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GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN

**THE FOURTH
POPULATION CENSUS OF BAHRAIN**

A BRIEF ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY

FINANCE DEPARTMENT
Statistical Bureau

August 1969

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FOREWORD

The Statistical Bureau, established in the late autumn of 1967, has been concerned first to collect, collate and publish basic statistics which would provide essential information about Bahrain's population, industry, transport, health, education, finance and other activities. This might be called the "inventory" stage of statistical operation. Having now established systems for the collection and publication of this basic information, the Statistical Bureau intends to undertake various analytical and comparative studies in its field and this volume analysing demographic data provided by the four population censuses taken respectively in 1941, 1950, 1959 and 1965, is the first of what it is hoped may be a continuing series of studies.

KHALIFA BIN SULMAN AL-KHALIFAH,
HEAD OF FINANCE.

INTRODUCTION

It has been well said that "The proper study of mankind is man" and man has been exhorted "Know thyself". As with the individual, so with the nation, knowledge of the facts of the situation is the key to successful administration and development. Much knowledge about the nation is provided by censuses of population and in this connection, Bahrain is well served as four censuses have already been taken, spanning the years from 1941 to 1965. The census reports have thrown up a wealth of demographic information but some of the reports are now out of print and a need has been felt for a survey which would bring together in a reasonable compass, the great mass of information available in the reports. The present volume is intended to provide in convenient form comparative data for the four census years.

It is hoped that the volume may be of value to workers in numerous fields who have need for comparative information and the quantification of demographic trends over these years.

K. G. FENELON,
Statistical Adviser.

THE FOURTH POPULATION CENSUS OF BAHRAIN.

A Brief Analytical and Comparative Study.

In Bahrain, four population censuses have been taken up to 1965, the first having been conducted as far back as 1941 during the war years. This was followed at nine year intervals by two other censuses in 1950 and 1959. The fourth census, however, followed after an interval of only six years in 1965. This latest census was carried out between 13 February and 12 March, 1965 and related to the night of 13-14 February, 1965. The previous census, namely that of 1959 was taken during the month of May and the enumerations were spread out over 28 days from 2 May to 30 May, 1959.

More detailed information was collected in these two censuses than in the earlier censuses of 1941 and 1950 and the experience gained in these previous years enabled considerable improvements to be made in the census organization with consequent greater accuracy in the results. Preparation of the tables in 1959 and 1965 was greatly facilitated by the co-operation of the Bahrain Petroleum Company which processed the completed questionnaires in their Data Processing Unit.

In the first two censuses, the population count was *de facto*, that is, it covered all those present in the country on the census night, whether ordinarily resident or not, but excluded those absent from the country at the time. The final enumeration took place on a single day when a curfew was imposed to facilitate the counting.

In 1959 and 1965, the persons included in the censuses were all those **normally resident** in a household, defined as persons who had resided in the house for a period of at least six months or who expected to reside there for at least six months. Persons who had gone abroad within the previous six months and who were expected to return were included as normal residents, but those who normally lived abroad, though present on the census night, were excluded.

The procedures adopted in these two censuses were much alike, except that in 1965, the information collected related to one night, namely 13-14 February, whereas in 1959, the information related to the day when the enumerator happened to call on the household during the 28-day period of the census.

In the 1950 census, temporary visitors, visiting seamen, foreign diplomats and service personnel were included whereas in 1959 and 1965 all these categories of persons were excluded.

In the pioneer census of 1941, the data collected covered only a few basic facts about the population but as one census succeeded another, the amount of information gathered was progressively increased. The census of 1941 for example in recording the nationality of foreign residents, identified only Iranians and Indians in separate categories; all other foreigners were lumped together in one

References: (1) Fourth Census of Population. (Government of Bahrain. Finance Department).

(2) R.S. Porter, "The Third Population Census of Bahrain." (Beirut. Middle East Development Division, 1961).

(3) Population Census, 1959. (Government of Bahrain).

group. In the 1950 census, 14 nationalities were distinguished and in the censuses of 1959 and 1965, nationalities were broken down into 19 groups.

Tables setting out sex, marital status, age composition of the population, and economic status, occupation and industry were included for the first time in the re-

port of the census of 1959. In the following census, still further information was gathered covering the number of houses connected to main electricity supplies, water and sewers. Data were also published relating to educational standards attained, and for married, divorced or widowed women, the number of children born to them and the number surviving at the date of the census.

TABLE 1
Population: 1941, 1950, 1959 and 1965

	1941	1950	1959	1965
Bahraini	74,040	91,179	118,734	143,814
Non-Bahraini	15,930	18,471	24,401	38,389
Total	89,970	109,650	143,135	182,203

TABLE 2
Population percentages, Bahraini and non-Bahraini.

	1941	1950	1959	1965
Bahraini	82.3	83.2	83.0	79.0
Non-Bahraini	17.7	16.8	17.0	21.1

TABLE 3
Percentage increase in population between census dates

	1950	1959	1965
Bahraini	23.15	30.22	21.12
Non-Bahraini	15.95	32.10	57.33
Total Population	21.87	30.54	27.29

Over the 24 years covered by the censuses, population grew from just under 90 thousand in 1941 to somewhat more than twice that number in 1965 the average increase a year amounting to 3,843 persons (2,907 Bahrainis and 936 non-Bahrainis). The number of Bahrainis, however, did not quite double in the 24 years (94 per cent increase) whereas non-Bahrainis were nearly 2½ times as numerous

in 1965 as they were in 1941.

The rate of growth in the population was much higher per annum in the inter-censal period, 1959-1965, than it had been in previous periods, though at first sight this may be obscured in the table (No. 3) because the inter-censal period from 1959 to 1965 covers only six years whereas the previous censuses were taken at nine-year intervals.

TABLE 4
Nationalities. Percentage of total population.

	1941	1950	1959	1965
Bahraini	82.3	83.2	83.0	79.0
Iranian	8.4	6.3	2.9	4.0
Iranian	1.6	2.7	2.8	3.0
Indian	n.a.	2.0	5.1	6.9
Omani/Muscati	8.0	5.5	6.2	7.2
Others				

TABLE 5
Nationality of Non-Bahrainis.
Number and Percent of total non-Bahrainis. 1959 and 1965.

NATIONALITY	1959		1965	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Iranian	4,203	17.1	7,223	18.8
Indian	4,043	16.5	5,383	14.0
Pakistani	2,283	9.4	3,932	10.2
Saudi Arabian	1,605	6.6	1,715	4.5
Omani/Muscati	7,314	30.0	12,628	32.9
Yemini	492	2.1	1,582	4.1
Iraqi	169	0.7	75	0.2
Jordanian	117	0.5	396	1.1
U.A.R.	71	0.3	230	0.6
Lebanese	144	0.6	230	0.6
Other Arabs	635	2.6	1,589	4.1
American	151	0.6	152	0.4
British	2,514	10.3	2,797	7.3
Others	660	2.7	457	1.2
Total Non-Bahraini	24,401	100.0	38,389	100.0

Nationality

The breakdown into nationality groups was widened in each successive census from 1941 to 1959. In the fourth census, namely that of 1965, the categories tabulated were the same as in 1959.

The detailed statistics published in the reports of the 1950 and subsequent censuses show some striking increases in certain national groups. The Omani/Muscati group is now the largest foreign community in Bahrain, having risen from 2,466 persons in 1950 to 12,628 in 1965. Another fast growing group has been the Yemeni, who numbered a mere 100 or so in 1950 but increased to 1,582 in 1965. The British community increased from 1,840 in 1950 to 2,797 in 1965 but were in relation to total population relatively less numerous in 1965 than in 1950; the decline being from 1.7 per cent to 1.5 per cent of the total population.

After the Omani/Muscati group, the next largest national groups were Iranians, Indians and Pakistanis, all of whom showed a considerable increase in 1965 over 1959. Compared with their numbers in 1941, Iranians were slightly less numerous in 1965 even though they had increased considerably over the previous six years, but not enough to recover their losses in 1950 and 1959. Indians and Pakistanis taken together were nearly seven times as numerous in 1965 as in 1941. In 1965, they constituted 24 per cent

of the total number of non-Bahrainis. Measured against total population, Indians and Pakistanis together constituted 5.2 per cent of the total population in 1965 whereas in 1941, they formed only 1.6 per cent. Iranians numbered 7,547 in 1941 and 7,223 in 1965 but because of the increased numbers of other nationalities and the growth of the native Bahrain population, the percentage they constituted of total population fell from 8.4 in 1941 to 4 per cent in 1965.

The number of non-Bahraini Arabs living in Bahrain was 10,547 in 1959 which was 7.3 per cent of the total population or 43 per cent of total non-Bahrainis. In 1965 their numbers had increased to 18,445 which was 10 per cent of the total population or 48 per cent of all non-Bahrainis. The population of Bahrain is thus very nearly 90 per cent Arab with all non-Arabs amounting to only about ten per cent.

