

Development and Citizen Socio-Economic Roles

Maryam Hasan

Dept. of Political Sciences,
College of Social Sciences,
Kuwait University

arab journal for the humanities



Issue 77 / 20

Abstract

This study aims at examining the treatment of sex-roles of Kuwaiti citizens in social studies text books used in Kuwait government schools. Content analysis is used as the main tool of gathering information and has been applied to seven textbooks of social studies provided to students at their elementary, intermediate, and secondary levels of education. The results show that the textbooks were heavily gender stereotyped in favor of males.

Introduction

Creating a new social order is a challenge that demands extensive planning, talented policy makers, dedicated manpower, appropriate financing, plenty of resources, and effective agents of socialization. However, almost all researchers agree on the fact that education is a vital agency for change at both levels, that of the individual and society.

Education is important to people because it brings enrichment into their lives and tends to increase the acquisition of power associated with learning particular roles and skills. Hence, schools can be used as a vehicle to instill new values, new attitudes and new behavior. All these are pre-requisites for new roles in any participant civic society.

This study examines the role of education in the process of economic and social development. In particular, this study examines whether the school curriculum contains the proper messages and information that are needed to be taught to the Kuwait younger generation so they can face the challenges of the coming century, economically and socially. It also examines whether it provides the needed messages that can promote the new social and economic roles among the citizens of Kuwait. This research examines the social studies curriculum used in Kuwait Government schools. The curriculum is used by students in the three levels of education, elementary, intermediate and secondary, to determine if new social/economic roles have been introduced to the young Kuwaiti citizens. Textbooks are regarded as authoritative elements in Kuwait's educational system. Teachers tend to abide by the content of textbooks and students rely heavily on textbook information and content to pass their examinations. Therefore, it is worthwhile to look into the messages disseminated to the younger generation with regard to their future socio/economic roles.¹ (Sachau and Title, 78).

A sex role is defined as a constellation of characteristics that various cultures attribute to individuals according to sex. These attributes include those associated with behaviors such as cognitive skills, job choice, personality and character. Sex roles can be affected by the process of modernization, from which a country adopts, transforms, or replaces its traditional institutions and patterns of life under the influence of new science and technology. The inter-relationship between culture, socio-economic roles, and development can slow down modernization.

This research examines social studies text books used by Kuwaiti government schools in three level of education, elementary, intermediate and secondary schools, to discover if the information contained in the textbooks examined tends to introduce to the youth a modern mode of socio-economic roles that can meet the needs of the coming century.

This study addresses these major questions:

- What are the economic roles that are associated with citizens?
- What types of roles have been associated with males and females?
- Who have been given the more traditional roles, women or men?
- What type of setting is associated with females and males?
- What occupations are given to males and females?
- What are the general sex role activities given to males and females?

Significance of the study:

In non-government organizations, a need has been seen to carry out changes in the government educational programs curriculum. The reason for this call to action is due to the notion that since Kuwait's independence, the educational system has been able to provide the needed number of teachers in educational service. It has also succeeded to a great extent in curbing the illiteracy rates. However, many agree that the system has not been able to provide the economic sector with the needed skilled work force in many economic divisions and activities (Al-Ebraheem, 1989, Hasan, 1996, and Al-Naqeeb, 1995). They stressed that the educational system has been affected by cultural ties and traditional values that hindered the process of social and economic change. Thus, a careful study of curricula used in government schools is regarded vital because they are channels that provide future generations not only with knowledge, but also with economic, social and political values, and general orientation. In addition, a study of the curricula deepens our understanding of how men and women are depicted in Kuwait: school textbooks. A study also shows if school curricula are socially and culturally influenced. The findings of such a study may provide administrators and policy makers insight into effective future planning.

Focusing the study on only the social studies curriculum may provide an insight into the process of formal socialization. Social studies as taught in the Kuwaiti government schools is meant to substitute for history, geography, economics, sociology and civic education. In particular, when we examine social studies textbooks introduced to students from the fourth grade of their elementary level education through to the first two years of secondary level, we get a clear picture of what types of knowledge and values are stressed by the authors of these books. We also see what types of citizenry the educational system would like to create. Social studies is generally conceived as a subject where civic and economic roles and activities are introduced to students. Thus, what can be gained from the examination of present social studies texts is a picture of what the Kuwaiti educational administrators see as the socialization of today's youth and their

future as citizens of Kuwait. Analyzing social studies textbooks provides us with the messages future Kuwaiti citizens receive with regard to their socio-economic roles. This would also show the negative messages that might hinder the creation of a fully participating citizen who would be capable of carrying out needed economic change. This citizen would also have the capacity to participate effectively in socio-economic activities to bring about needed development where humans are regarded the "real resource of national wealth."

Background:

Education has always been regarded as an important element of change in the Kuwaiti political system, even when old Kuwait lacked the oil wealth during the pre-oil era. Kuwaiti merchants made the first step by providing financing for the first school in Kuwait at Mubarakiya in 1912. It was for boys. The school curriculum included Quran studies, local and Islamic traditions, Arabic reading, and arithmetic. It appeared that the school curriculum was reflecting the requirements of the economic arena. It also happened to be sustaining the Islamic religion and Arabic language.

Al-Mubarakya school provided the community with commercial correspondents, clerks and a few teachers. However, it failed to eradicate illiteracy (Al-Mughnee, 1993). In 1922, Al-Ahmadiya also established a school for boys. The ruler of Kuwait, Sheik Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah was interested in improving the content of education in Al-Mubarakiya and suggested the addition of the study of English was needed. Al-Mubarakiya was left to meet the objectives of Islam.

The majority of the Kuwaiti people did not see female education as important. They thought the religious education which was given to females by Al-Mutawaa (religious instructors) was enough. However, the occurrence of Kuwait as a commercial city and the move toward enlightenment which was crossing the Arabian world, along with the impact of religious and political thinkers visiting Kuwait from neighbouring countries, stressed the need for fair treatment of both male and female Kuwaiti citizens. Hence, the Amir of Kuwait encouraged women's education on a small scale. Later, in 1937, the first state school was established for girls.

