Exporting Oil, Importing Education: The Politics of Education in the Arabian Peninsula

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by

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Abstract

My thesis will be analyzing the politics of education in the Gulf in order to understand why education performance remains low. The problem extends beyond Islamic culture and rentierism. These are merely factors. The problem of education stems from the government itself in mismanaged bureaucracy and the ruling family that dominates politics. My thesis will be looking closely at Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Qatar. My approach is looking at how the Ministry of Education or other departments responsible for implementing and enforcing education policy and how they function within the state and impact education performance for students. My thesis will cover a number of themes, such as; rentierism, culture (political, traditional, etc.), and other factors that impede education and development. My conclusion is that bureaucratic mismanagement with emphasis on rentier and cultural factors are the cause of generating the mismatch of skills making students ill prepared for the globalized world. The problems of education has differed since the 1960s to the present due to how oil shape politics and development. In addition, rentierism has changed and developed and forcing the Gulf to address more societal needs than previously before. The government is the main cause and will be discussed is how this mismanagement and centralized control over education does not prepare students for the workforce in a technologically advanced world.

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Figures

Introduction

Education is the foundation for modernization to occur in both developing and developed countries. It provides people with the tools and skills to perform in technical and vocational competition against a globalized world. Developing countries struggle in increasing the quality and quantity of education because they lack the additional funds needed to produce qualitative educational institutes available to the public. Without these funds, countries will fall behind. Education takes time to expand and develop institutions that are ideal for people to gain skills needed in the global economy.

The Arab Gulf countries are an "exception" to this economic dilemma that developing countries face. They possess vast extractive industries that have been used to build its educational institutes since the 1950s. The Gulf is susceptible to a different dilemma, the effects of rentierism. In the 1970s, the Gulf countries obtained more wealth creating an excess of resources. Essentially, this increased state wealth and eliminated the states need to collect taxes. In response to using this new wealth, each country distributed it to its citizens and creating the roots for a welfare state. The use of theses resources went toward building up some infrastructure and social programs including free education and health services along with a large public bureaucracy as a means

to distribute the wealth. This dependence on oil revenue has managed to reinforce this welfare system over time and embedded itself into the traditional Islamic authoritarian state.

Education in these Gulf countries have not produced the necessary inputs needed for modernization as other countries have struggled to accomplish. Instead, it has caused a number of social, political, and economic problems. Bahgat summarizes it as "mismatch between traditional and modern institutions, a reliance on expatriate labor and a widening gender gap."[1] The dilemma of education is not based on financial means but of socio-political matters. Education is a key issue in the Gulf and reform is essential since the young population will require the skills for jobs in a modern economy that can no longer be based on extractive resources. This is most prevalent in the Gulf as rising unemployment in youth populations continue to increase. My thesis will focus on how education policy is implemented, enforced and regulated within the national system. The "Education Revolution" has grown for a number of reasons by state related and other reasons.

My thesis focuses on the "politics of education," analyzing the political relationships between the Emir and the bureaucracy.

[1] *Gawdat Bahgat, "Education in the Gulf Monarchies: Retrospect and Prospect."* International Review of Educationally, Vol 45, No. 2 (1999) pp. 127

The groups within the government are the main factors for a stagnating education system. There is a structural problem manifested in the organization and regulation of education carried out by the Ministry of Education. Can improving education assist in diversifying a rentier, traditional, and political state in the long run? More importantly, how is education policy legislated, implemented, and regulated in these states?

One of the main issues that will be addresses is can the Gulf countries reconcile the requirements of education with their traditional values? Is this relationship plausible or even feasible? That has been a struggle for this region as it is based on traditional political rulers and the need to modernize the respective countries in hops of not falling further behind the international community. The purpose of this thesis is to look at the politics of education within three of the six gulf monarchies: Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia. The problem of education is not an economic dilemma but a political dilemma where culture can play a direct and indirect role to education and preparing its citizens with the tools to interact with the global community. Understanding the political mechanisms, laws, and how culture interacts will explain why this is not an economic dilemma but a political and cultural dilemma in this area. In addition, it will shed light on how education policy is created, legislated, and implemented in authoritarian rentier states.

Government inputs and legislations stems from these regimes and the heart of the issue for progress. From the ruler, many different variables can occur resulting in the policy's success or failure.

The term "politics" is to describe the activities and actions associated with governance of a country. I will argue further that the problem lies within the government itself as they are the movers and shakers in policy reform. However, cultural and rentier influences play an indirect role in how these groups dictate policy. For example, a part of this thesis will analyze how education policy is legislated, implemented, and enforced and how government institutions in Gulf states, whether it is a pseudo-democracy such as Kuwait or an authoritarian regime founded in Qatar and Saudi Arabia, are responsible. The reason for defining Kuwait as a pseudo-democracy is to highlight that Kuwait's government is divided between the authoritarian ruling al-Sabah Family and the democratically elected Parliament. However, like Qatar and Saudi Arabia, the Emir has a major monopoly of political power but differs from the other two in the case of how policy is legislated within the Parliament.