Geographical distribution of the population

The Emirate of Bahrain comprises a group of over 30 islands though some of these are very small and are uninhabited. The largest and most important of the islands is Bahrain, which contains the Capital, Manama, the main port known as Mina Sulman, and the oil field at Awali. Muharraq, which is linked to Bahrain by a causeway about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, is the second most important island and accommodates the airport. Sitra Island is also linked by a bridge to Bahrain and provides a site for the oil export terminal.

TABLE 6

Geographical Distribution of the population.

DISTRICT	1941	1950	1959(1)	1965
Manama	27,835	39,648	61,726	79,098
Muharraq	21,439	25,577	27,115	34,430
Muharraq Suburbs	—	—	5,187	6,713
Hidd	—	—	4,440	5,230
Jidhafs	—	—	5,591	7,941
Sitra	—	—	3,926	5,071
Rifa'a	—	—	6,623	9,403
Awali (2)	(1,532)	3,846	3,123	2,097
Rural and other Areas	39,164	40,579	25,404	32,220
Totals	89,970	109,650	143,135	182,203

(1) Includes 6,185 persons living in what were then known as Manama Suburbs. In 1965, these suburbs were incorporated into Manama Municipality.

(2) The population of Awali was calculated on a different basis in the 1941 Census than in the later censuses.

Comparisons of populations by geographical areas over the years are complicated by changes in administrative areas due to the spreading out of the bigger centres of population and the absorption of nearby villages or the amalgamation of what have become contiguous, built-up areas. More important, however, in Bahrain has been the change in the system of census enumeration which took place in 1959, when the concept of **normal residence** was adopted instead of the previous **de facto** enumerations. It has been possible to take account of various changes in this analysis except in the case of the oil town of Awali. Shift workers employed by the oil company were recorded in 1941 and 1950 as part of the population of Awali though they may have resided elsewhere, whereas in 1959 and

1965, they were assigned to the towns and villages where they lived. Further, the Awali figures for 1941 and 1959 included ships at anchor at Sitra and also persons working in that area on the night of the census. In 1959 and 1965, ships were included in the area where they were anchored and men on shift work at the ports were registered at their normal residences.

The population of Bahrain is largely concentrated in Manama and Muharraq. In 1965, including their suburbs, these two centres accounted for almost two-thirds of the total population. Next in order of size of population, though lagging considerably behind came Rifa'a, new incorporating East and West Rifa'a in one unit,

though in previous censuses, the two areas were separately enumerated. There followed, again in order of size, Jidhafs, Hidd, Sitra and Awali.

The population of Manama increased three-fold between 1941 and 1965 while that of Muharraq nearly doubled but as the 1941 figure for Muharraq included Hidd, its real growth was somewhat greater. No comparison is possible for Awali between 1941 and 1965, but between 1959 and 1965, the residential population in Awali fell by a third, due largely to a fall in the number of Western expatriates working for the oil company whose places were taken by Bahrainis living outside Awali and in part to the stabilization of the Company's labour force.

The area known in 1959 as Manama suburbs was incorporated into Manama by the time the next census was taken.

Manama had expanded in a westerly

direction and the boundaries between it and villages previously classified as Manama Suburbs had been absorbed.

In the 1941 census classification, "rural and other areas" covered all the country except Manama, Muharraq and Awali. In 1965, "rural areas" comprised 54 villages and the census classification, "other areas", covered the south of the main island, which was and still is very sparsely populated, together with various islands around the main island such as Hawar, but here again numbers are very few. If the statistics for 1965 are adjusted to cover an area equivalent to that described as rural areas in 1941, the increase in population was only about 56 per cent whereas over the Emirate as a whole, population had doubled. Foreigners have settled mostly in the larger towns, and particularly Manama; few are to be found in the rural areas apart from agricultural workers living on the farms, mainly Muscati-Omani, Saudis or Iranians.

TABLE 7

Percentage increase in population by areas. 1965 over 1959.

	Per cent increase
Manama (including suburbs)	28
Muharraq (including suburbs)	27
Hidd	18
Sitra	28
Jidhafs	43
Rifa'a	42
Rural areas	26
Whole Country	27

Between 1959 and 1965, total population increased by 27 per cent and this increase was fairly evenly spread out over the country as a whole as will be seen from Table 7. The exceptions were Jidhafs and Rifa'a which showed a much higher than average increase. The rapid growth of Jidhafs is part of a movement away from the more congested areas, which if anything has gained momentum since the 1965 census. To relieve congestion in the crowded areas of Manama and elsewhere, a completely new township — Isa Town — is being constructed which eventually will house some 35 thousand persons.

The expansion of Rifa'a is easily explained as it is conveniently situated for those working in Sitra Refinery or with

the oil company in Awali.

The rural areas accounted for only 32 thousand persons in 1965, which is somewhat under 18 per cent of the total population. This low figure, low by any standards, reflects the small part which agriculture plays in the economy of Bahrain.

Housing

In the first two censuses, the information collected about housing was confined to a simple enumeration of the number of houses in each geographical area but in the subsequent censuses, additional information relating to type of house, and the number of households occupying them was also gathered.

TABLE 8

Number of houses.

	1941	1950	1959	1965
Manama	4,649	5,703	9,637	11,909
Muharraq	3,317	3,720	4,361	5,117
Hidd	719	619	703	778
Other towns & villages	5,697	6,232	7,329	8,496
Total	14,382	16,274	22,030	26,900

TABLE 9

Number of houses. Percentage change on previous census.

	1950	1959	1965
Manama	22.7	69.0	23.6
Muharraq	12.1	17.2	17.3
Hidd	— 13.9	13.5	10.7
Other towns & villages	9.4	17.5	— 2.4
Whole country	13.1	35.3	19.4

No information is available regarding the number of empty houses but it is known that the number of such unoccupied houses was small. Buildings specially constructed in the form of flats were uncommon in Bahrain up to the time of the last census but since then a number of buildings providing office accommoda-

tion and flats, or special blocks of flats, have been erected.

In the latest two censuses, types of houses were distinguished as between "stone or concrete", "barasti" and "other".

TABLE 10
Type of houses. Whole country.

Type of House	1959		1965	
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total
Stone or concrete	17,295	78.5	23,530	89.5
Barasti	3,978	18.1	1,680	6.4
Other	757	3.4	1,090	4.1
Total	22,030	100.0	26,300	100.0

TABLE 11
Houses by type and district
Number and percent of total in each area

District	Stone or Concrete				Barasti				Other			
	1959		1965		1959		1965		1959		1965	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Manama (1)	1,116	73.8	10,776	90.5	2,464	25.6	1,004	8.4	57	0.6	129	1.1
Muharrag	3,884	89.1	4,918	96.1	474	10.9	164	3.2	3	0.1	35	0.7
Muharrag suburbs	574	76.7	809	92.7	174	23.3	63	7.2	—	—	1	0.1
Hidd	652	92.8	736	94.6	51	7.3	42	5.4	—	—	—	—
Jidhafa	527	77.6	867	93.8	151	22.2	42	4.6	1	0.2	15	1.6
Sitra	457	84.3	585	84.2	85	15.7	37	5.3	—	—	73	10.5
Rifa'a (2)	1,022	90.1	1,374	96.3	58	5.1	2	0.1	54	4.8	51	3.6
Awali (3)	344	36.2	1	0.2	—	—	—	—	606	63.8	637	99.8
Rural & Other	2,719	83.0	3,464	87.9	521	15.9	326	8.3	36	1.1	149	3.8
Total	17,295	78.5	23,530	89.5	3,978	18.1	1,680	6.4	757	3.4	1,090	4.1

Notes: (1) Includes suburbs.

(2) Includes East and West Rifa'a.

(3) Definitions of "stone" and "other" houses were different in the two censuses for Awali.

In 1959, in the Emirate as a whole, 78.5 per cent of the houses were built of stone or concrete and in 1965 the corresponding percentage was 89.5. The percentage of Barasti buildings (small houses constructed of palm leaves) fell from 18.1 to 6.4 showing that the trend was towards more permanent and better houses as the number of barastis in absolute figures fell to a good deal less than half during the six years between the censuses. Though in 1965, nearly half the total number of barastis consisted of one room, some were surprisingly large having four rooms or more.

"Other" houses were mainly bunga-

lows built of wood or other materials and most of them were to be found in Awali where these "other" houses are in the nature of well-built and well-designed pre-fabs. They include also houses of mixed construction, part barasti and past stone or other material.

The largest number of barastis were to be found in Manama where they formed about a quarter of the total number of houses in 1959 but by 1965 the position had greatly improved as then somewhat less than ten per cent of the houses were of barasti construction. The proportion of barastis to total houses was exceptionally high in Manama suburbs.