The school was opened for six months with no girls being registered. Fathers were fanatical about their daughters' education, believing it to be a religious sin. A social awareness campaign was designed to encourage female enrollment in government schools. The campaign was successful and girls came forward to be educated in schools. (Al-Misnad).

In 1950, Abdulla Al-Saim Al-Sabah, the Amir of Kuwait, carried out a welfare public policy to introduce urbanization and modernization to Kuwait's

society. Oil revenues were a particular help in allowing the welfare policy to provide for education. Health care and housing grants were provided free to all Kuwaitis.

The number of students represented by both sexes increased because of the need to eradicate illiteracy and to meet public demands. The national expenditure on education rose from KD 3,781 in 1946-1947 to KD 10,763,800 in 1960-1961. The expenditure on educational services reached KD 360,432 in 1997-96. The curricula for girls and boys were the same in most of the subjects. They were taught the Quran, Arabic language, English, arithmetic, history, geography, principles of health, principles of science, and physical education. However, girls were also given household management, needlework, and embroidery. Policy makers regarded the aim of girls education away to socialize with traditional social roles. This difference was criticized by the United Nations. Subsequently, the curriculum was revised and modified to "girls should not be handicapped in later life by shortcomings in their education as to that compared to boys." In the 1990 an ex-minister of education described the educational system in Kuwait as "an institution which is trapped in cultural ties and values that sustain the system and do not bring about the real social economic change" (Al-Ebrahim, 1989).

Hence this study will address this question: Is the Kuwaiti educational system regarded a vehicle for change. To what extent? Moreover, to what extent does it participate in the development process with respect to citizens' social and economic roles?

The issue of development and its relationship to human resources has been raised in international and regional arenas. Humans are regarded as the real resources of nations. Human development includes the process of widening the choices of humans. Humans are entitled to live a healthy life, have knowledge, and have resources for a decent standard of living. In addition, they should be granted equal political, economic and social rights. Also, they should have the chance to produce, create, and enjoy self-respect and general human rights. The new trend expands this notion of "human development" to be a comprehensive and a general development plan. It can be broadened to include three dimensions. The first is to create human capabilities, such as improving health care and improving knowledge and skills. The second is discovering how humans use these abilities for enjoyment production and active participation in cultural, social, and political activities. The third is caring for human welfare. If "human development" is the concern of all nations who seek general development, it is a must that we look forward to seek this also as a national goal.

Review of literature:

The role of education in the process of social and economic development has attracted Arab researchers, who focused on the school curriculum and how it could participate in the process of socializing the younger generation in respect to economic and social roles. Kallab, Abu Nasr, and Lorfin (1982) examined Arabic textbooks used in elementary and intermediate schools in Lebanon with respect to sex-roles attributed to males and females. The findings show that the distribution of roles attributed to females was 45% as mother, 27% as little girl, 14% as grandmothers, 5% as working women and 8% for others. The working women were portrayed in activities similar to domestic environment such as dressmaking, housekeeping, and nursing. The findings appear to stress the traditional images of women's roles (Kallab, et al 134).

Naser, Lorfin, and Mikati (1983) examined Arabic textbooks used in the seven Arab states of Egypt, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Democratic Yemen and Tunisia. They found that the textbooks also stressed traditional roles, and females were portrayed as dependent, submissive, self-sacrificing, weak and sensitive.

Al-Manee, in her dissertation (1995), also examined reading textbooks used by Saudi children in elementary education. The authors of their reading stories come from Arab countries, such as Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia and Kuwait. The results of the examination revealed that females were described as unrealistically distorted creatures. Females were always portrayed as subordinate to males. They were given negative characteristics such as being irrational, jealous, insecure, dependent, and superficial.

Arabic reading textbooks used by elementary schools in Egypt were analyzed to determine whether they contained any role stereotypes. Females were less often portrayed as main characters than males by 20% to 80%. Males were given managerial occupations, while females were given domestic and traditional activities. Females were never portrayed as doctors or engineers. (Mohamed, 1985).

Mikati (1987) carried out the same investigation in civic education and reading textbooks used by students at the elementary level of education in Lebanon. The aim of the research was to investigate if males and females were treated equally in school textbooks with regards to occupation, activities, traits, and roles. The findings showed that males were depicted in a number of modern occupations and activities. Males were shown in different settings including home, school, work, and the market. Females often were shown at home. The researcher concluded "that school textbooks tend to be biased against females, and this contradicts the stated principle of equality among citizens."

The review of the literature on the issue of gender-role treatment in school textbooks used in Arab states has determined that the majority of textbooks examined are filled with sex-role stereotyping and sex-biased representation of females. Extending this review to Kuwaiti researchers appears to highlight the work of Al-Fraih. The study focused on Arabic language and literature textbooks used at an elementary level of education. The work depends on quantitative content analysis made on a sample of 18 textbooks used in Arab Countries such as Qatar, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Algeria and Morocco. The analysis disclosed that the majority of textbooks contain a negative connotation toward females. The textbooks contained messages that sustained traditional roles for women such as housekeepers. Students read, for example, "I will make [her daughter] wear hejab in the morning and she will stop playing outside. It is the time for her to be introduced to women's world." On another occasion females were downgraded, for example, students read "this mule is my wife." Hence, the researcher concludes that these negative stereotyping messages need to be eliminated from school textbooks. (Al-Fraih, 121-7). It would be worthwhile to examine other curricula and focus on the treatment of males and females to determine if results differ from the Al-Fraih findings. Therefore, the examination of currently used social studies textbooks is needed for concerned parents, teachers, and administrators to investigate the issue of curricula reforms.