The topic touches on many themes when it comes to addressing education, authoritarianism in the Gulf, and the

relationship between modernization and maintaining traditional customs and beliefs in the Gulf. The goal of this thesis to incorporate many of those themes as a way to address this question focused on education and progress in this area of the world. My goals are as followed.

A. To provide a comprehensive approach to how policy is conducted in these rentier states and how they are regulated.

B. Why does education growth and production not match the rapid economic growth?

C. Detailed analysis about government institutions and how they interact with one another and delegate responsibilities.

D. What motivates or lack of motivation for education reform in these countries? Is it how the government sees itself in the future or is it pressure from society or political unwillingness?

Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia are similar politically, culturally, and economically dependent on its oil industries. As Herb said, "two safe generalizations could be made about the Gulf monarchies: ruling families dominated their politics, and oil dominated their economies."[2] Since the turn of the century, that relationship has changed. Political, social, economic, and cultural similarities assists in our understanding where policy is

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[2] Herb, Michael, "A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the UAE," International Journal of Middle East Studies, 2009.

administered and implemented. Most of them are comprised of small populations, large bureaucracy, and a system of distributing revenue from these resources. This will look educations impact on cultural and traditional societies. This will include changes in labor force and the type of education.

There are many factors in evaluating education in the Gulf: the government and schools. On the government side, the government has multiple functions and heavily involved in creating the education. Their functions range vary from creating to implementing policies. In addition, they have a certain amount of oversight in understanding how policies are interpreted and communicated between the government and the administration. This requires extensive expertise in determining if a system is working properly or if the policy did not go far enough to change a certain area.

The education side has a far more constrained role given the policy. In addition, it has to work within its own order in terms of curriculum, both based on the institution and the minimum requirements by the government, hiring teachers, and acquiring the necessary funds for advancing certain areas of study or technology. These institutions are dependent on funds and how these are distributed can have a major impact on the education that is provided.

There is not a lot of scholarly debate or discussion on bureaucratic management and function in any of the three case studies that I will be using in my thesis. The literature pertaining to education in the Gulf is that there is a consensus that the current education system is not providing the necessary skills for its citizens to prepare for the world. In addition, the teaching methods have remained unchanged and do not provide avenues for a good learning environment. However, there is little to no scholarly work on the role of the bureaucracy and their function toward regulating and overseeing education. This is a big difference that goes beyond the problems of educational inputs and looks directly to the source.

In order to address the politics of education, I am using a wide variety of sources ranging from international reports to domestic visions. Statistical information provides quantitative knowledge. International Tests are administered every couple years and ranking how countries performed. Although this will assist in understanding how countries rank internationally, it does not show the cause to why a country's score ranks lower than another. The root of this cause is unclear but looking at the whole spectrum from legislation to implementation to performance in the classroom is a long process where the cause for error is high. This problem can originate from the type of teaching method, curriculum or style of teaching stemming from traditional modes of education or how

education policy is implemented, enforced, overseen, etc. State

functions and school administration play a large role. This can be

assigned to either the schools and teaching staff or they can be

from poor policy and curriculum mandated by the state. Thus, it

requires to look at both sides of how education is administered.

This study is significant that it identifies certain actions in the Gulf

but it can be applied to other countries in creating and evaluating

stronger policies that will work to improve education practices and

studies.

The Framework:

Following this chapter, my thesis will include 6 additional

chapters. Chapter 2 will be composed of my literature review

focusing on theories of classical and what Gray defines as late—

rentierism. Rentierism differs from other forms of governance due to

its very nature as a political and economic power within society. In

addition, it differs from other styles of governance and state- society

relations. Thus, this style of authoritarian regimes will have an

impact on policy implementation. The second half of my literature

review will be analyzing implementation theory through a group

perspective. Section two will focus on intergovernmental action

and policy implementation. There are various levels of government

action that can be taken. In authoritarian governments differ from

other regime types due to the ruling family's control over many areas of power. However, "agencies" are to interpreted as representing administrations or departments founded within the bureaucracy that accompanies large rentier states. Agencies have certain embedded actions and norms in exercising certain policies. This will be defined in chapter two in establishing the framework for agency action and reaction to the rulers.

Chapter 3 will provide a historical survey on how education has developed during pre and post—state formation in each country. The historical survey is essential to analyzing the changes within education levels, systems, and policy. It will also be helpful in understanding how the rentier state has changed and evolved over time as well. Early developments in education at that time has progressed as a response to growth in extractive industries over time. The development of a welfare state has embedded itself into the Gulf culture and is a significant factor to analyze how it can impact political and social developments concerning education policy. The data will show changes education levels, literacy rates, and by gender from the 1960s to the early 2000s. The 1960s marks the departure of British influence in the region, as well as the discovery and revenue generated from the region's huge supply of oil and other petrol chemicals.