TABLE 12

Housing in relation to population

Year	Houses			Population		
	No.	Inter-censal increase %	Av. increase per annum	No.	Inter-censal increase	Av. increase per annum
1941	14,382	—	—	89,970	—	—
1959	16,274	13.2	1.5	109,650	21.9	2.4
1950	22,030	35.4	3.9	143,135	30.5	3.4
1965	26,300	19.4	3.3	182,203	27.4	4.6

Note: Average increases per annum were not necessarily spread out evenly during the period under consideration.

It will be observed from Table 12 that only during the inter-censal period 1950-1959 has the construction of houses exceeded the increase in population. The result has been overcrowding especially among the newer immigrants. The construction of Isa Town should do much to

improve both the quantity and quality of housing in the Emirate. Over the 24 years covered by the censuses the greatest increase in number of houses has taken place in Manama where population growth has been the most rapid.

TABLE 13

Houses classified by number of households living in them.

Households per House	1959 Houses		1965 Houses	
	No.	%	No.	%
One	20,148	91.5	23,082	87.8
Two	1,348	6.1	2,292	8.7
Three	330	1.5	587	2.2
Four	114	0.5	206	0.8
Five	49	0.2	74	0.3
Six	21	0.1	31	0.1
More than six	20	0.1	28	0.1
Total	22,030	100.0	26,300	100.0

The usual pattern in Bahrain is for a house to be occupied by a single household, defined in the censuses as "a group of persons living together in the same dwelling, sharing the same table and doing the household marketing in common". In 1959, the proportion of houses occupied by a single household reached 91.5 per cent of all houses but this fell to 87.8 per cent in 1965, suggesting some falling off in housing standards. In the same period the percentage of houses occupied by two households rose from 6.1 per cent to 8.7 per cent and that for three households per house from 1.5 per

cent to 2.2 per cent (See Table 13).

As might be expected, stone-built houses tended to have more households per house than the barasti. In 1965, single households occupied 94 per cent of barasti buildings while among the stone-built houses, 87 per cent only were occupied by single households.

During the 1965 census, information was collected for the first time about the number of rooms in the houses and about connections to water and electricity supplies and main sewers.

TABLE 14

Rooms per household, 1965

Number of Households living in	Type of house			Total	
	Stone	Barasti	Other	Number	Percent
One room	7,284	799	270	8,353	26.9
Two rooms	9,180	693	336	10,209	32.9
Three rooms	5,669	215	339	6,223	20.0
Four rooms	2,921	56	153	3,130	10.1
Five rooms	1,342	13	72	1,427	4.6
Six or more rooms	1,685	4	30	1,719	5.5
All households	28,081	1,780	1,200	31,061	100.0

The total number of households in 1965 amounted to 31,061, giving an average of 5.9 persons to a household. As this figure suggests, households tend to be large and almost 18 thousand (about 60 per cent of the total) consisted of five or more persons. Almost 60 per cent of all households lived in two rooms or less and almost 27 per cent had only one room. Rooms however were defined for the purposes of the census to include

living rooms and bedrooms but not kitchens or bathrooms.

As regards the number of persons per room per household, there were 6,690 households which had more than four persons a room (21.5 per cent) and 20,003 households, or 64 per cent, had more than two persons a room. Only 2,375, or 7.6 per cent, had more than one room a person.

TABLE 15

Water and electricity supplies and connections to main sewers. 1965

Number and percentage of houses.

	Stone		Barasti		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Water	17,769	75.5	315	18.8	703	64.5	18,787	71.4
Electricity	20,600	87.6	56	3.3	712	65.3	21,368	81.3
Main Sewer	2,647	11.3	28	1.7	616	56.5	3,291	12.5
None of above	2,235	9.5	1,341	79.8	326	29.9	3,902	14.8

Public utility services of one kind or another in 1965 were available for slightly more than 85 per cent of all houses but of these only 12.5 per cent had connections to main sewers whereas over 81 per cent were connected to mains electricity supplies and 71 per cent had supplies of main water. The exceptionally high percentage of "other" houses connected to main sewers, more than four times the national average, is to be explained by the fact that these houses are found largely in the oil town of Awali. In direct contrast, only one out of 60 barastis had main sewer

connections, one out of 43 had electricity laid on though one in five had piped water. Nearly four thousand houses had none of the three facilities, that is about 15 per cent of the total number of houses but of these 1,300 were barastis or 79 per cent of the total number of barastis.

In table 16, the statistics for electricity and water supplies are broken down into the main geographical areas but sufficiently detailed figures for main drainage connections are not available to enable them to be included in the table.

TABLE 16

Percentage of houses having electricity and water supplies laid on. 1965

(Per cent of total houses.)

DISTRICT	Water %	Electricity %
Manama	89	86
Muharraq	95	90
Muharraq Suburbs	25	79
Hidd	95	89
Jidhafs	76	88
Sitra	nil	23
Rifa'a	93	93
Awali	97	100
Rural areas	20	57
All Houses	72	80

It will be observed that Awali is especially well provided with public utility services. Muharraq, Rifa'a and Hidd are well above the national average with Jidhafs also showing to advantage though not so markedly. Muharraq Suburbs and the rural areas were inadequately provided with main water supplies and Sitra's supplies were non-existent. Sitra and the rural areas were also poorly supplied with electricity but otherwise electricity was available to 80 per cent or more of the houses.

Demographic Characteristics.

The collection of more detailed statistics in the third and fourth censuses makes it possible to undertake some demographic analysis for the population in 1959 and in 1965. The figures, however,

must be treated with a certain amount of caution, because, in particular, information about ages is necessarily approximate, not for any unwillingness among respondents to declare their ages, but simply because in the absence of birth certification, many especially among the older age groups have only a hazy idea of their actual ages. Methodologically, also, comparison is complicated by some minor differences in the classification of the age groups as between the two censuses and as between certain tables.

From the data provided by the two censuses, however, certain facts stand out strongly. First, there are marked differences in the demographic structures of the Bahraini and the expatriate populations. Second, it is abundantly clear that demographically the Bahraini population is a "young population" in the sense that

there is a higher proportion of young persons in its composition than is to be found in most other countries.

In the following two tables (Nos. 17 and 18) adjustments have been made for differences in age-group classifications as

between the two censuses so that the figures can be shown on a reasonably equivalent basis. Also sufficiently large age groups have been selected so as to neutralise as far as possible discrepancies in age reporting.

TABLE 17

Percentage age distribution. **Bahraini population only.**

(Per cent of Total)

Age Group	1959	1965
Under 11 years of age	36.6	38.9
Under 16 years of age	46.7	51.6
Under 30 years of age	68.2	74.0
30 and under 60	26.7	22.7
60 and over	5.1	3.3

From Table 17, it will be seen that not only is the Bahraini population, a young population but that it grew younger in the six years between the two censuses. In 1965, nearly three-quarters of the population were under 30 years of age, where-

as in 1959, the percentage was only 66 per cent. The average age of the Bahraini population in 1959 was 22.5 years but by 1965 it had fallen to 20.3 years. There was little difference in the average ages of males and females.

TABLE 18

Percentage age distribution. **Non-Bahraini population only.**

(Per cent of total)

Age Group	1959	1965
Under 11 years of age	13.1	24.1
Under 16 years of age	16.9	28.9
Under 30 years of age	53.5	69.4
30 and under 60	42.8	28.9
60 and over	3.6	1.6

Among non-Bahrainis, a noticeable feature is the much smaller proportion of females (Table 19) which in 1965 amounted to about 30 per cent of the total non-Bahraini population compared to the much more normal proportion of some 50 per cent among Bahrainis. But not only do males predominate among the expatriates, their age-distribution is uneven and they are most numerous in the age-group 21 to 40. In 1965, among non-Bahrainis, 54 per cent were in this age group whereas among Bahraini males only 25 per cent were aged between 21 and 40. To take another example, 81 per cent of the foreign population in 1959 were between the ages of 15 and 60 years.

The average age of male non-Bahrainis in 1965 was 25.7 years and the median age was a little over 30 years. Children of non-Bahrainis were fairly evenly distributed between the sexes but among adolescents, middle aged and older groups, men greatly outnumbered women. The groups from 11 years of age onwards contained 22,537 males but only 7,031 females.

It is notable however that the age composition of the expatriates showed an increased percentage of younger people in 1965 when compared with 1959.