Research Instrument:

This study relies heavily on content analysis of textbooks. Content analysis is seen as one of the major tools of research in the field of social sciences. Content of communication could be written, heard, or seen material. In our case, content analysis is applied to school textbooks. Content analysis is applied to narrative and pictorial content of social studies texts and quantitative books material. The analysis (Ahmad and Abdullah, 1985) undertakes both quantitative approaches. Quantitative analysis relies upon a careful counting of paragraphs and measuring the space of text. The paragraph is the recording unit which is used to carry out the analysis. The recording is defined as a specific segment of content that is characterized by placing it in a given category. A paragraph is defined generally "as a group of sentences that develops one main idea" (Klammer, 11). The usage of paragraphs, and not the single word or the sentence, are more suitable to deal with textbook material because they contain large amounts of written material, and they provide a whole picture

of the idea presented in the text. Also, recording the areas of paragraphs can clarify in a systematic way the size of space given to each idea and maximize accuracy in the findings. The quantitative analysis, though it does not methodically consider the number of times an item appears, tends to examine how the information in paragraphs is presented.

This study also considers the pictorial content of textbooks. The areas containing the picture, relevant to the issue at hand, were recorded. The content of pictures with regards to colouring, clearness, characters included, and the setting were considered in order to answer the following questions:

- (a) Does the illustration feature males and females equally?
- (b) What type of external observation is given to each character [facial expressions, dress worn, location among other characters, etc.]?
- (c) In what type of setting is each character portrayed (i.e. home, school, mosque, work, club, etc.)?
- (d) What type of activities are given to males and females (i.e. housekeeper, teacher, engineer, doctor, etc.)?

To simplify the task of analysis this work adapts some dimensions which are as follows:

- 1) Variables attached to the character:
 - (a) Gender : there are three categories regarded: female, male and unknown person
 - (b) Age :
 - Child aged from 0-10
 - Adolescent aged from 11-17
 - Adult aged from 18-64
 - Older person gaged 65
 - and unspecified person.
- 2) Variables attached to the setting where characters were portrayed: this includes setting of home, school, mosque, work, office, club, market, etc.
- 3) Occupations given to males and females.
- 4) Traits given to males and females: i.e., female stereotypes are given a conventional feminine image as caring and sensitive, while males are given masculine images such as independent and brave.
- 5) Family role: referring to different roles of family members such as brothers, sisters, father, grandmother, cousin, etc.
- 6) Nouns, pronouns, and adjectives referring to vocabulary given to denote females and males.
- 7) Sex-role activities which consider the activities for both sexes involved.

Population and Sample:

The total population of textbooks used in Kuwaiti government schools is large. This research focuses on the social studies curriculum. Social studies as used in Kuwaiti schools is meant to combine history and geography. Social studies is introduced to students in the fourth grade of the elementary cycle; hence the educational ladder is structured into 4-4-4 (or four years in each cycle, elementary, intermediate and secondary). In the intermediate cycle four social studies textbooks are provided. In the first and second grade of the secondary level of education two social studies textbooks are used, and in the third and fourth grades, social studies is taught only to the Arts section. The curriculum of social studies is divided into various constituent subjects: history, geography, economics, sociology, philosophy, logic, morals and ethics. Hence, the issue of socialization seems to be more highly regarded in previous grades where all students of the three levels of education are provided with the same textbooks. Therefore, a sample of seven social studies textbooks are the concern of this study (see Table 1).

Table 1
Seven Years Social Studies Curriculum from
Primary, Grade Four to Secondary, Grade Two

Textbook Title	Level of Education	Total Pages	Pages of Index & Activities	No. of Pages with Narrative Contents	% of Pages Analyzed
Kuwait & Arabian Gulf	Fourth Grade Primary Level	100	28	*	—
Kuwait & Arabian Gulf	First Grade Intermediate Level	156	34	122	78.2%
Arab Home Land	Second Grade Intermediate Level	152	22	130	86%
Muslims in the World	Third Grade Intermediate Level	232	32	200	86%
Kuwait & Arabian Gulf	First Grade Secondary Level	210	40	170	81%
Arab Home Land	Second Grade Secondary Level	270	49	230	85%
		1305	238	882	

* At this age the textbook relies heavily on photographs and pictures.

The consideration of one curriculum and one subject [social studies] gives a deeper and fuller picture of the material enclosed, relevant to the economic and social roles. It also shows if the messages disseminated tend to sustain the traditional roles or promote the modern role of females in Kuwait. Social studies has always been regarded as a part of the Kuwaiti education system. In the past there were specific texts earmarked for civic education. However, the material of these textbooks has been dissolved in social studies textbooks. Therefore, it seems logical that social studies material should be encouraging issues relevant to civic socio-economic duties and roles.

Social Studies in the Kuwaiti educational system should contribute to the development of perceptions among students, as regards individual roles in the society, toward teamwork and participation in building the society. The general aim of the Kuwaiti educational system is to provide for the spiritual, moral, intellectual, social, and physical growth of its people. It is also important to achieve a balance between individual satisfaction and the preparation for world contribution to the Arab and international world.

Thus, the examination of the social studies curriculum in Kuwait shall identify what students learn with respect to their role towards society and their homeland, the Arab world, and then the international network. However, one should know that textbooks may disclose what the policy maker wants to be inculcated in the young generation. In other words, this study focuses on how the educational policy makers envision the issue of socializing Kuwait's younger generation and its future citizens.

FINDINGS:

Narrative and pictorial content analysis was carried out on social studies textbooks used in Kuwait's government schools. The purpose of the investigation was to seek to answer how males and females were presented to Kuwaiti children and youth.

The paragraph was the unit of analysis. Hence, the number of paragraphs and areas of consumption in various textbooks were tabulated by frequency. In addition, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns appearing in paragraphs relevant to describing the characters were tabulated by frequency. The size area was coded as cm². In addition, the findings include the pictorial analysis with regard to the consumption of a textbook's area and coloring.

To simplify the narrative content analysis of textbooks the researcher developed some categories which describe the general idea contained in paragraph and photographs. The categories constitute administrative and

directive activity, constructive and productive activity, nurturing activity, emotive activity, intellectual activity, aggressive activity, social recreational activity, conforming to rules and social norms, and physical activities.

