Clubs	Name of President
1.	Indian Association, P.O. Box 413, Manama	Mr. M.R. Bhatia
2.	Bahrain Sports Club, P.O. Box 356, Manama	Mr. Nevin Megchiani
3.	Bahrain Keraleeya Samajam, P.O. Box 757, Manama	Mr.E. Raveendran
4.	Karnataka Sports Club P.O. Box 20556, Manama	Mr. D. Fernandes
5.	Young Goans sports Club, P.O. Box 20390, Manama	Mr. M. Pinto
6.	Indian Fine Arts Society P.O. Box 20046, Manama	Mr. G.A. Bhatia

7.	Bhatia Maitri Mandal P.O. Box 434, Manama	Mr. D. Devidas
8.	Thattai Hindu Mercantile Community, P.O. Box 20534. Manama	Mr. T.K. Gandhi
9.	Thattai Hindu Community P.O. Box 175, Manama	Mr. B.H. Kewalram
10.	Sikh Temple C/O Mansa Singh & Sons P.O. Box 1373, Manama.	Mr. Swaran Singh Gill
11.	Kerala Muslim Jama'ath P.O. Box 1064, Manama	Haji Musthafa Malabari
12.	Bahrain Kerala Art Centre, P.O. Box 1064, Manama	Mr.K.C.Mohammed
13.	Bohra Association P.O. Box 967, Manama	Mr.Qutubuddin Bhai
14.	Kerala Catholic Assn. P.O. Box 20651, Manama	Mr. K.O. Davies

15.	Konkan Singers P.O. Box 26520, Manama	Mr.Lawrie J. Pereira
16.	Bahrain Malayalee Christian Congregation P.O. Box 23, Manama	Mr. P.P. Varkey
17.	Chinmaya Family P.O.Box 20046, Manama	Mr. Atma Jashanmal
18.	Stree Gujarati Samaj P.O. Box 596, Manama	Mr.Suresh Kanjoibhai
19.	Indian Ladies Assn. P.O. Box 16, Manama	Mrs. Bharti Bhatnagar
20.	Muslim Education Society (Bahrain Unit), P.O.Box 61, Manama	Mr. Mohd. Yusuf
21.	Marathi Samaj P.O.Box 12, Manama	Dr. Badwath
22.	Bahrain Kannada Sangha Bldg.No.210, Shaikh Isa High Way Opp. Bahrain Red Crescent Society Manama	Mr. Y S. Shetti

(Appedix No. IV)

Questionnaire for the assessment of opinion about the Labour Market in Bahrain

Translated from Arabic

Notes

1. Please answer all questions in detail and in clear handwriting. Give examples whenever possible.

2. Information given in this questionnaire will be treated as strictly confidential and will only be used for the purpose of academic research.

Particulars:-

a) Age

b) Residential area

c) Profession

d) Academic standard

e) Job - position

f) Marital status

1. One of the characteristics of the labour market in Bahrain is high rates of foreign labour. In your opinion,

   i) what is the reason behind that?

   ii) do you think deporting foreign labourers is going to solve labour problems or is the result going to be the opposite of that?

   iii) in both cases explain how?

2. Do you think that there is a feeling of competition between the Bahraini labourer and the foreign labourer as far as the opportunities for jobs are concerned.

3. What do you think of Arab labourers (usually from Egypt, Palestine and other Arab countries). In your opinion are they not different from other foreign labourers?

4. What system, in your opinion, should be implied in dealing with foreign labourers? Do you think it is necessary to have good relationships with them or not?

5. Do you think that the high rates of foreign labour made Bahraini labourers decline to take tough manual jobs and turn to easier office work?
What do you think of that?

6. In your opinion, are working conditions of foreign labourers and their standards of living good, reasonable or bad? Comment on that.

7. Do you support the idea of integrating foreign labourers into the Bahrain Society by granting them Bahrain nationality and the access to owning property and running business and special programmes transmitted by radio and television for them?
How do you see that?

8. Do you think that the state (the system, the institution and legislation) is directed towards solving the problems of immigrant labourers and the problem of Bahrainization of jobs or is it directed otherwise?
Explain how?

9. Do you think the rise in rates of theft and crimes is caused by foreign labourers or do you think otherwise?

10 What are the reasons, in your opinion, of the rise in rates of dependency on foreign servants and babyminders in the Bahrainian society?
Do you think it is a good phenomenon or a bad one?
What do you think of the working conditions of this type of labourer?

11. Any other comments you want to make in the subject of foreing labour?

APPENDIX NO.V

PRESS REPORTS CONCERNING

REGULATIONS TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

DEPORTATION FO ISLAND WORKER

MORE than 100 workers have been deported in the last four months for ignoring the island's sponsorship laws.

And the campaign to ensure that workers do not switch sponsors without official permission is continuing.

Dozens of workers who have left one employment and then, illegally, sought other jobs on the island, are now in police custody.

Once investigations against them have been completed they will be either released to their original sponsors, or deported.

And officials have once again warned local employers that they could face prosecution if they hire workers illegally.

GULF DAILY NEWS
14-15-1983

GULF DAILY NEWS
23-4-1980

Shaikh warns over jobs

EXPATRIATE working in Bahrain cannot change their jobs without government permission.

Shaikh Mohammed Humoud Al-Khalifa, supervisor of manpower planning, has said work permits given to foreigners do not give them the right to change their jobs.

Shaikh Mohammed also said that permits issued by the Ministry of Labour and immigration authorities pertain to a specific employer and specific job.

If an expatriate wants to change his position or employer, permission must first be sought from the Ministry of Labour.