TABLE 19

Population by age groups. 1959

AGE GROUP	Bahrainis			Non-Bahrainis			Grand Total
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
1 and under 2 years	1,805	1,835	3,640	145	153	298	3,938
2 and under 3 years	2,395	2,467	4,862	184	180	364	5,226
3 and under 4 years	2,342	2,413	4,755	169	172	341	5,096
4 and under 5 years	2,224	2,364	4,588	183	167	350	4,938
5 and under 10 years	9,398	9,058	18,456	601	678	1,279	19,735
10 and under 15 years	6,718	5,980	12,698	498	346	844	13,542
15 and under 20 years	4,418	4,567	8,985	923	422	1,345	10,330
20 and under 30 years	8,685	9,660	18,345	6,082	1,764	7,846	26,191
30 and under 40 years	7,879	7,509	15,388	4,921	1,314	6,235	21,623
40 and under 50 years	5,470	4,581	10,051	2,210	607	2,817	12,868
50 and under 60 years	3,212	2,937	6,149	1,018	384	1,402	7,551
60 and under 75 years	2,619	2,611	5,230	531	254	785	6,015
75 years and over	397	446	843	58	44	102	945
Total	59,913	58,821	118,734	17,709	6,692	24,401	143,135

Expatriates come and go and the foreign population is thus largely a floating one. Individuals come to work in Bahrain for a spell of years and then may return to their home country. Many leave

their families in their homeland and this explains the predominance of males over females in the expatriate population. The former circumstance explains the predominance of the middle-age groups.

TABLE 20

Population by age groups. 1965

AGE GROUP	Bahrainis			Non-Bahrainis			Grand Total
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
Under 1 year	1,985	2,022	4,007	375	418	793	4,800
1 and under 2 years	2,281	2,283	4,465	389	355	744	5,208
2 and under 3 years	2,882	2,915	5,797	528	480	1,008	6,805
3 and under 4 years	2,717	2,972	5,689	490	478	968	6,657
4 and under 5 years	2,870	2,876	5,746	476	460	936	6,682
5 and under 6 years	2,609	2,691	5,300	485	438	923	6,223
6 and under 7 years	2,475	2,574	5,049	390	398	788	5,837
7 and under 8 years	2,825	2,730	5,555	391	399	790	6,345
8 and under 9 years	2,692	2,618	5,310	343	353	696	6,006
9 and under 10 years	2,048	2,120	4,168	299	251	550	4,718
10 and under 11 years	2,474	2,317	4,791	313	302	615	5,406
11 and under 16 years	8,669	7,998	16,667	1,322	891	2,213	18,880
16 and under 21 years	6,192	6,655	12,847	2,947	785	3,732	16,579
21 and under 31 years	9,979	10,964	20,943	9,359	2,537	11,896	32,839
31 and under 41 years	8,397	7,930	16,327	5,287	1,557	6,844	23,171
41 and under 51 years	5,704	4,726	10,430	2,326	736	3,062	13,492
51 and under 61 years	3,158	2,721	5,879	984	309	1,293	7,062
61 and under 75 years	1,934	1,742	3,676	327	163	490	4,166
75 years and over	477	592	1,069	75	63	138	1,207
Total	72,368	71,446	143,814	27,016	11,373	38,389	182,203

Inspection of the figures in Table 19 reveals a markedly low figure for the age-group "one year and under two years". This low birth rate for the age-group was common to both Bahrainis and non-Bahrainis and to both male and female births as well as being fairly evenly spread geographically. Mr. R. S. Porter in his analysis of the 1959 Census entitled "The Third Population Census of Bahrain"

states that it does not seem likely that it is the result of inaccurate reporting and that "one possibility is that there was some special factor affecting infant mortality two years prior to the census." He refers to an outbreak of Asiatic Influenza during the summer of 1957 but points out that this may be merely a coincidence. That some special factor was present is borne out by the 1965 census where the

age group of "6 and under 7" is smaller than the bracketing age group on either side.

Comparing the data in Tables 19 and 20, it would seem that there has been some slow down in the birth rate among Bahrainis and also that there has been some decrease in the mortality rates in the age groups, 20 to 40 years. The deficiency in the number of females in the age groups 30 to 60 is common to both the censuses and may be the result of a high maternal mortality rate.

Marital Status

Statistics relating to marital status are set out in Table 21 below but as these

by themselves are not particularly illuminating for purposes of comparison between 1959 and 1965 or between the Bahraini population group and that of the expatriates, the corresponding percentages have been calculated and presented in Table 22.

All the data in the two tables relate only to persons of 15 years of age and over. Single persons are defined as those who have never married and thus exclude those divorced or widowed. The term "widowed" is defined as those whose spouse is deceased and who have not re-married. Divorced persons include only those who have been divorced and who have not subsequently re-married.

TABLE 21

Marital Status, Bahraini and non-Bahraini, 1959 and 1965.

Marital Status	Bahraini			Non-Bahraini		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Single						
1959	8,719	2,017	10,736	6,331	363	6,694
1965	11,246	4,115	15,361	8,607	919	9,526
Married						
1959	22,379	23,684	46,063	8,854	3,828	12,682
1965	24,326	25,532	49,858	12,402	4,778	17,180
Widowed						
1959	771	5,423	6,194	222	461	683
1965	850	5,772	6,622	266	487	753
Divorced						
1959	811	1,187	1,998	336	137	473
1965	786	1,276	2,062	319	116	435
Totals						
1959	32,680	32,311	64,991	15,743	4,789	20,532
1965	37,208	36,695	73,903	21,594	6,300	27,894

TABLE 22

Marital Status, Bahraini and Non-Bahraini, 1959 and 1965.

Percentages

Marital Status	Bahraini				Non-Bahraini			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	1959	1965	1959	1965	1959	1965	1959	1965
Single	27	30	6	11	40	39	8	15
Married	68	66	73	70	56	57	80	76
Widowed	2	2	17	16	1	1	9	8
Divorced	2	2	4	3	2	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Columns may not add to totals because of rounding.

There is a marked difference in marital status as between Bahrainis and non-Bahrainis. In 1959, the percentage of single male non-Bahrainis was 40 per cent whereas only 27 per cent of male Bahrainis were single. On the other hand, 68 per cent of male Bahrainis were married compared with 56 per cent of male expatriates.

Among females, 80 per cent of non-Bahrainis were married and among Bahrainis it was 73 per cent. The percentage of widowed and divorced persons was not very different for the two groups as regards males, being around two per cent. There was, however, a much higher proportion of divorced females whose prospects of re-marriage after divorce are less than those of the males.

In both groups, widowed females

largely exceed the number of widowed males but the percentage of widowed females among non-Bahrainis was about half that of the Bahrainis. No doubt this can be explained partly by the relative age distributions of the two groups and by the probability that widows return to their homelands on the decease of their husbands.

Comprising 1965 with 1959, the percentage of single Bahrainis, both male and female had increased, suggesting that there is a trend to later marriage ages resulting from deferment of marriage until education is completed.

Among non-Bahrainis, there has been a slight decrease in the percentage of single males with a more marked increase in single females. A possible explanation is that there has been an increase in their economic stability, with families remaining in Bahrain for somewhat longer periods than in the past.

Education

The earlier censuses provide few statistics about education. Even in the 1959 census, the only information collected regarding educational matters related to school attendances and literacy. Those aged 7 to 15 were asked to state whether they were attending school or not; this age bracket was selected presumably because it coincided with the ages covered by the Bahrain Government's educational system of the time. Those over 15 years of age were asked whether they

were able to read and write but, as no test of literacy was applied, the answers may have been subject to some exaggeration.

In the 1965 census, however, much more detailed information was collected and the tabulations covered such matters as "industry and the level of education", "occupation and level of education" and "level of education reached in certain age groups", as well as statistics of school attendance.

TABLE 23

School Attendance
Children aged 7 to 15 years, 1959 and 1965.

	1959		1965	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Bahrainis				
Attending School				
Boys	9,362	71	15,123	87
Girls	4,499	37	9,234	57
Not attending school				
Boys	3,791	29	2,218	13
Girls	7,540	63	7,183	43
Total				
Boys	13,153	100	17,341	100
Girls	12,039	100	16,419	100
Non-Bahrainis				
Attending school				
Boys	596	60	1,842	80
Girls	526	66	1,568	77
Not attending school				
Boys	390	40	449	20
Girls	266	34	480	23
Total				
Boys	986	100	2,291	100
Girls	792	100	2,048	100

As will be seen from Table 23, the percentage of both boys and girls aged 7 to 15 years, Bahraini and non-Bahraini alike attending school had increased markedly in 1965 as compared with 1959.

The percentage of Bahraini boys not at school out of the total number in the age group concerned decreased from 29 per cent in 1959 to 13 per cent in 1965. In sharp contrast with the boys, there were far fewer girls at school. In 1959, among girls, 63 per cent of the total numbers in the age group 7 to 15 years were not at school but there is a strong trend

in favour of education for girls and in 1965 the percentage of non-attenders had fallen to 43 per cent.

Among non-Bahrainis, the percentage of boys attending school was less than among Bahrainis in both census years, though higher in 1965 than it was in 1959, having risen from 60 per cent in 1959 to 80 per cent in 1965. Among non-Bahraini girls, however, a far higher percentage were in school than among Bahraini girls, being about 30 per cent higher in 1959 and 20 per cent higher in 1965.