Government vision is important because it is an opportunity to measure present data and compare with future aspirations. State motivation and governance is another factor that qualifies how policy is formulated and ranked. Each state has a different form of governance: Kuwait is a Constitutional Parliamentary monarchy where the ruling family controls the executive branch and elected members of Parliament by the small Kuwaiti population, Saudi Arabia has a ruling monarchy that oversees judicial, legislative, and executive power, and Qatar's Sheikh oversees both executive and legislative control but is more delegated in its bureaucracy. Each system is very bureaucratic and the time for implementing certain policies differ from each case. Thus, in order to analyze education trends and funding, we must analyze motivations, goals, or policies that will allow innovation in education or not.

Chapter 5 will focus on bureaucratic management and state bureaucracy function. Responsibilities and authority are directly and indirectly stated by higher officials. Agencies last longer and difficult to disband as time goes on as they become embedded into the political system. Most agencies have delegated powers and responsibilities defined by the ruler but still have some autonomy in implementing the legislation to the letter of the law. They have certain levers of control and power. Policy is dictated by the rulers but agencies have more control over implementation and directives.

Incorporated into this chapter will look at the results of Qatar's system-wide education reform and how administrative reform has established a stronger foundation education and division of labor. It will also address some of the challenges during policy implementation that will continue to occur as time goes on. On the other side, Kuwait's political deadlock is not only an economic but social program as it stagnates any legislation from occurring and increasing dependence on oil revenue. This chapter is important because it explains the dangers of political deadlock and how it can impact progress.

Chapter six focuses on Kuwait's political dilemma and how the inability for passing legislation hinders bureaucratic function. This chapter will highlight factors that can influence policy caused by internal and external pressures. The goal for this brief chapter is looking at when these changes in education were made and how they have moved since. For example, in many places around the Gulf students left to study abroad because some countries restricted making secondary and higher levels of education available in the country. This will include how changes in funding has enhanced education or not. This will look to see how long people remained and participated rate for education and the duration by years. This will require to looking at the empirical data from schools thru post graduation.

Some of other themes that will be discussed ranges from religion to tribalism and the perspective it personifies. Other themes would include rentierism and how rentierism can impede not only economic diversification but the foundations for building a knowledge based economy founded in education systems. Lastly, this will touch shortly on gender roles in education and how education impact these relationships especially for women's rights and economic independence. Rentierism and culture have a significant role on how policies are implemented. The first question is if rentierism and the political power is capable with modernizing the state as a whole. The first section will deal with the impact on rentierism, Islam, and traditional family rule and how they influence on public policy and state building or state transformation toward a knowledge based economy. In addition, there is not a lot of information on policy making in rentier states or how the Gulf is impacted by globalization processes surrounding them.

Chapter 2: Policy Implementation Theory Under

an Authoritarian, Rentier State

A brief introduction to authoritarian regimes, rentierism, and traditional Islamic customs and beliefs or culture are important in order to understand the theories. Implementation theory and curriculum theory are used to understand two sides of the issue: the policymakers and agencies that conduct policy in order to improve education and the teachers and administrators that are directly or indirectly impacted by policies. Culture influences both sides and dividing both provides insight to how authoritarian, tradition, rentier states in the Gulf in terms of policy. In order to explain the larger question, I will give a brief discussion about authoritarianism, rentierism, and culture and how they relate to each other before proceeding with the theoretical framework that will be used to explain the two faces of education.

In authoritarian governments, power is held exclusively by a few individuals or families and have monopoly of political power. In addition, this type of regime has a tendency to share major control over key economic, social, or cultural areas and inhibit individual freedoms. This can range from freedom of the press, expression, or hold political office. Authoritarian regimes dominate political, social, and sometimes economic power. In the scope of this definition,

rentier authoritarian governments have a monopoly of political and economic power. They are the main drivers of political and economic activity. They have the resources, derived by rents, from oil production bypassing the need for financial support from its citizens. Thus, it does not have a ned to push toward implementing democratic reform.

In the Middle East, authoritarianism follows the main patterns of behavior and action. However, hybrids of authoritarianism form along this spectrum. They are not democratic in any nature but are the last remaining monarchies to exist in the world. At its core, these systems are hierarchical similar to tribal hierarchy and organization that are the main avenues for maintaining power and control. Political, social, and economic allegiances share similarities to tribal allegiances and continue to emphasize control over the state functions and state networks. Despite similarities within the region, the Gulf does share some critical differences from other authoritarian countries. First, they are not traditional rulers that have culture and historical significance. The King of Morocco and the King of Jordan claim legitimacy as an ancestor of the Prophet Muhammad and have used that as a source of legitimacy. However, the Gulf's source of legitimacy is grounded in tribal allegiances and economic sustenance. They use their tribal relationships and conservative nature to maintain

legitimacy as the rulers as well as their economic dominance derived from their extractive industries, making them rentier states. The following section will detail the literature on renterism and how the concept of a renter stye has changed over time in congruence with the state formation and development in the Gulf.