Gender, Age & Social Setting:

The narrative content analysis shows that adults, middle aged and older persons, have dominated all accounted paragraphs. No reference to children was made. However, the analysis of nouns and pronouns shows that male students were referenced 37 times more often, along with "dear student" or "Azizi al-Taleeb". In only one sentence were the authors were discussing public social services. This mentioned that "Care is given to family, childhood, youth, elderly, and handicapped" (Ministry of Education).

The material lacks discussion of the civil roles of these groups and does not provide information about non-government institutions or organizations that look into the affairs of such groups.

Outdoor settings were the most popular scenes, and they were dominated by male characters. Males were portrayed in the productive activities of fishing and diving in the sea. They were also shown in modern formal settings such as in conferences or parliament, and as participants in national and international occasions.

Gender and Occupation:

The majority of paragraphs contained traditional occupations such as pearling and fishing and were dominated by males. Modern occupations, such as doctors and police, were noted only on two occasions (see Tables 2 & 3). Males were presented in the majority of administrative roles such as managing responsibilities, making decisions, and portraying authoritative figures. The message given is that males give orders, make laws, call for meetings, and establish civil projects. In seventy-nine paragraphs, which compromise only 7 cm², males were portrayed as kings, caliphs and emperors. Students read messages such as the following:

In the year 3200 B.C., the two kingdoms were unified under King Mina, the last rule of the south..." (Ministry of Education 1988).

"Umayyad and Abbassid caliphs, kings, and emperors were shown in 33 paragraphs with a space of (902 cm²), compared to the portrayal of females as queen, conveyed to students in three paragraphs constituting only 43 cm² (see Table 3).

Paragraphs which contained information about human activities were assigned to males. They were assigned various types of productive



Table 2
Constructive and Productive:
Number of Paragraphs, Area, Photographs and Nouns

Constructive & Productive Activity	M		F		Mixed-Sex		Un-identified	
	No. Paragraphs	Area Cm ²	No. Paragraphs	Area Cm ²	No. Paragraphs	Area Cm ²	No. Paragraphs	Area Cm ²
Finished	1	21	—	—	—	—	1	31
Build	2	60	—	—	—	—	4	104
Farmer	—	—	—	—	1	14	17	754
Sailor	1	45	—	—	—	—	9	546
Worked as Worker	1	60	—	—	—	—	—	—
Established	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	338
Grazer	1	60	—	—	—	—	1	76
Trader	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	405
Shipbuilder	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	40
Driver	1	60	—	—	—	—	4	682
Manufacturer	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	674
Carpenter	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	40
Land Owner	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	45
Judge	2	84	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fighting Soldier	19	1036	—	—	—	—	—	—
Defending Soldier	20	596	—	—	—	—	1	30
Doctor	1	48	—	—	—	—	—	—
Traders	2	42	—	—	—	—	1	40
Builder	2	71	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fisherman	1	42	—	—	—	—	—	—
Accountant	1	30	—	—	—	—	—	—
Secretary	—	—	1	32	—	—	—	—
Divers	1	14	—	—	—	—	—	—
Boat Makers	1	14	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trainers	1	32	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	58	2315	1	32	1	14	76	3774

activities. Males were portrayed in traditional crafts, such as pearl diving, fishing, shepherding and sailing. The space dedicated to the forty-eight paragraphs was 2,022 cm² of the textbook area. Females were mentioned in two occasions, once as a carpet maker and once as a secretary. For example, one read the following:

“A tent (Byeit at Shar) is made of goat's hair. The tent's ground is covered with a bedouin carpet (sadu). This tent is made by a Bedouin woman, who weaves it on a weaving tool made by herself” (Al-Tarbeya Arab 41).

Table 3
Administrative and Directive Activities:
Number of Paragraphs and Area Allocated

Administrative Role Administrative and Directive Activities	M		F		Mixed-Sex		Undefined	
	No. Para- graphs	*Area Cm ²	No. Para- graphs	Area Cm ²	No. Para- graphs	Area Cm ²	No. Para- graphs	Area Cm ²
Managing	8	305	—	—	—	—	—	—
Calling for Meeting	6	268	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ordering Someone	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Making a Decision	25	1046	1	28	—	—	—	—
Ruling	8	243	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ruling as Caliph	11	395	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ruling as King & Emperor	14	264	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ruling as Queen	—	—	3	43	—	—	—	—
Total	79	3149	4	71	—	—	—	—

* No. of Para = Number of Paragraphs

* Area of Paragraph

In addition, analysis shows that students are exposed to collective nouns that tend to provide information about productive activities. Paragraphs containing these unidentified collective nouns discussed activities such as fishing, building, diving, etc. that tend to be traditionally masculine activities. Also, the paragraphs were accompanied by pictures of men, not women, with these collective nouns. There were seventy-five paragraphs which accounted for 3734 cm² or approximately 27% of textbook space.

In addition, the results of the pictorial analysis, shown in Table 3, reveal that males dominated the content of the pictures. Such pictures were along side paragraphs which dealt with human productive activities such as farmers, soldiers (3), and factory workers (7). Only two colored pictures of females were provided. One shows a scarved female secretary typing, and the other one shows young girls painting school walls after the Iraqi invasion. Also, three colored pictures show a mixed gender setting displaying various constructive activities such as wall painting, and medical care being provided.