Literacy

TABLE 24

Literacy
Persons aged 15 years and over

	Literate	Illiterate	Total	Per cent Literate
1959				
Bahrainis				
Males	9,916	21,832	31,748	31
Females	2,678	28,712	31,390	9
Total	12,594	50,544	63,138	20
Non-Bahrainis				
Males	6,378	9,132	15,510	41
Females	2,145	2,579	4,724	45
Total	8,523	11,711	20,234	41
1965				
Bahrainis				
Males	14,437	22,771	37,208	39
Females	4,744	319,51	36,695	13
Total	19,181	54,722	73,903	26
Non-Bahrainis				
Males	6,794	14,798	21,592	32
Females	3,091	3,207	6,298	48
Total	9,885	18,005	27,890	35

In 1959, among Bahraini males 31 per cent were reported as being literate but among females, somewhat under nine per cent were literate. Among expatriates 41 per cent of the males were literate and 45 per cent of the females. It is at first sight perhaps strange that the females should show the higher literacy rate but this is explainable by the varying ratio of males to females in the different national groups which constitute the foreign population. Literacy has to be related to the nationality of the expatriates and the kind of work which they have come to undertake in Bahrain. Unskilled Labourers tend to come to Bahrain on their own, leaving their families in their home country.

In 1965, the percentages of literacy had increased for all groups except for non-Bahraini males whose literacy rate fell from 41 per cent to 32 per cent. Among Bahrainis the literacy rate rose considerably between the two census dates: the increase being most marked for females among whom literacy increased over 1959 by 44 per cent. Among males there was also a substantial increase amounting to 26 per cent. The statistics of literacy relate only to persons over the age of 15 but as among younger persons, nearly 90 per cent of the boys and 60 per cent of the girls are attending school, it can be expected that the literacy rate will rise considerably in the coming years.

The decrease in literacy among non-Bahraini males was due to the changed

composition of this sector of the population (see table 5) and in the type of work for which they were recruited.

In the 1965 census, as stated earlier, more detailed information about education was collected than in previous censuses and for that year it is possible to classify school attendances according to the ages of the pupils as shown in Table 25.

Among Bahraini children the percentage of girls attending school was much lower than that of the boys and their education was not continued for as long a span of years. Most of the school girls appear to finish their education on reaching the age of 13 and there is a sudden drop in the percentage at school after that age. Among the school boys, education continues for the majority well beyond the age of 14 as 68 per cent of the total number of Bahraini boys in the age group 15 to 19 were at school.

Many of the boys however appear to start schooling at the age of 8 or 9 and for both boys and girls, the highest proportion at school as at age 11.

Among the non-Bahrainis at all ages recorded in the table, the percentage of the girls attending school is higher than the corresponding percentage for the Bahraini girls. Among the non-Bahraini boys, there is a sharp drop in attendance at age 14, whereas among Bahraini boys the decline is very much less at that age and after.

TABLE 25

School attendances by ages, 1965

Number and percentages of children attending school at ages 7 to 19.

Age	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bahrainis						
7	1,967	70	1,474	55	3,441	61
8	2,294	85	1,504	58	3,798	72
9	1,861	93	1,255	60	3,116	74
10	2,272	91	1,287	56	3,559	74
11	1,558	97	927	62	2,485	80
12	2,320	93	1,115	56	3,435	76
13	1,481	93	846	60	2,327	78
14	1,370	86	826	49	2,196	67
15 — 19	4,091	68	1,661	28	5,752	48
Non-Bahrainis						
7	284	72	281	70	565	71
8	291	85	277	79	568	82
9	273	91	203	81	476	87
10	278	89	246	81	524	85
11	186	87	152	82	338	85
12	258	77	187	79	445	78
13	154	80	115	73	269	77
14	118	58	107	66	225	61
15 — 19	364	22	218	35	582	25

Statistics relating to the standard of education attained by persons in various age-groups have been tabulated for the 1965 census. As might be expected, the older the age groups, the more numerous are those without formal school education. More advanced education of secondary school or university level is confined mainly to the younger age groups, especially those under 30 years of age. The only exception to these generalisations

is to be found among non-Bahraini males where the age-groups 31-40 and 41-50 show the highest proportion of secondary school and university graduates. Also in contrast with other sectors of the community, the non-Bahraini males without formal education are most numerous in the age group 21-30, as it is among these that many unskilled labourers are to be found.

TABLE 26

Educational Standards Attained, 1965

Number and percentage of total in each age groups

Age group	Primary		Secondary		University		No Schooling	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	Bahraini Males							
11—20	8,740	59	3,913	26	81	1	2,127	14
21—30	2,245	23	1,521	15	243	3	5,970	60
31—40	1,105	13	444	5	65	...	6,783	81
41—50	508	9	108	2	19	...	5,069	89
51 and over	269	5	39	...	6	...	5,255	94
Total	12,867	29	6,025	14	414	1	25,204	57
Bahraini Females								
11—20	5,050	35	1,434	10	19	...	8,150	56
21—30	1,047	10	207	2	30	...	9,680	89
31—40	248	3	33	...	3	...	7,646	96
41—50	41	1	5	...	1	...	4,679	99
51 and over	17	...	2	...	—	—	5,036	99
Total	6,403	15	1,681	4	53	...	35,191	81

Note: (...) signifies under one per cent.

TABLE 27

Educational Standards Attained, 1965

Number and percentage of total in each age group

Age group	Educational level reached							
	Primary		Secondary		University		No Schooling	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	Non-Bahraini Males							
11—20	1,081	25	318	7	10	..	2,860	68
21—30	717	8	707	8	340	4	7,595	81
31—40	426	8	935	18	581	11	3,345	63
41—50	192	8	531	23	255	11	1,348	59
51 and over	121	10	150	12	89	6	936	72
Total	2,537	11	2,641	12	1,275	6	16,084	71
Non-Bahraini Females								
11—20	752	45	254	15	18	1	652	39
21—30	296	12	750	29	335	13	1,156	46
31—40	129	8	490	31	171	11	772	50
41—50	46	6	197	27	52	7	441	60
51 and over	15	3	32	6	16	3	472	88
Total	1,238	18	1,723	24	592	8	3,493	50

Lack of formal education was most evident among Bahraini females (81 per cent of their total number) though among non-Bahraini females it was only 50 per cent. Among non-Bahraini males, 71 per cent of them had had no schooling but among Bahraini males, the proportion was much less, namely 57 per cent and would have been even lower but for the numbers in the older generations who in their

young days had had no opportunity to attend school.

Economic Characteristics.

In the 1959 and 1965 censuses, information was collected and published regarding the economic status of the economically active members of the population, the industries in which they were working and the occupations which they followed.

In accordance with accepted demographic practice, the economically active population was taken to include employers, employees, those working on their own account, unpaid family workers and the unemployed who were looking for work. On the other hand, students and disabled and retired persons were excluded, as were also housewives as they are not directly engaged in the production of economic goods or services. The industrial classification utilised was based on

the United Nations' "International Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities", though only the main divisions of this classification were used. Industry was defined as the type of establishment in which the person was at work while occupation was taken as the particular kind of work which he did. Thus for a clerk working in a transport undertaking, his occupation would be that of clerk but his industry would be recorded as transport.

TABLE 28

Economically Active Population, 1959 and 1965

Economic Status	1959				1965			
	Males	Females	Total	%	Males	Females	Total	%
Employers	331	5	336	1	812	4	816	2
Employees	30,014	1,120	31,134	68	37,499	1,749	39,248	73
Self-employed	11,144	204	11,348	25	9,638	152	9,790	18
Unpaid family workers	1,204	10	1,214	3	1,031	50	1,081	2
Unemployed	1,433	14	1,447	3	1,789	6	1,795	3
Others	—	—	—	—	502	62	564	1
Totals	44,126	1,353	45,479	100	51,251	2,023	53,274	100
Per cent of total	97	3	100	—	98	4	100	—

In 1959, the economically active population of Bahrain totalled 45,479 persons, or just under 32 per cent of the whole population. As between Bahrainis and non-Bahrainis, however, the proportions were very different, being 25 per cent for Bahrainis and 66 per cent for non-Bahrainis. The high relative proportion of economically active persons among the

expatriates stems from the difference in age composition as most of them are in the working-age groups.

Women account for a very small proportion of the economically active population being only three per cent in 1959 and four per cent in 1965. Though the percentage of women at work was very

small even in 1965, the figures suggest a trend towards a slight increase in the number of economically active females over the years.

The increase, however, was in foreign females; there being practically no change in the number of Bahraini women engaged in economic activities.

TABLE 29

Economically active population, Non-Bahrainis, 1959 and 1965

Economic Status	1959			1965		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Employers	102	—	102	216	2	218
Employees	12,751	369	13,120	18,514	980	19,494
Self-employed	2,212	23	2,235	1,680	18	1,698
Unpaid family workers	237	1	238	183	6	189
Unemployed	141	3	144	328	1	329
Others	—	—	—	94	21	115
Total	15,443	396	15,839	21,015	1,028	22,043

As regards the total working force, the number of the economically active rose by 7,795 persons, that is 18 per cent, between 1959 and 1965 but the percentage of the total population so engaged fell from the 32 per cent of 1959 to 29 per cent in 1965 due no doubt to the changing age composition of the population and the increased number of young people staying on at school for secondary education. In the same period, the percentage of foreigners in the economically active group rose from 35 per cent to 41 per cent of their total.