Rentierism

The concept of rentierism has developed over time and has become more profound as scholars have paid closer attention to the Gulf states. Classical rentier state theory (RST) began during the 1970s by Hussein Mahdavy who laid out the fundamentals of rentierism when he was writing about Iran during the 1970s and1980s.[3] In my definition, rentierism is a political economy theory that seeks to explain how state-society relations generate a large proportion of incomes from external rents. Essentially, rent is revenue from a particular resources that provides enough funds where the government does not need to rely on taxes. Beblawi summarizes that a rentier state is "a government that is able to use its legitimate monopoly over territory to extract significant rents from external transactions and thereby become the dominant actor in the

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[3] Hussein Mahdavy, "Patterns and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States: The Case of Iran," *Studies in Economic History of the Middle East, ed. M. A. Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Prees, 1970), 428-467.*

political economy."[4] External rent does not necessarily come from taxation but a resource that can predominate the economy. The most common example is exporting oil and gas resources to foreign markets. Matthew Gray continues, "

> This means that rent situations are dominant, that the government is a central economic actor, and that the state extracts a significant share of its revenue from rents imposed on international transactions. The external origin of these rents means that the state is freed from the need to extract income from taxes on the domestic economy.[5]

The state has no financial need from the population giving it free will to use the revenue as it sees fit.

The state or government is essentially the principle rentier in the economy and "plays the crucial role of the prime mover of the economic activity."[6] The government's state-owned refineries produces thousands of barrels per day creating a supply chain between the government to its buyers. The effect of oil revenue, generated by state-owned oil companies, allows the state to distribute the wealth to the population.This distribution of wealth from oil is distributed to the population in the form of subsidies, tax

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[4] Hazem Beblawi. "Gulf Industrialization in Perspective." In *Industrialization in the Gulf: A Socioeconomic Revolution,* edited by Jean-François Seznec and Mimi Kirk, 185-197. London: Routledge, 2011. As quoted by Matthew Gray in a "Late Theory on Rentierism," p 4.

[5] Mathew Gray. "A Theory of "Late Rentierism" in the Arab States and the Gulf." *Center for International and Regional studies, Georgetown University, 2011,* p. 5.

[6] Hazem Beblawi. "The Rentier State in the Arab World." *Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Fall 1987), p. 386*

returns, salaries, etc. The increase in subsidies results from increasing world dependence on oil. Thus, the increase in oil prices increases the GDP/capita of the countries in the Gulf and the governments can increase subsidies making their citizens very rich.

Rentierism does not only free the burden for citizens but the governments as well. In exchange for economic sustainability, political silence is received allowing the government more freedom to pursue certain programs to their interest. Oil wealth "enables the governments ... to embark on large public expenditure without resorting to taxation."[7] Oil wealth can be used toward a number of programs. For example, in Qatar, major reforms in infrastructure, education, and economic growth was funded by its oil and liquefied gas revenue. Most importantly, the government is freed from creating reforms toward democratization and can pursue policy where they see fit.

The government is the main recipient and beneficiary of the rentier economy. It is able to spend and distribute revenue as they see fit. Hazem Beblawi continues to explain how external rent replaces certain state functions. "The state is freed from the costs of building and maintaining an expensive tax collection system and, as many have noted, has less need to develop ways to legitimize

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[7] Mathew Gray. "A Theory of "Late Rentierism" in the Arab States and the Gulf." *Center for International and Regional studies, Georgetown University, 2011,* p. 5.

tax collection, including consultative mechanisms, like elections and parliaments."[8] The state eventually forms into a welfare system where citizenship is the most important to receive the economic benefits. However, this essentially blurs the distinction between private and public interest. Is it the citizen's private interest to choose wealth in exchange for silence? Is the state's interest to have a a large bloat bureaucracy that might not even qualified for future reform?

Another component that runs with large rentier states is that they are coupled with a large bureaucracy. A large bureaucracy accompanies these governments as a way to distribute wealth to its citizens directly. Individuals might not have the credentials needed but the patronage flows through the system. The clientele system's composition does not have the best people for the state but it maintains the stability of the government.

The Gulf ruled by authoritarian governments headed by a ruling family and are able to consolidate its power by pleasing the public with subsidies in exchange for little political voice. In Kuwait, the situation is entirely different and the high amount of political participation in the government creates tensions between the rulers

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[8] Hazem Beblawi, "Gulf Industrialization in Perspective." In *Industrialization in the Gulf: A Socioeconomic Revolution,* edited by Jean-François Seznec and Mimi Kirk, 185-197. London: Routledge, 2011. As quoted by Matthew Gray in a "Late Theory on Rentierism, " p. 4.

and the Parliament. The government depends on its oil prices to

keep Kuwait stable. This was not the same back in the early years

of Kuwait when it was only a small port.[9]The table provides the

figures for each year in each individual country. The chart below

shows the increases in GDP/capita due to oil production that has

increased significantly from high world oil prices and production.