(Appendix No.VI)

Employment Agreement From Outside

(Domestic Servant)

Ref.No.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الفردوس لخدمات الأيدي العاملة
Paradise Manpower Services
ص . ب : ٢٦٨٥٤ - المنامة - دولة البحرين
تلفون : ٢٤٢٦٩٦ - تلكس : ٩٨٠٤ فيكي بي. إن
P.O. Box 26854, Manama, State of Bahrain
Tel: 242696. Tlx.: 9804 VICKY BN

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

EMPLOYMENT AGREEMENT FROM OUTSIDE

The First Party .....

The Second Party .....

An Agreement reached between First Party and Second Party, on / / as following :

1. The second party will work under the supervision of the first party in the profession of
.....
.....
.....

2. With a monthly salary .....
..... only.

3. It is forbidden to leave the house without permission from one of the family of the first party and one of them should accompany.

4. The second party is obliged to obey the orders and traditions of the family and faithful covering eagerly her reputation during the period of the work period.

5. The second party should keep the secrets of the first party's family.

6. Should not negociate the tradition, customs and religion of the first party.

7. The duration of this contract is for two years (2 years) and can be renewed with its all terms and conditions if both parties agreed.

8. The first party will provide the employee with medical treatment through Government Hospital or at private clinic if the employer wish.

9. The second party is entitled for 30 days vacation annually and the air travelling expenses of the second party will be paid by the first party in economy class after completing 2 years contract.

10. The first party will provide the second party with suitable housing accommodation and food.

11. The increase of annual salary in according to the desire of the first party and depends on performance of satisfaction of the first party.

12. This assignment will continue for Two Years commencing from the date of the second party arrive into the above employer place.

عقد توظيف من الخارج

الطرف الاول .....
.....
الطرف الثاني .....
.....
اتفق الطرفان بتاريخ / / على ما يأتي :

٢ ـ الراتب الشهري ما يعادل.....
.....

٣ ـ ان لا تخرج من المنزل لزيارة سيدات أخريات الا بموافقة ومرافقة أحد من بيت الطرف الاول .

٤ ـ يجب ان تخضع لتقاليد وعادات أهل البيت وان تكون مخلصة وحريصة على سمعتها خلال فترة عملها .

٥ ـ يجب ان تحافظ على اسرار العائلة وكل ما يتنامى لسمعها من معلومات .

٦ ـ ان لاتدخل في نقاش حول العادات والتقاليد والعقيدة.

٧ ـ هذه الاتفاقية سارية المفعول منذ التوقيع عليها ولمدة سنتين ويمكن تجديدها بمثلها وذلك حسب اتفاق الطرفين .

٨ ـ يوفر الطرف الاول العلاج اللازم للمستخدم وذلك في مستشفيات الحكومة او في عيادات خارجية اذا رغب الطرف الاول في ذلك .

٩ ـ يمنح الطرف الثاني اجازة سنوية مدتها ثلاثون يوما مع تذكرة ركاب بالطائرة في الدرجة السياحية ذهابا وايابا الى بلدها التي تعاقدت منه . وذلك بعد مضي مدة العقد « سنتان » .

١٠ ـ على الطرف الاول ان يوفر للطرف الثاني الطعام والمسكن .

١١ ـ الزيادة السنوية في الراتب حسب رغبة الطرف الاول وتقديره للعمل الذي يقوم به الطرف الثاني .

١٢ ـ يسري مفعول هذا العقد تحت الشروط أعلاه اعتبارا من تاريخ وصول الطرف الثاني لمقر عمله .

Ref. No.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الفردوس لخدمات الأيدي العاملة
Paradise Manpower Services

ص . ب : ٢٦٨٥٤ - المنامة - دولة البحرين
تلفون : ٢٤٢٦٩٦ - تلكس : ٩٨٠٤ فيكي بي. إن
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Tel: 242696, Tlx.: 9804 VICKY BN

13. The Employee will be insured by the employers for all accidents and injuries sustained during working hours and in accordance with the Country Insurance Law.

١٣ ـ يؤمن المستخدم من قبل صاحب العمل وذلك ضد الحوادث او المخاطر التى تنتج للمستخدم اثناء تاديته/ تاديتها لواجباته/لواجباتها بالمنزل ويكون التأمين متمشيا مع قانون التأمين الاجتماعى ٠

14. The working hours will be in accordance with the domestic needs.

١٤ ـ تكون ساعات العمل حسب متطلبات السكن وأهله ٠

15. The Employee will be entitled for sick leave with full pay as stipulated by the Country Labour Law.

١٥ ـ يستحق المستخدم اجازة مرضية براتب كامل حسب قانون العمل ٠

16. Should the Employee terminate the contract before completion of two years for unjustified reason employee will not be entitled for leaving indemnity and return air passage will be born by the employee.

١٦ ـ فى حالة فسخ العامل لعقد العمل قبل انقضاء سنتان ولأسباب غير شرعية لا يقرها قانون العمل لا يستحق العامل مكافأة خدمة ويتحمل العامل تكاليف عودته الى بلاده ٠

17. Disputes regarding the applicability and terms of this AGREEMENT will be resolved by the LABOUR MINISTRY OF GOVT.

١٧ ـ فى حالة حصول نزاع بين الطرفين يلتزم الطرفان بشروط هذه الاتفاقية كما يطبق بحق الطرفين قانون العمل ٠

18. The Employee will be under probation for a period of three months and will not have day off during the week.

AGREED TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT.

اوافق لما جاء من بنود وشروط فى هذا العقد ٠

.....

.....

.....

Employer's Name and Signature

Employee's Name and Signature

WITNESS

NAME

WITNESS

NAME