Among males in 1965, the economically active represented about 51 per cent of the total male population of all ages. During the six years between the censuses, the number of economically active Bahraini males increased by five per cent

but over the same period the increase among non-Bahraini males was 36 per cent.

The main changes in economic status, as shown in Tables 28 and 29, taking place between 1959 and 1965 were an increase in the percentage of employees from 68 per cent to 73 per cent of the total economically active persons; an increase in the number of employers from one per cent to two per cent; and a decrease in the proportion of self employed persons from 25 per cent to 18 per cent. The proportion of unpaid family workers declined from three to two per cent but the proportion of the unemployed remained constant at about three per cent.

An interesting feature of the data in Table 28 is the high proportion of the self-

employed as these may be taken to represent the small businesses, so typical of the Bahrain economy. They are mainly small shop-keepers; craftsmen such as joiners, metal workers or tailors; small cafe owners, and those undertaking repair work or personal services. Self-employed workers accounted for a quarter of the economically active population in 1959 but their proportion fell to 18 per cent in 1965. These figures show that there was both an absolute and a relative decline in the importance of the small enterprise with a transfer from the ranks of the small independent entrepreneur to the wage-earning or salaried classes. If government

service and the oil industry are excluded, the figures for the self-employed rise to 22 per cent in 1965 with a comparable figure for 1959 of 33 per cent.

The largest employers in 1959 were the government, which was then responsible for 14 per cent of total employment, and the oil company with the even higher proportion of 19 per cent. In 1965, however, the position was reversed as between these two large-scale employments, as by then government employment was absorbing 23 per cent of the total and the oil company's proportion had decreased to 15 per cent.

TABLE 30

Industrial Classification of The Economically Active Population by Nationality 1959 and 1965

Industry	1959			1965		
	Bahraini	Non-Bahraini	Total	Bahraini	Non-Bahraini	Total
Both Sexes						
Agriculture & Fishing	3,918	546	4,464	3,562	1,092	4,654
Manufacture	817	207	1,024	224	177	401
Construction	2,742	1,997	4,739	3,452	4,876	8,328
Oil Industry	6,127	2,784	8,911	5,164	1,776	6,940
Quarrying	154	316	470	124	53	177
Wholesale trade	299	205	504	638	828	1,466
Retail trade	3,061	1,201	4,262	3,889	2,031	5,920
Banking	143	130	273	202	152	354
Transport & Communications	1,119	512	1,631	2,928	2,566	5,494
Government services	4,128	2,364	6,492	6,922	3,472	10,394
Other services	8,031	5,614	13,645	4,126	5,020	9,146
Not stated	371	169	540	—	—	—
Total	30,910	16,045	46,955	31,231	22,043	53,274

In Table 30, the economically active population is classified according to the industry in which the individuals work. The two censuses though following the United Nations International Standard Industrial Classification for all Economic Activities only utilised the main eleven divisions of this classification because of difficulties of describing industries in precise terms for application in Bahrain. In 1959, by far the largest group providing work for the economically active was that of "Other Services" which covers a wide field including among other activities, medical and health services, restaurants, cafes, hotels, boarding houses and domestic servants. Precise description of these varied occupations, however, is difficult as many service activities are not easily to be distinguished from wholesale and retail trade. Sometimes indeed the one establishment may be carrying on both trade and service activities. Possibly also some confusion may have arisen between manufacturing industries and services. In 1965 the group fell to second place in the table and the number of persons engaged in it declined to 9,146; the decrease being mainly among Bahrainis.

The most significant increase in numbers between the censuses took place in government service (3,902), transport and communications (3,863), and construction (3,589). Retail trading already large in 1959, with over four thousand workers, increased its numbers by 1,658 persons to a total of almost six thousand persons while wholesale trade increased nearly threefold from 504 persons to 1,466. Though the numbers engaged were very much smaller there was a big jump in banking personnel from 273 in 1959 to 354 in 1965.

As already noted, there was a large fall in the numbers recorded as engaged in "other services" which amounted to

4,499 persons. This was by far the greatest decline shown by any of the groups. Next in order of size was a fall of 1,917 persons in the oil industry but this was not due to any falling off in output or in the activities of the refinery but was due to the stabilization of the industry and a more efficient deployment of staff. There was a heavy fall in the numbers engaged in manufacturing industry, which declined from the already low figure of 1,024 persons in 1959 to a mere 401 persons in 1965. Some of this fall may perhaps have been due to small discrepancies in definition as between the two censuses. Manufacture plays but a small part in the economy of Bahrain which is essentially, after oil, a trading and entrepot economy serving a large part of the Gulf. Attempts now, however, are being made to encourage the foundation of new industries so as to obtain a better balance in the economy and provide greater employment for the increasing population.

Quarrying showed a decline despite the increase in constructional activities but here again questions of definition arise and the figure for quarrying apparently does not include those engaged in gathering and breaking stones for use as aggregate. Agriculture barely held its own and that only through an increase in the numbers of non-Bahraini nationals engaged in this sector.

Occupations.

Occupation is defined as the kind of work undertaken by the individual and is thus a different conception from that of the industry in which the person is engaged. An oil company for example utilises a multitude of skills — these are the occupations of the individuals — but all of these are classified in the industry tables as engaged in the oil industry.

	1959	1965
Marine trades	2,385	49
Seamen	81	1,233
Stevedores	139	437

TABLE 31

Table 32 below sets out the main occupations of the economically active male population for 1959 and 1965. In the census publications, three closely linked occupations are separately designated, namely marine trades, seamen and stevedores. In table 32 these have been combined under the heading "marine

trades" as it seemed desirable to treat them as one category especially as there would seem to have been some confusion and uncertainty in definitions as between the two censuses, as is evident from the following tabular abstract from the reports.

TABLE 32
Occupations of the Economically Active Population, 1959 and 1965.
Males Only

Occupation	1959			1965		
	Bahraini	Non-Bahraini	Total	Bahraini	Non-Bahraini	Total
Administrative & Clerical	2,837	1,993	4,830	3,811	2,041	5,852
Storekeepers	22	75	97	51	48	99
Sales staff	2,379	702	3,081	2,734	801	3,535
Motor Transport Drivers	1,883	206	2,089	2,491	520	3,011
Metal Working & Mechanics	937	835	1,832	1,048	968	2,016
Electricians	209	226	435	300	283	583
Oil field & Refinery	3,870	581	4,451	254	287	541
Woodworkers	1,320	152	1,472	1,064	184	1,248
Other building trades	1,631	864	2,495	2,247	3,337	5,644
Marine trades	1,981	624	2,605	1,175	542	1,717
General Labourers	5,147	5,006	10,153	8,801	7,808	16,609
Tailors	210	528	738	171	480	651
Bakers	177	177	354	179	267	446
Laundrymen	38	92	130	46	211	257
Medical Workers	50	131	181	125	168	293
Catering staff	196	561	757	36	117	153
Domestic Servants	364	654	1,018	341	1,057	1,398
Merchants	546	274	820	876	230	1,106
Agricultural Workers	3,057	351	3,408	2,320	857	3,177
Fishermen	549	159	708	753	63	816
Other Occupations	2,412	1,439	3,851	1,413	686	2,099
TOTALS	29,875	15,630	45,505	30,236	21,015	51,251

Comparing 1959 with 1965, the greatest increase in the occupational groups was shown by general labouring and the building trades, resulting from increased constructional activity. Other, though less spectacular increases, were registered by the administrative and clerical group and in motor transport driving. The statistics for the oil industry and refining, unfortunately, are very misleading as clearly in the census returns of 1959, oil and refinery workers were not divided out according to particular occupations within the industry as they were correctly so distributed in 1965. Part of the increase, therefore, in occupations such as general labouring and motor transport driving, should be discounted as the 1965 figures included those who in the earlier census were counted as oil or refinery workers.

Increases were also registered in sales staff, laundrymen and domestic service as well as in the electrical and metal working trades. Medical staffs grew from 181 in 1959 to 293 in 1965, indicating the progress made in improving the medical services. When the women doctors and nurses are added the increase would be even more significant. There were 65 women doctors and 225 other female medical workers including nurses enumerated

in 1965 but unfortunately comparative figures are not available for 1959 but it is known that the number of nurses and female dressers and orderlies employed in government service more than doubled over the six years between the censuses.