Figure 2.1: GDP/Capita in the Gulf from 1995-2010

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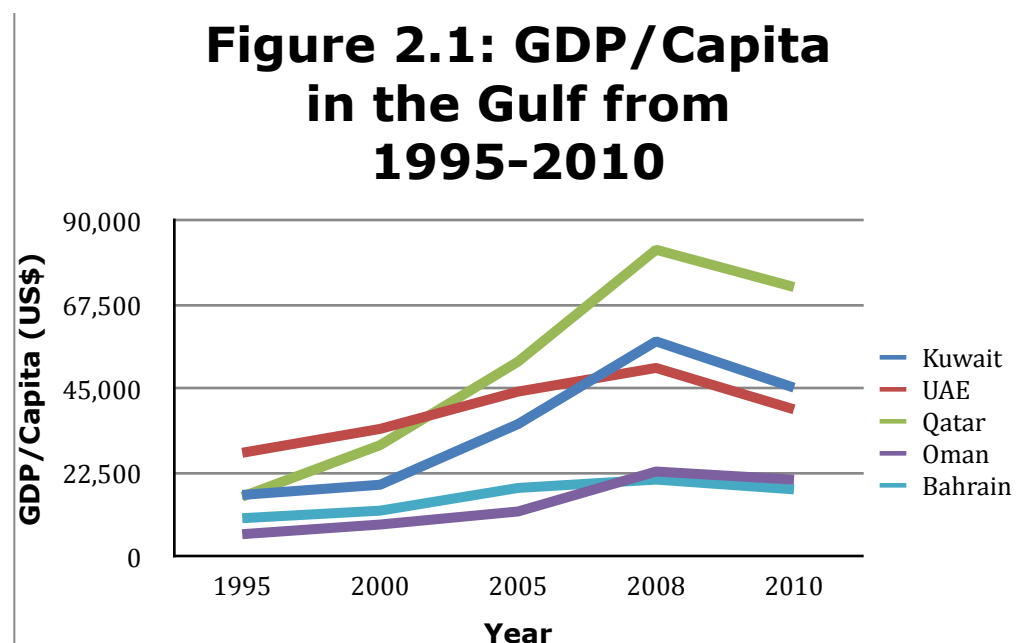
[9] I will go into more detail about how changes in state-society relations in Kuwait occurred with the introduction of oil in the later chapters. What is important to know is that oil can impact state-society relations and breed new problems. In Kuwait, the state is the distributor of wealth.

Figure 2.2	GDP/Capita (US $)				
Country:	1995	2000	2005	2008	2010
Kuwait	16,703	19,434	35,688	57,842	45,437
UAE	27,993	34,395	44,385	50,727	39,625
Qatar	16,231	30,053	52,425	82,389	72,398
Oman	6,184	8,775	12,271	22,968	20,791
Bahrain	10,463	12,489	18,571	20,813	18,184

The increasing oil prices raise the salaries and increases GDP/capita. The amount of subsidies differs from country to country but the small populations in the Gulf such as Kuwait, Qatar, and the UAE benefit more and the shares increase. In the chart, there is a note for 2008 because of the economic crisis that shows increase in GDP in the Gulf because the price of oil increased. However, the ongoing recovery from the crash fluctuated the prices back to normal and GDP/capita decreased. However, in 2008, oil prices rose significantly from $70 to over $90 over the course of the year.[10] Oil prices increased due to the increased world demand while the supply remained the same.

Rentier state theory is not stagnant but is evolving as states have developed over time. Matthew Gray argues that as states have matured, "rentierism has become more sophisticated and new

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[10] refer to chart of oil prices

threats emerge.[11] RST tends to explain the lack of political and economic changes and development strategies. He maintains the basic principles from classical RST from the 1970s but to understand political behavior as the Gulf states have matured. Gray's theory argues "that late rentierism creates a particular type of state that is more globalized, responsive, and strategic in its thinking."[12] Gray's theory is that rentierism has been shaped by population growth, globalization trends, variations in the welfare system, and to some extent how the pre-rent of economic societies over time. Globalization interacting in with these states has grown over time and has shaped certain policy outcomes and exposure to trade and technology.

Advancements in technology, communication, and transportation have brought the world closer together. Globalization influences behaviors in rentier states. This trend is growing slowly as global processes are not distributed evenly around the world. In his introduction to Global Shift, Dicken writes:

> Globalization, therefore, is not an inevitable end-state but, rather, a complex, indeterminate set of processes operating very unevenly in both time and space. As a result of these

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[11] Matthew Gray, "A Theory of Late Rentierism in the Arab States of the Gulf," p. 19.

[12] ibid, p. 24

processes, the nature and the degree of interconnection

between different parts of the world are continuously in

flux.[13]

In the Middle East, exposure over time has allowed for globalization

to take root and expand. Originally, classical RST categorized these

states as isolationists. However, globalization influences state

actors to interact more responsively but, at the same time, they are

more cautious in order to preserve traditional customs and beliefs.

However, the state has to respond to new patterns of behavior from

internal and external pressures.

Late-rentier theory posits new and emerging social problems

as a result of its rentier experience. Over time, population growth in

the Gulf has skyrocketed since the 1970s and these large

populations can't be integrated into the bureaucracy because the

state does not have the capacity to do so. The rentier state has to

face new challenges and develop new plans to meet societies

needs as oppose to focusing on its own self-interest. In this stage,

development plans and revenue expenditure will be used to

address these problems in creating new programs that will put less

pressure on the government. The state can be both responsive and

undemocratic but it must be wary of the risks. One of the main

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[13] Peter Dicken, *Global Shift: Mapping the Changing Contours of the World Economy,* (London: The Guilford Press, 2011), SIXTH EDITION p 8.

changes will come about in how policy is implemented and

regulated. The next section will look at how bureaucracies act and

function and how policy is implemented through bureaucratic

action.