Gender and Nurturing Activities:

Research findings reveal that female characters in school textbooks were shown with feminine traits such as being cheerful, emotive, loving, sensitive, docile, and dependent. However, the analysis of Kuwait social

Table 3 (Continued)
Administrative and Directive Activities:
Number of Paragraphs and Area Allocated

Photographs Content Administrative Figures	M		
	No. of Photographs	Size in CM	Colored
Shaikh Abdula Al-Salim sign dependence treaty (Picture of group men)	1	88	No
Shaikh Abdula Al-Salim sign dependence treaty (Picture of group men)	1	88	No
Parliament (Majles Al-Uma)	1	16	Yes
Shaikh Abdula Al-Salim Comments the establishment of Parliament	1	172.5	No
Shaikh Abdula Al-Salim Comments the establishment of Parliament	1	105	Yes
Parliament First Session (Picture of group men)	1	96 48	Yes Yes
Conference (Men)	1	152 96	Yes Yes
Commemoration of U.N. membership (Picture of group men)	1	89.25	No
Commemoration of oil production (Picture of group men)	1	170	No
	1	165	No
Signing Constitution (rule & men)	1	88	No
	1	160	No
	1	150	No
Total	14	1683.75	

studies textbooks shows that most of the 13 paragraphs containing information relevant to nurturing activities such as helping someone and being self-sacrificing were given to males rather than females.

In addition, thirty paragraphs contained collective unidentified nouns. These paragraphs displayed nurturing traits given to males as shown in Table 4. Of the 43 paragraphs covering mixed groups, only 2 paragraphs referred to males and females, as is shown in the following examples.

"....The Kuwaiti people organized themselves from the early days of the invasion, and swore to stand against the Iraqi aggression, and declared civil disobedience. Men and women, young and old established secret units in parts of Kuwait" (Kuwait 1994-95).

Table 3 (Continued)

Photographs Administrative Figure Content of Photographs	M			F			Mixed-Sex		
	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured
Arab National League (Group of men)	1	150	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
United Nations (Group of men)	1	142.5	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
Islamic Orphanage Center (Children)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	35	Yes
Islamic Orphanage Center (Children)	—	—	—	1	25.5	Yes	—	—	—
United Nations Military Soldier	1	146.5	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1	156	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
G.C.C. Political Leaders	1	35	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
Head of State Delivering speech	1	35	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
Head of State thanking God for liberation	1	114	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
Head State and children building a wall	1	121	Yes	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	8	700	—	1	25.5	—	1	35	—

Photographs Content of Photographs	M		
	No. of Photographs	Size in CM	Colored
Ruler	1	84	Yes
	1	96	Yes
	1	88.5	Yes
	1	52.5	Yes
	1	88	Yes
	1	51	Yes
	1	10.5	Yes
	1	60	Yes
	1	65	Yes
	1	20.25	Yes
	1	20.25	Yes
	1	160	Yes
	1	46.75	Yes
	1	54	Yes
	1	971.75	Yes

Table 4 & 5
Intellectual Activity: Number of Paragraphs and
Drawings and Area Located

Intellectual Activity Paragraphs	M		F		Mixed-Sex		Undefined	
	No.	Size in Cm	No.	Size in Cm	No.	Area in Cm	No.	Area in Cm
Learning a Skill	14	1069	—	—	—	—	4	750
Studying	5	164	1	51	—	—	—	—
Teaching	3	90	—	—	1	14	—	—
Writing	2	78	—	—	—	—	—	—
Being Told a Story	4	105	—	—	—	—	—	—
Advising	1	30	—	—	—	—	—	—
Creating Something	20	477	—	—	3	80	—	—
Total	49	2009	1	51	4	94	4	750

Drawings Intellectual Activities	M			F			Mixed-Sex		
	No. of Drawings	Size in Cm	Coloured	No. of Drawings	Size in Cm	Coloured	No. of Drawings	Size in Cm	Coloured
Scientist	1	60	No	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scientist	1	42	No	—	—	—	—	—	—

Photographs Intellectual Content	M			F		
	No. of Photos	Size in Cm	Coloured	No. of Photos	Size in Cm	Coloured
Studying (Youth)	—	—	—	1	38.5	Yes
Studying (Youth)	—	—	—	1	48	Yes
Studying (Children)	1	135	Yes	—	—	—
Studying (Children)	—	—	—	1	91	Yes
Studying (Children)	—	—	—	1	150	Yes
Studying (Children)	—	—	—	1	150	Yes
Extra Curricular Activity	—	—	—	1	105	Yes
Extra Curricular Activity	—	—	—	1	117	Yes
Total	1	135	—	7	699.5	Yes

“... The Kuwaiti woman at that period (during Iraqi aggression) had proved that she was the sister of man, she participated in all activities even armed resistance in addition to her roles in the house, such as cooking, cleaning, looking after husband and offspring” (Al-Tarbeya 102 1994-95 Kuwait).

As in the examples above, in the two occasions where women are mentioned, they were not given particular credit. Males were perceived as the main actors of the scene. No reference is made to female martyrs.

Gender and Intellectual Activity:

The results of analysis of the content relevant to intellectual activities shows that males were portrayed as representing the majority of the paragraphs as being intellectually active. Forty-nine paragraphs covering 200 cm² about 15% of the textbook area were assigned to males. Males were called scientists 65 times and names of male thinkers, historians, chemists, astrologists, sociologists, and geographers were given to students. Two drawings of male scientists were also provided. However, when textbooks discussed Kuwaiti government achievements in educational services females were accredited good pictorial content with seven colored pictures 699.5 cm². Young girls were portrayed in study rooms and extra-curricular activities. This seems to indicate that the one big achievement of modern Kuwait is that females have equal rights for education.

Table 6
Social & Physical Activities:
Number of Paragraphs and Area Allocated

Paragraphs Physical Activities	M		F		Mixed-Sex		Unidentified	
	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm ²	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm ²	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm ²	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm ²
Putting out a fire	1	14	—	—	—	—	—	—
Winning a battle	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	14
Fighting for Islam	25	1423	—	—	—	—	5	256
Making goods	—	—	1	60	—	—	—	—
Invading a land	4	125	—	—	1	—	1	60
Travelling and touring	2	75	—	—	—	—	—	—
Playing football	1	32	—	—	—	—	—	—
Worshipping	1	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	34	1653	1	60	1	—	7	330

Gender and Social and Physical Activities:

Males were represented in the majority of paragraphs as the main characters who have the capabilities to participate in physical and social activities such as putting out fires, winning battles and fighting for Islam. They were also portrayed as travelers, sports players, and camp makers. Ten colored pictures were provided with an area of 772.75cm². Females were portrayed in traditional physical activities, such as making home goods, celebrating marriage, and gardening. Five pictures supported this notion and covered 939 cm² (see Table 6).