Decreased numbers were shown in marine trades and catering, though in this latter occupation there may have been some discrepancies between definitions in the two censuses. Slight decreases also were shown in woodworking, tailoring and agriculture. The decrease in "other occupations" was not significant as it no doubt represents improved classification in 1965. Apart from general labouring, which was the largest occupational grouping for both nationals and expatriates, the main occupations among Bahraini nationals were administrative and clerical, retail and wholesale trade, motor vehicle driving, woodworking and building trades, agriculture and marine trades. Indians and Pakistanis were largely concentrated in the white collar occupations such as clerical work and retail trade, while in labouring, building, constructional work and agriculture the non-Bahrainis were mainly Omanis and Iranians.

TABLE 33

Occupations of the Economically Active Population 1959 and 1965

Percentages of Total and Percentages of Group

Males Only

Occupation Group	1965				1959			
	Bahraini		Non-Bahraini		Bahraini		Non-Bahraini	
	Per cent of		Per cent of		Per cent of		Per cent of	
	Group	Total	Group	Total	Group	Total	Group	Total
Administrative & Clerical	59	6.2	41	4.4	65	7.4	35	4.0
Sales staff	77	5.2	23	1.6	77	5.3	23	1.6
Motor Transport Drivers	90	4.1	10	0.5	83	4.9	17	1.0
Metal Working & Mechanics	54	2.2	46	1.8	52	2.0	48	1.9
Oil Field & Refinery	87	8.5	13	1.3	47	0.5	53	0.5
Woodworkers	90	2.9	10	0.3	85	2.1	15	0.3
Other building trades	65	3.6	35	1.9	40	4.4	60	6.6
Marine trades	76	4.4	24	1.4	68	2.3	32	1.1
General Labourers	51	11.3	49	11.0	53	17.2	47	15.2
Tailors Bakers & Laundrymen	35	0.9	65	1.8	29	0.8	71	1.9
Medical Workers	28	0.1	72	0.2	43	0.2	57	0.4
Domestic Servants	36	0.8	64	1.4	24	0.7	76	2.1
Merchants	67	1.2	33	0.6	79	1.7	21	0.4
Agricultural Workers	90	6.7	10	0.8	73	4.5	27	1.7
Fishermen	78	1.2	22	0.3	92	1.5	8	0.1
Other Occupations	55	6.3	45	5.1	61	3.6	39	2.1
TOTAL	66	65.6	34	34.4	59	59.1	41	40.9

In the Report published for 1959, women were excluded in the occupational tables as it appeared that there was a considerable amount of mis-reporting of their occupations owing to the unfamiliarity of the enquiry and difficulties in obtaining exact descriptions of their work. (1)

(1) See R.S. Porter. "The Third Census of Bahrain." page 53.

For the 1965 census, however, better results were achieved and the relevant figures for that year are set out in Table 34 below.

The number of women reported as being economically active in 1959 amounted to only 1,450, which was less than three per cent of the total labour force. Of these 1,035 were Bahrainis and 415 of other nationality.

TABLE 34
Occupations of Women Economically Active, 1965.

Occupation	Bahraini	Non-Bahraini	Total
Administrative & Clerical	340	407	747
Storekeepers	2	—	2
Sales Staff	26	11	37
Motor Transport Drivers	2	—	2
Electricians	1	—	1
Refinery Operators	—	1	1
Woodworkers	2	2	4
Other Building Trades	6	3	9
Marine Trades	1	1	2
General Labourers	146	105	251
Tailoresses	35	4	39
Laundry Workers	8	—	8
Medical Services	37	253	290
Domestic Servants	305	217	522
Fishing	1	—	1
Agriculture	1	1	2
Merchants	2	2	4
Others	80	21	101
TOTALS	995	1,028	2,023

In 1965, the number of women economically active had increased by somewhat less than 600 persons and it is only recently that new openings have become available to women in any number. Wo-

men are mainly to be found employed in domestic service, nursing, teaching, banking, clerical work and retailing. In 1965, 747 women were engaged in administrative and clerical work, 522 in domestic

service and 251 in labouring. There were however 65 qualified women medical practitioners and 225 others engaged in medical services such as nursing. In no other group than those mentioned above did the number of women workers reach 50.

Economic Status by Industry

In the 1965 Census, detailed information was collected regarding economic status and in table 35 a summary is pro-

vided setting out the number of employees in certain industrial groups. The largest number of employers were found in retail trade, agriculture and fishing and in the service industries. Non-Bahraini employers were proportionally highest in manufacture where 13 out of the 28 employers were expatriates but the greatest number as with Bahrainis were engaged in retail trade where 91 were non-Bahrainis out of a total of 283. In the service industries, 50 out of a total 118 were expatriates.

TABLE 35
Employers and Employees in Specified Industries, 1965.

Industry	Employees			Employers		
	Bahrainis	Non-Bahrainis	Total	Bahrainis	Non-Bahrainis	Total
Agriculture & Fishing	119	5	124	1,017	1,008	2,025
Manufacturing	15	13	28	47	95	142
Construction	79	19	98	2,355	4,346	6,901
Quarrying	1	—	1	75	52	127
Wholesale Trade	88	32	120	291	738	1,029
Retail Trade	192	91	283	423	1,054	1,477
Transport & Communications	30	7	37	1,592	2,417	4,009
Other Services	68	50	118	2,257	4,304	6,561

TABLE 36

Averages, Employees per employer, 1965.

Agriculture & Fishing	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
Manufacturing	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Construction	...	...	...	...	...	...	70
Quarrying	...	...	...	...	...	...	127
Wholesale Trade	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Retail Trade	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Transport & Communications	...	...	...	...	...	...	108
Other Services	...	...	...	...	...	...	56

The average number of employees per employer for the specified industries shown in Table 36 may be taken as representing the average size of establishment employing hired labour. The average size of establishment for the industry as a whole will be smaller, in some industries such as agriculture or retail trade considerably smaller as there are many one-man businesses carried on by the persons classified as "self-employed". Apart from quarrying which is a special case as there was only one employer, the highest average employment per establishment was in transport and communications but here

again special circumstances were involved, as the average was raised by the presence of large undertakings such as Cable and Wireless Ltd., and the air transport companies.

Statistics relating to the self-employment will be found in Table 37, where the classification is by the industry in which they were engaged. The self-employed are all those working on their own account having neither employer nor employees though sometimes assisted full-time or part-time by members of their families.

TABLE 37

The Self-employed Classified by Industry, 1965.

Industry	Bahrainis			Non-Bahrainis			Total
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
Agriculture & Fishing	1,707	1	1,708	59	—	59	1,767
Manufacture	136	—	136	60	—	60	196
Construction	579	1	580	180	—	180	760
Quarrying	32	—	32	1	—	1	33
Wholesale Trade	195	—	195	36	—	36	231
Retail Trade	2,932	32	2,964	761	5	766	3,730
Banking	13	—	13	7	—	7	20
Transport & Communications	1,092	1	1,093	91	—	91	1,184
Other Services	1,173	98	1,271	451	13	464	1,735
Oil	20	1	21	3	—	3	24
Government	79	—	79	31	—	31	110

TABLE 38

Main Occupations, Employers and Employees, Both Sexes, 1965

Occupation	Bahrainis		Non-Bahrainis		Total	
	Em- ployers	Em- ployees	Em- ployers	Em- ployees	Em- ployers	Em- ployees
Administrative & Clerical	11	3,922	1	2,415	12	6,337
Sales	81	161	35	187	116	348
Motor Transport Drivers	15	1,379	2	435	17	1,814
Metal Working & Mechanics	21	769	15	891	36	1,660
Electricians	4	243	—	272	4	515
Woodworking	14	673	4	138	18	811
Other Building Trades	55	1,569	12	3,174	67	4,743
Marine Trades	18	531	4	490	22	1,021
General Labouring	16	7,913	6	7,582	22	15,495
Tailors, Bakers & Laundrymen	47	107	45	596	92	703
Medical Workers	2	150	—	402	2	552
Fishermen	10	135	2	44	12	179
Agriculture Workers	99	819	2	808	101	1,627
Merchants	168	20	67	8	235	28

Note: This table includes women as well as men whereas Table 32 refers to males only because data relating to female workers were not available for the year 1959.

The self-employed in Bahrain numbered 9,790 and accounted for 18 per cent of the economically active and thus again the statistics underline the essentially small-scale nature of economic activities in the country and the absence of large industries. The self-employed were far and away most numerous in retail trading but they were also to be found in large numbers in agriculture, fishing, transport and services. In agriculture and fishing, they were nearly as numerous as hired workers and of course greatly exceeded the number of employers. In manufacture, they accounted for more than half the total number of persons engaged in this sector.

If the number of employers, employees, self-employed, unpaid family workers and the unemployed in manufacture are added together, this gives an average of only 1.8 persons engaged per establishment. It is abundantly clear that in Bahrain the typical industrial establishment is that of the small craftsman working on his own or with only one or two assistants.

In retail trading, there are fully two-and-a-half times as many one-man businesses as there are paid workers and the average overall size of establishment is one of 1.5 persons. In banking, the 20 self-employed persons represent those carrying on small financial businesses such as the foreign exchange dealers in the suq.