Implementation Theory through an Organizational Perspective

Having introduced the basic political, social, and economic

(rentier) aspect of authoritarian governments, the next section will

focus on the groundwork for implementation theory through an

organizational perspective. The decisions made by individuals in

carrying out a certain action or policy will be referred to as

implementation. This can be described as fulfilling certain statues,

laws, regulations, etc. that forces someone to take certain action or

not. The concept by an authoritarian state where the executive

leader has a monopoly of political power in executive, legislative,

and judicial functions still applies. As mentioned earlier,

authoritarian governments are coupled with a large bureaucracy as

a mechanism for distributing wealth to its citizens. This makes it

difficult to maintain complete oversight. The bureaucracy is

responsible for interpreting, implementing, and regulating the policy.

An organization approach to implementation theory will determine

patterns of behavior in reaction to different policies from different

administrative institutions. At each stage of policy implementation

is different from one another, the groups involved in these areas will

remain separate as well. The government has immense control in delegating legislation and the bureaucracy will interpret and enforce base on their actions. There is not a lot of literature on policy implementation theory

Each component of policy implementation goes through the process of legislation, implementation, and enforcement. These responsibilities are shared by a number of agencies and administrators. The term "agency" can be representative to organizations or certain ministries within the government. "We assume that agencies are populated with individuals who have their own values and seek to attain these within the limits of human abilities to absorb and process information."[14] It can also be assume that these agencies will hire people that have similar beliefs, values, and backgrounds. A percentage of the agency will share the same preferences which will have a certain impact on implementing policy given the situation. "A consistent set of preferences and beliefs about cause and effect relationships exhibited by such a group will be termed the goals and worldview, respectively of, the agency."[15] These nearly homogenous groups dominate the culture within the agency. These norms, in terms of

[14] Simon,1957 From O'Toole p. 465

[15] Robert S. Montjoy and Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr. "Toward a Theory of Policy Implementation: An Organizational Perspective."American Society for Public Administration, Administration Review, Vol. 39, No. 5 (Sep. - Oct., 1979), p. 466.

functions, responsibility, beliefs, etc., are embedded and passed

down to the next generation.

Separating the institutions with respect to their role in policy

implementation will make it easier to identify group's primary

responsibilities and functions and how they interact with each

group. Legislative branches are responsible for creating new laws

and policies. The executive is in charge of passing these laws and

the administrative institutions are responsible for enforcing and

regulating laws depend on a certain outcome. In authoritarian

states, the legislative areas are overseen by the ruler and his

council of individuals. Therefore, these type of regimes are split

between executive and the bureaucracy responsible for

implementing, enforcing, and regulating the laws.

The difference between administrative and legislative

institutions is by their function and autonomy. As Maynard-Moody

explains, "administrative policy making is dominated by the ideas,

norms, routines, and choices of non elected public employees

whereas legislative policy making is dominated by the perspective

of elected officials."[16] Administrative institutions have some

autonomy and are dictated by experience. The fact they are

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[16] Seven Maynard-Moody and Adam W. Herbert. "Beyond Implementation: Developing an Institutional Theory of Administrative Policy Making." *Public Administration Review, Vol. 49 No. 2,p. (137) 137-143.*

unelected government employees makes them more logical and less susceptible to pressure from society.

Administrative Institutions are made up of individuals that share a similar set of values, aspirations, and ability to absorb information. Education and cultural norms play a direct role in formulating their values and decision makings. This directly affects how agencies will act creating certain routines and practices that are reinforced over time. The reliance on traditional values can conflict in producing modern methods and techniques for expansion. The objective is to understand how individuals representing these agencies will interpret, implement, and enact legislation based on the parameters of the law's specificity where if it directly conflicts with its vision or not. In addition, can the agency work with this with an allotment of resources or not. This is a major factor if policies are able to succeed or not.

The dominant coalition founded within these agencies are strong but there are a number of ways to constrain them. First, specific mandates legislated by the executive and legislators will constrain them to the letter of the law. Another factor is a set of existing routines and conditions. This can have a serious effect on agencies when trying to produce new programs and changes to a field. This stems from the goals and worldview of the organization where little changes are made to implement new policy by relying

on old existing practices. The worldview preferences of the agency

are reinforced over time making it more difficult to make some

changes.

What are the actions or expected actions can we see

agencies do in implementing legislation. Two factors to understand

with respect to how the agency will respond to new legislation is

determined by two main factors: the provision of resources and the

specificity of laws. Both factors a This can impact or reinforce

agency pre-existing activities or routines in the field. Figure 1

illustrates what agencies expected activity is given external

mandate have on each scenario.[17] Administrative agency can come

from legislative political will or create action themselves.