Table 6 (Continued)
Social & Physical Activities:
Number of Paragraphs and Area Allocated

Photographs Physical Activities	M			F			Mixed-Sex		
	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured
Diwania	1	26	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Supermarket	1	150	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Public Garden	–	–	–	1	112.5	Yes	–	–	–
Drawing Activities (Children)	–	–	–	1	150	Yes	–	–	–
Fair Ground (Children)	–	–	–	1	40	Yes	–	–	–
Recreational Activities	1	45.5	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1	142.5	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Commemoration of Sport Activities (Group of men)	1	32	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Camping	1	19.25	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sport Activities	1	120	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Celebrating old days Marriage	2	83.5	Yes	2	122.5	Yes	–	–	–
Celebrating Liberation	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	28	Yes
Liberation	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	170	Yes
Gardening (Children)	1	64	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
(Children)	–	–	–	1	78	Yes	–	–	–
Total	8	772.75	–	2	200.5	–	2	198	–

In the issue of conforming with rules as rituals and social norms, males and unidentified collective characters represented supporting leaders, obeying laws, and obeying parents. The total area of paragraphs covered 538 cm². Also, colored pictures of males saluting the flag, and praying were provided. Only one picture of female students saluting the Kuwaiti flag is given in an area of 38.5 cm² (see Table 7 & Table 6).

Table 7

Paragraph Activities Involving Conforming to Rules & Social Norms	M		F		Undefined	
	No. of Photographs	Size in Cm	No. of Photographs	Size in Cm	No. of Photographs	Size in Cm
Supporting a leader	1	64	–	–	2	8
Obeing a law	4	240	–	–	1	14
Obeing a parent	–	–	–	–	1	140
Total	5	304	–	–	4	162

Photographs Conforming to Rules	M			F			Mixed-Sex		
	No. of Photographs	Size in Cm	Coloured	No. of Photographs	Size in Cm	Coloured	No. of Photographs	Size in Cm	Coloured
Saluting a Flag	–	–	–	1	38.5	Yes	–	–	–
Saluting a Flag	1	150	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Praying (Students)	1	110.5	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Police Men	1	77	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fighting a battle	1	127.5	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	4	619.0	–	1	64	–	–	–	–

Gender and Emotive Activities:

Emotive activities were expressed in the pictorial content analysis including photographs, such as celebrating Kuwait National Day, putting out oil fires caused by the Iraqi invasion, and civic resistance of the Iraqi invasion. Males were portrayed in nine colored photographs 1064.75 cm², while females were portrayed in two 105 cm² photographs. More photographs had a mixed gender setting as shown in Table 8.

Table 8
Emotive Activities:
Number of Photographs and Area Allocated

Photographs Emotive Activities	M			F			Mixed-Sex		
	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm	Colo- ured
Celebrating Kuwait's Liberation (Men)	1	120	Yes	1	38.5	Yes	–	–	–
Celebrating Kuwait's Liberation (Men)	1	305.25	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Celebrating Kuwait's Liberation (Children)	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	35	Yes
	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	35	Yes
Celebrating Independence Day	1	140	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Oil Field Burning	1	36	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wedding Celebration	1	40	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Oil Field Burning	1	108.5	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Humanitarian Aid	1	160.5	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Pilgrimage to (Kaba)	–	88	Yes	–	–	–	1	67.5	Yes
Girls International outfit	–	–	–	1	66.5	Yes	–	–	–
Male Making Traditional Outfit	1	66.5	Yes	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	9	1064.75	–	2	105	–	3	137.5	–

Photographs Emotive Activities	M		F		Mixed-Sex		Unidentified	
	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm ²	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm ²	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm ²	No. of Photo- graphs	Size in Cm ²
Shocked	1	48	1	20	–	–	1	80
Joy	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	40
Total	1	48	1	20	–	–	2	120

The investigation of the narrative content took into consideration the descriptions of the content by tracing the adjectives provided in paragraphs to denote male and female characters. Adjectives might have an impact on the recipient of the information. They can portray how an aspect of information is presented. The results in Table 8 show that the majority of adjectives used in the textbooks praised males. Only on one occasion were females mentioned in a sentence as enjoying a “good position” when authors were discussing the social conditions of the Mesopotamian civilization. Students read the following:

“In the case of women they had a good position and were respected especially during the Babylon era. They kept this position until the Ashurait era where it declined because of war, and large number of captive females....” (Al-Tarbeya Kuwait, 1994-95, 102).

Males, on the other hand, were given fourteen adjectives with a positive tone that may be expected to engender a sense of superiority for male characters. For instance, they were described as intelligent, honest, skilled, brave, heroic, and loyal (Table 9).

Table 9
Adjectives Contained in Paragraphs

	No. of time repeated			
	M	F	Mixed-Sex	Unidentified
Intelligent	1	—	—	—
Diplomatic	1	—	—	—
Honest	3	—	—	—
Denoted	1	—	—	—
Greatest	—	—	—	1
Heroic	1	—	—	—
Skilled	3	—	—	3
Brave	2	—	—	—
Illiterate	—	—	—	—
Humble	1	—	—	—
Generous	1	—	—	—
Loyal	1	—	—	—
Content	1	—	—	—
Just	1	—	—	—
Good Reputation	1	—	—	—
Good Position	—	1	—	—

Table 10
Narrative Analysis: Number of Nouns & Pronouns (Word Frequency)