In addition to the self-employed, there were 1,081 unpaid family workers enumerated, most of whom no doubt would have been assisting in the one-man businesses. They were most numerous in agriculture and fishing (371) and in retail trade (207 persons.)

Economic Status by Occupation.

As regards the occupation of the economically active, the largest number naturally are to be found among general labourers who accounted for 29 per cent of the total. The next largest group was that of administrative and clerical workers amounting to some 12 per cent of the total and thus indicative of the importance of the trading and government sectors in the economy. The building trades were also of considerable importance and provided work for some 5,000 persons.

Among the self-employed, by far the largest number were engaged in selling, totalling 2,824 persons or 29 per cent of the total of the self-employed. They were far more numerous than the number of employees in this branch of activity and indeed were nearly eight times as numerous.

Other important occupations among the self-employed were motor transport driving (1,012 persons), agriculture (924 persons), merchanting (720 persons), and fishermen (523 persons).

TABLE 39

Main Occupations, Self-employed, Unpaid Family Workers and the Unemployed. 1965

Occupation	Self-employed		Unpaid Family Workers		Unemployed	
	Bah-rainis	Non-Bah-rainis	Bah-rainis	Non-Bah-rainis	Bah-rainis	Non-Bah-rainis
Administrative & Clerical	68	12	25	8	99	4
Sales	2,308	516	148	59	37	8
Motor Transport Drivers	958	54	37	1	88	21
Metal Workers & Mechanics	172	36	16	7	68	13
Electricians	41	6	4	2	6	3
Woodworkers	279	36	15	2	68	4
Other Building Traders	361	133	15	2	219	73
Marine Trades	395	35	79	—	13	13
General Labourers	406	108	40	26	485	154
Tailors, Bakers & Laundrymen	241	284	19	26	35	8
Medical Workers	8	15	—	3	2	—
Fishermen	508	15	28	—	51	1
Agricultural Workers	885	39	371	—	100	5
Merchants	587	133	78	20	11	1

The number of unpaid family workers is relatively small being only about two per cent of the total of the economically active population. They are most numerous in agriculture where they constitute 12 per cent of the total and in retail trade where the percentage is six per cent.

At the time of the census, unemployment amounted to about three per cent of the working population. The total of unemployment was 1,775 persons and of these 639 were general labourers and 292 were builders.

Educational Levels in Industry and Occupations

Information relating to standards of education reached by the economically active population became available for the first time through the 1965 population census. The data were classified separately for both the industries and the occupations of the persons concerned.

Out of the 53,274 persons economically active in Bahrain, 39,179 had received no formal education, 6,882 had attained a primary education, 5,458 had attended secondary or technical schools or colleges and 1,755 had been at a university or other institute of higher learning. Put in the form of percentages for the work force as a whole, 74 per cent had received no formal education but there was little difference in the percentages as between Bahraini and Non-Bahraini except at University level where the percentage of Bahrainis was only 0.7 percent of their total number whereas among the Non-Bahrainis, the percentage was ten times as large at seven per cent. Since 1965, the number of Bahrainis passing through the universities has increased but it is naturally higher among Non-Bahrainis, as many of the expatriates are working in Bahrain precisely because of their special skills and high-level training.

Among females the difference was even more striking. Only nine Bahraini females among the economically active population were returned as having had a university education whereas 349 Non-Bahraini females had attained university levels in their studies.

Those who had attended technical

schools or colleges (included with secondary education in the Table) numbered only 967 and of these 575 were Non-Bahrainis. Furthermore, out of the total, rather more than a third (382 persons) were working in clerical or similar occupations, presumably having received a commercial training rather than a technical education in the more restricted sense of the term. There is obviously a need to encourage attendance at technical schools and colleges and in this connection, the foundation of the Gulf Technical College in 1968 is of special significance for the future development of much needed technical skills and technological expertise.

Turning next to consider educational levels in relation to occupations, as was to be expected, the largest number and the largest proportion of the total of those without formal education were found among general labourers. Among them, there were 14,933 persons which was about 40 per cent of all those without formal education of any kind.

At the other end of the scale, again as might be expected, the largest number of university graduates, accounting for 1,055 out of the total 1,755 graduates economically active, were occupied in administrative and clerical work. It is also significant that 465 of the graduates were working in government employment.

Medical services accounted for 220 of the graduates and the next largest group was found in metal working and engineering, where 159 graduates were enumerated. In this last-named group, there was also to be found the second highest number with technical school or college education.

TABLE 40
Industry and Level of Education
Standard attained. Both Sexes. 1965

Industry	None		Primary		Secondary		Higher Education	
	Bah-raini	Non-Bah-raini	Bah-raini	Non-Bah-raini	Bah-raini	Non-Bah-raini	Bah-raini	Non-Bah-raini
Agriculture & Fishing	3,501	1,084	55	6	6	1	—	1
Manufacturing	187	107	32	52	5	14	4	4
Construction	3,074	4,556	318	179	58	94	2	47
Oil Industry	3,310	408	1,254	146	555	847	45	375
Quarrying	119	50	4	3	1	—	—	—
Wholesale Trade	288	457	221	110	106	174	23	93
Banking	47	35	84	19	66	65	5	33
Retail Trade	3,049	1,478	648	270	178	236	14	47
Transport & Communications	2,328	1,774	491	187	101	368	8	237
Government Service	4,005	2,213	1,387	255	1,440	539	90	465
Other Services	2,320	3,795	600	561	176	428	30	236
Totals	23,228	15,951	5,094	1,788	2,692	2,766	217	1,538

Note: Technical schools and colleges are included under secondary education.

TABLE 41

Educational Standard Attained. 1965

Bahraini and Non-Bahraini. Both Sexes Percentages by Industry

Industry	Percentage of total in the industry				
	None	Primary	Sec- ondary	Tech- nical	Uni- versity
Agriculture & Fishing	99	1	..	..	..
Manufacturing	73	21	4	1	1
Construction	92	6	2	..	..
Oil Industry	54	20	13	7	6
Quarrying	96	4	—	..	—
Wholesale Trade	50	23	17	2	8
Banking	23	29	32	5	11
Retail Trade	76	16	6	1	1
Transport & Communications	75	13	7	1	4
Government Service	60	16	17	2	5
Other Services	78	12	6	1	3
Totals	74	13	8	2	3

Note: .. Signifies less than one per cent.

— Signifies zero.

TABLE 42

Educational Standards Attained by Economically Active Women. 1965. Classified by

Occupation. Bahraini and Non-Bahraini.

Occupation	None	Primary	Sec- ondary	Tech- nical	Uni- versity
Administrative & Clerical	9	120	445	31	142
Storekeepers	1	1	—	—	—
Sales	29	2	3	1	2
Motor Transport Drivers	2	—	—	—	—
Electrician	1	—	—	—	—
Refinery Workers	—	—	1	—	—
Woodworkers	1	1	2	—	—
Other Building Trades	6	1	1	1	—
Marine Trades	2	—	2	—	—
Labouring	233	7	9	—	2
Tailoresses	33	6	—	—	—
Laundry Workers	8	—	—	—	—
Medical Services	33	12	91	15	139
Domestic Service	449	53	17	—	3
Fishing	1	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	2	—	—	—	—
Merchants	2	—	2	—	—
Others	84	3	2	7	5
Totals	896	206	573	55	293

TABLE 43
Occupation and Level of Education
Standard Attained, Both Sexes, 1965

Occupation	None		Primary		Secondary		Higher Education	
	Bah- raini	Non- Bah- raini	Bah- raini	Non- Bah- raini	Bah- raini	Non- Bah- raini	Bah- raini	Non- Bah- raini
	Administrative and Clerical Storekeepers Sales Motor Transport Drivers Metal Workers and Mechanics Electricians Oilfield Workers Refinery Workers Woodworkers Other Building Trades Marine Trades General Labouring Tailors, Bakers and Laundrymen Caterers Medical Services Domestic Service Fishermen Agricultural Workers Merchants Others	305 22 2,266 2,034 684 173 43 71 956 2,063 1,109 7,676 389 16 70 584 739 2,287 417 1,324	65 5 579 447 299 118 8 4 116 3,248 495 7,259 756 59 29 1,049 63 848 71 433	1,729 22 417 432 260 92 21 89 99 149 59 1,094 44 17 57 57 14 30 274 138	206 5 122 49 106 32 2 6 41 94 11 538 163 36 10 172 — 7 71 117	1971 9 75 26 98 36 3 26 10 37 7 170 6 2 26 5 1 4 155 25	1,268 26 99 18 410 115 19 157 26 26 41 83 42 22 171 50 — 3 72 111	146 — 2 1 6 — — 1 1 4 1 7 — 1 9 — — — — 32 6
Total	23,228	15,951	5,094	1,788	2,692	2,766	217	1,538