Figure 2.3: Characteristics of Mandates Description of Expected

		Vague	Specific
Provision of New Resources:	**Yes**	A	B
	No	C	D

Type A mandates are broad legislative pieces that provides

additional finances. Agency activity is expected to act accordingly.

First, the vagueness of the law grants the agency with greater

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[17] O'Toole, Toward a Theory of Policy Implementation: An organizational Perspective." Public Administration Review, Vol. 39, No. 5 (Sep. - Oct., 1979), pp. 466

autonomy to pursue action within their set of presences and views.

There is no constraint for the agency and the addition of new

resources will further reinforce values and goals by creating new or

increase programs. This discretion is the ultimate source of

behavior to expected activity. Not only will the policy have a higher

success for implementation but a higher success for following the

same beliefs of the agency.

Type B constrains agency action. Specific mandates

constrains the agency from following their own practices given

certain routines. Type B provides new resources and giving an

opportunity for organization change given the new type of policy to

be implemented. Type B mandates can cause a number of changes

within the organization. As O'Toole explains:

> the nature of any change would be tightly governed by a
> specific external directive…. expect existing organizations
> provided with type B mandates to establish new routines for
> the undertaking of prescribed behavior. If the new activities
> are closely integrated with each other and sufficiently
> different from old routines, an organization might establish a
> separate sub-unit for their accomplishment.[18]

The mandate's criteria and change is important in this case in order

to determine this type of behavior because if it differs from the

agencies' goals. In doing so, it may construct new behavior and

integrate. The additional resources would better influence this

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[18] ibid, p. 466

behavior and can be used to build on existing agency behavior.

Type B mandates don't rely on the dominant coalitions founded in

Type A mandates as there may be some delays given costs and

technological development.

Type C mandates are provided with vague policies that are

open to interpretation similar to Type A, but don't have the

additional resources provided and can constrained by its own

routines and practices. In these mandates, one should expect very

little action from the agency. However, one exception may be the

threat of sanctions such as appropriations or decrease in the

agency's funds. The threat of sanctions may influence the agency's

behavior to implement certain policies. In type C mandates, they

require a degree of some specificity in order for the agency to

decide to act upon it or not. As O'Toole explains, "Activities subject

to the penalty must be identifiable if agencies are to choose to

avoid them."[19] In order to reduce major costs is the agency use the

mandate's language to reflect existing operations and expand on

existing operations. Otherwise, without additional resources, the

type of legislation may not be possible to implement because the

cost might outweigh the agencies funds or constrain certain funds.

Type D are unfavorable scenario because it constrains both

existing routines and a specific policy statement would inflict higher

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[19] ibid p. 467

costs. In this scenario, agencies have the least discretion in controlling the mandate toward its own worldview. If an organization is using its resources to its full capacity by implementing existing programs and routines, the new mandate would compete with existing routines. Old routines and patterns of behavior compete with new patterns of activity delegated by the government officials and policymakers. This can result in changing the agencies' existing preferences and customs toward the legislator. In this scenario, the legislator would have the greatest control over how agencies act and interact with government authority.

Each scenario describes how governments and intergovernmental agencies will react and predicted expected activity to follow. In Type A and Type B mandates have the least discretion but differ expected activity given the external constraints. Type A mandates have the least external control allowing greater control in interpreting the mandate toward its own values and can use the additional resources to fund new programs that reflect their world values. Type A mandates are ideal for the agency as they continue existing behavior and routines and can expand upon them. Type B's lack of controls requires a little more discretion and follow the specific new mandate but new resources able to control those mandates matching it to their existing routines and values. Type C and type D mandates have higher levels of discretion where

existing behavior is constrained by external mandates. In type C

mandates, the agency is not completely threatened by external

mandates and can align the policy toward its own beliefs causing

little to no change. Type D mandates differ as agencies have the

least amount of discretion and specific conditions compete with

existing routines and practices. Competition between these

practices opens the agency to undergo change as new specific

measures are meant to take place or risk penalties for not

performing. In this scenario, policy makers have greater control.

This theoretical framework will be useful to understanding how

agencies and policy makers interact with one another, as well as

understand how policies have failed or not. In addition, it gives

insight to how agencies act toward authoritarian controls of

government as this is useful to understanding the multiple

dynamics taking place in a democracy.

There are ways for policy implementation to go astray. One

of the biggest problems or solutions is the leader's commitment and

leadership skill of implementation. Sabatier believes that this

variable "most directly affecting the policy outputs of implementing

agencies."[20] He continues there are two factors: the direction of the

program and to be able to achieve this preference. This is similar to

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[20] Sabatier, Paul and Mazmanian, Daniel, "The Implementation of Public Policy: A Framework for Analysis." p. 553.

Type 3 Mandates as they produce an action closely conforming to

the agency but may have not the resources that can be

implemented completely.

O'Toole's framework, as I have explained throughout this

section, is important to apply toward the case studies in Qatar,

Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia as a way to understand policy making

and factors that are involved. As opposed to the difficulties in linking

this theory to the subject of implementation theory, these specific

indicators will be useful to further understand rentier, traditional,

and authoritarian governments.