	No. of time repeated			
	M	F	Mixed-Sex	Unidentified
Nouns & Pronouns				
Collective Nouns	–	–	–	23
Indigenous (Ahil & Ahali)	–	–	–	3
Individual (Fard)	–	–	–	62
People (Shaeb)	–	–	–	18
Citizens (Mowatneen)	–	–	–	57
Inhabitants (Al Skan)	–	–	–	45
Kuwaitis	–	–	–	3
Human	–	–	–	
Family Role				
Sister	–	1	–	–
Wives	–	1	–	–
Sons (Abna)	29	–	–	–
Sons of Tribes (qabeela)	1	–	–	–
Sons of Kuwait	5	–	–	–
Sons of Desert (Badia)	9	–	–	–
Social Symbols				
Males (Rejal)	23	–	–	–
Females (Imrah)	–	9	–	–
Elders	2	–	–	3
Children	–	–	–	1
Youth (Shehab)	1	–	–	2
Nobles (Ashraf)	28	–	–	–
Hero	1	–	–	–
Warriers	7	–	–	–
Invaders	–	–	–	7
Slaves	1	1	–	–
Friends	1	–	–	–
Infants	–	–	–	1

Gender and Family Role:

As the analysis shows in Table 10, it appears that nouns and pronouns of family roles applicable to males were given nouns like father or grandfather. Females were called wives and sisters. The reference to male nouns in family roles is clearly significant compared to females.

Nouns such as sons or sons of al Sahra were repeated to young children forty times, while the material does not make reference to daughter, or "bint". The authors seemed to be affected by the patriarchal culture which dominates the Arab World.

Conclusion:

The early years are an important stage in formulating social and political orientation of children and adolescents. The development of values and attitudes are shaped rapidly at this time through the process of learning. Socialization depends on various agencies. The educational system is a vital one. School textbooks are authoritative aspects of the educational system. In the state of Kuwait, they are managed by the authoritative body of the educational system, and they are amenable to policy directions and aims.

Narrative and pictorial analysis has been applied to social studies textbooks. The sample constituted seven textbooks used by students aged nine to fifteen years. The sample begins with the textbooks used in the fourth year of elementary school when students begin formal social studies education, continues with the textbooks used at the intermediate level, and finishes with the two books used by students in their first year of secondary education. This sample examines the major trends of socialization with regards to citizens' socio-economic roles, such as civic duties and responsibilities and contributions made by the generation as citizens of Kuwait, Arabia and the outside world. Normally, social studies is considered the subject where civic education, social issues, social and economic values, knowledge, and facts are presented to youth. Because social studies has been the focus of this study, the analysis revolved around the questions of gender roles and how they have been presented to Kuwait's younger generation. It also questions how the educational system, through its curriculum, produces the needed information and messages that can bring about the change needed in citizens' roles to create a suitable environment for socio-economic development.

The issue of developing and creating an active citizenry has been highlighted in official papers and documents of the Ministry of Education in

Kuwait. It was also well-pinpointed by Kuwaiti political figures when addressing educational or public activities. However, the results of this research indicate that social studies material, both narrative and pictorial, were indefinite in introducing the needed social and economic values that are vital in the creation of active citizenry participation, either social or economically. Textbook material, to a great extent, tends to preserve the cultural biased values towards females and also sustains the notion of male superiority and domination. The material tends to reproduce a patriarchal system.

The authors of the social studies curriculum have distorted the reality by providing marginal roles for women in Kuwait society. The contents of textbooks were loaded with gender stereotyping in favor of males. Males have been praised in all senses as leaders, decision-makers, managing figures, intellectual and central figures in traditionally stereotyped feminine activity. Males were given narrative content in textbooks of 228 paragraphs with a total area of 9826 cm². Females were given only seven paragraphs of narrative content with a total area of 228cm². In addition, the pictorial analysis shows that males dominated 84 illustrations with a size of 8640.09 cm², while females were shown in 18 photographs with a size of 1618.2 cm². This, of course, does not include paragraphs and photographs that contained material for unidentified genders, although indications show they tend to be referring to males.

The content of textbooks does not introduce the civic role of non-governmental institutions and their role in promoting citizen participation in civil activities. Neither were citizens introduced to students participating in community problems, nor were they presented as planners for community welfare. Civic society demands an active role of its citizens.

The content of textbooks highlights males in social settings as if they were the sole members of society. Males were portrayed as active participants in Kuwait's old days and modern ones. They were introduced to students as fishermen and divers. It is well known that females at that time used to look after their domestic activities. Women from modest households were not secluded from outside activities. They had to go to market to buy the daily supply of food, fetch the drinking water from the supply boats, and take the family clothes to the beach to wash them. This picture was not presented to students and the material did not provide clear information about the role of women and men surviving the harsh economic life of old Kuwait.

Social studies textbooks tend to be very weak in introducing the young generation to the modern modes of production and nation constructions.

Material was loaded with men in traditional Kuwait modes of activities such as fishing, grazing, shipbuilding. Doctors had only one paragraph, and accountants were introduced in one paragraph and all were male-dominated. In the real life of Kuwaiti society, male and female doctors, accountants, and engineers exist. As a matter of fact, the statistics of Kuwait University reveal that the registered student numbers in the Faculty of Law indicate 59 percent are female and 41% are male. In the business college females compromise 64% compared to males at 36%. Also, the statistics of the academic year of 1998-1999 reveal the number of female students registered in pharmacology is higher than the number of male students. This is one of Kuwait's achievements, where she has provided free education for all her citizens, males, females, young, and old. Opening the opportunities for females has made them compete for modern modes of careers and professions. This means that females can be fitted into the national workforce side by side with their male counterparts. This, then, should oblige an important social institution such as the Ministry of Education to play a significant role in creating the groundwork and atmosphere with regard to new values, principles, and attitudes to curb the bigoted stereotyped orientation to gender issues.

Building a sense of belonging to Kuwait as a homeland is an important aspect which should be the aim of the content of government social studies texts. However, the narrative material does not build confidence and self-respect among youth. It is necessary to diffuse messages relevant to this matter, in particular about its own people, scientists, historians, astronomers, and recent achievements in regional and international organizations. For example, the material that covered the issue of the Iraqi invasion on Kuwait was fragmented. The role of Kuwaiti citizens has been overshadowed by the assistance of allied countries. It is very clear that the international arena has supported Kuwait in a way that one cannot forget. Nevertheless, social studies textbooks, when presenting the material, neglected the building of civic confidence among its younger citizens as if the leaders and people of Kuwait did not have an active part in this political event. The textbook does not highlight the role of its martyrs in general and in particular the female ones.

One of the amazing results of this work is that almost all of the narrative analysis concerned with administrative activities, such as managing, calling for meetings and decision-making, as shown in Table 3, is dominated by male actors. The area given to male administrative roles in politics and

society with social studies textbooks is 3149 cm², while women shown in domestic management and covers only 71 cm². This presentation may lead to some explanation as to why females are depicted as caring and looking after and managing only in the domestic arena. This is a norm in almost all traditional patriarchal societies where the male head of family supports all members. But this type of depiction has been criticized by new norms accepted in society, such as equal opportunity for education and careers for both sexes. This led to the idea of participation in family economic affairs between males and females. Neglecting the idea that participation in society is only for males is a crippling element which does not fit with the need for programs and development. Training the young generation for decision making has nothing to do with gender. It has everything to do with offering encouragement and providing opportunity. It is apparent that authors of social studies textbooks have implemented their own biased orientation of the idea that only males can fit in management and administrative roles. An excellent administration has nothing to do with gender.

This research has also highlighted the fact that it is not only what is written, but what is not written in the content of social studies text books that illustrates gender bias. Using the evaluation, for example, in intellectual activities as shown in Table 5, males dominated in 2,009 cm² of textbook area, while women had only 94cm² of narrative material. When we look into photographs relevant to intellectual activity, young girls were shown in 7 photographs, all of them color. Again, the authors appear to be stressing the fact that females enjoy an important civic right to education. However, textbooks neglect to create a positive picture of working females in many aspects of Kuwait life.

The results of this analysis compared with the work carried out by Mikati has revealed that the content of curricula in Lebanon and Kuwait does not introduce to youth the real role of women in the process of social development, and their participation in modern life. However, it should be noted that social studies textbooks used in Kuwait schools, though lacking an introduction to modern fields for women, such as accountants, managers, or intellectual professions, do not contain any negative contents with regard to her activities.

NOTES:

1. See Ghazwan, A.L. "Images of Males and Females in Primary and Middle School Textbooks: A Content Analysis Study." Diss. The Florida State University 1990. 28-38.

WORKS CITED

- Ahmad, Shukri, and Abdullah M. Al-Hamadi. "Tahlil al Madmun: FiMajal" (Analysis: Application in Educational Fields). *Studies of Educational Curriculum*. Vol. 10. University of Qatar (1988): 367-372.
- Al-Ebraheem, Hasan, A. Al-Kuwait wal mustaqbals (Kuwait and Future). *Al-tanmiya wal taeelim* (Education and Development) Kuwait (1989).
- Al-Ebrahim
- Al-Fraih, Seham. "The Common Types of Roles of Men and Women in the Literature of Children and Schoolbooks. *Annals of the Faculty of Arts*. Vol. XIV (1987).
- Al-Manee, A. Images of Women in Children's Stories: Educational effects. *Majalat al-Arabuta Ila'loom al-Insania* (Arab Journal for the Humanities) 42. 1993 164-85.
- Al-Misnad, Sheika. *The Development of Modern Education in the Gulf*. (Middle Eastern Cultures, No. 10) : Ithaca Press (1985).
- Al-Mughniee, Haya. *Women in Kuwait: The Politics of Gender*. London: Saqi Books (1995) 27.
- Al-Nqeeb, Kaldoon, H. "Altalab Albanaee ala alqwa alamela fi al Kuwait" (Constructive Demand of Work Force in Kuwait). *jameia al kereqeen al kuwait* (Kuwaiti Graduate Association). Presented at the Conference of Development and Work Force. april 8-10, 1995 Kuwait.
- Al-Tarbeya, Wizarah. *Arab Homeland*. Ministry of Education (1994-5). 24, 41 (Social Studies text book. Intermediate level. Second grade.)
- Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf. Ministry of Education. (1994-5) 33, 102. (Social Studies textbook. Intermediate level. First grade.)
- Hasan, Maryam A. "al-mara'h wa izivaj Al fiker Fi Al Tandy wal Al taleem"(Woman and Ambivalence: Education and Mass Communication). *Jameia Al Thaafia Alnesaeya* (Social and Cultural Association of Woman). Symposium of Woman and Decision-making. May 6-9, 1996 Kuwait.
- Kallab, Abu Naser, and Lorfing. "Identification and elimination of Sex Stereotypes in and from School Textbooks: Some Suggestions for Action." *Institute For Womens studies in the Arab World*. Beirut (1982) 134.
- Klammer, E. *Paragraph Sense: A Basic Rhetoric*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (1978) 11.
- Mikati, J.F. *The Extent of Sex-Role Modernity Conveyed by Textbooks for Elementary School Children: The Case of Lebanon*. Diss. florida State University (1987).
- Ministry of Education. *Kitab al-ljtemaayat il-saf'al-awal al-thanawy: at-kuwait wa al kaleej al-araby*. (Kuwait and the Arabian Gulf.) (1995-96) 9, 88. (Social Studies textbook. Secondary level. First grade.)
- Mohamed, F.E. "Sex-Role Stereotyping in Arabic Elementary Reading Textbooks in Egypt." *Diss. School? DA Vol?* (1985): 46, 2546A.
- Naser, Lorfing I., and Mikati,J.F. "Elimination of Sex Stereotyping in and From School Textbooks," *Institute For Women's Studies in the Arab World*. Beirut. (1983). 12.
- Sachau, C.G. and Title, C.K. "Educational Equity and Sex Role Development" *Handbook for Achieving sex Eqity through Education*. Ed. S.S. Klein. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 78.