Under authoritarian, rentier governments, the modes of

power are dominated by individuals or families. It is so centralized

making it much clearer to see how the two groups interact among

one another. Policy implementation would follow this type of

reasoning directed by the ruling family. This type of policy making

shapes norms and beliefs as a way for the ruler to maintain power

and exert his dominance over the political system. Despite this

control, the bureaucracy has freedom to pursue this plan as they

control only a small area of focus. Policies might have some

specific guidelines that need to be enforced but the bureaucracy is

left with a lot of responsibility to implement other rules. It should not

be underestimated that implementation might require some

policymaking and rules in order to fulfill the mandate's provisions as

how curriculum theory is interpreted by schools, administrators, and

teachers.

Chapter 3: Education in the Gulf: A

Historical Perspective

Education has played a role in teaching and maintaining cultural norms and beliefs. In early islamic societies, education was a privilege and taught available to the elite members of society in the mosque. As each state was forming into larger states and generating higher revenue from oil production, education became an integrate part of the welfare system.

Education and development from the 1950s to the early 1990s have gone through a dramatic change. Oil revenue was a major factor in education development to its citizens as part of a larger developing welfare system. The first section of this chapter will analyze early traditional methods of teaching. The second half of this chapter will focus on how education exchanged hands with the local governments and became more nationalized and how it continued to develop from 1950-2000. Each stage of development differed by state's goals and objectives.

Formal and Informal Education in the Gulf

Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia have common pathways to developing education throughout the twentieth century. This early development translates into changes on how education policy is

managed, implemented, and regulations follow the similar roles. "Drawing on their heritage in the kuttabs and madrasas, Arab education is generally organized around the central concept that knowledge is revealed, not created."[21]

The Gulf countries, unlike other developing countries, have plenty of resources to fund projects that are meant to build civili society. Large resources have expanded the promotion of these projects. The development of education is directly related to the expansion of oil resources and oil revenue is used to be able to fund these projects. The following chapter will continue to address the individual development of early education in each country. Each follow common patterns toward integrating education while each country independently authorizes political power to determine resources.

The other type of learning is outside of the family. Informal education starts in the family. Parents teach are their children's first teachers and instruct them in language, religion, and the norms. This is the most significant because parents reinforce social and cultural values and morals into their children and these norms will be passed on to the next generation. In addition, tribal dynamics are important and provide evidence of

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[21] Kenneth M. Pollack. *A Path out of the Desert : A Grand Strategy for America in the Middle East.* 1st ed. New York, NY: Random House, 2008, p. 93

authoritarianPollack introduces the impact of authoritarian teaching in Arab families:

> Most Middle East sociologists note that the cornerstone of educating a child in Arab families is teaching him or her complete obedience to authority." Studies indicate that the most widespread style of child rearing in Arab families is the authoritarian mode accompanied by the overprotective.[22]

Changing the social norms is a very slow process that outlasts generations. The problem with this style of teaching is that this type of education is reinforced within society causing the child to be free from developing analogical reasoning and creativity.

The other cornerstone of early education is brought through the mosque. "Arab Education is generally organized around the central concept that knowledge is revealed, not created."[23] Drawing on Islamic heritage, the kuttbahs or madrases are places for learning the Koran. The goal of these centers for teaching and educating students the Koran. Students are spent hours memorizing Koranic verses and must reveal it immediately.

These schools taught the Koran through memorization. Pedagogic teaching relays education. Students were required to memorize the passages and be able recite them at a moment's

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[22] Pollack, Kenneth M. A Path out of the Desert : A Grand Strategy for America in the Middle East. 1st ed. New York, NY: Random House, 2008, p. 90

[23] ibid, p. 93.

notice. There are multiple problems with this teaching method.

style of teaching is continued in all levels of education today.

Pollach describes this method as "obsolete, more than any other

problem, that accounts for the vast disparities in the quality and

impact of education between the Arab world and other regions."[24]

It is true given what rote memorization emphasizes as a teaching

method. Rote memorization does not allow for any creative

thinking or reasoning. For example, it does not provide the tools to

solve problems or equations differently. This is only a factor of the

problems with education and knowledge that maintained

throughout the 20th century.

Education and Constitution

The Constitution is a major body of work that dictates state

functions and responsibility. An interesting facet is that education is

stated as a state service and responsibility that is given to its

citizens in the constitution. Each country's constitution states the

importance of education in order to improve society. How

education is written and its purpose is the initial stance to what role

it will play. The vision and objectives differ between Qatar, Kuwait,

and Saudi Arabia.

Education is a guaranteed right in Qatari society. Since the

1950's the state has been responsible in making education more

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[24] ibid, p. 94.

accessible. Article 49 states, "Education is a right to every citizen. The State endeavors to achieve compulsory and free public education, according to the rules and laws in force in the State."[25] The Qatari state is responsible for giving access to all of its citizens and to make sure it is well managed and funded. This task requires additional management and bureaucratic levels to maintain, expand, and create new educational methods in all fields.

Qatar recognizes in order to modernize and progress it must make efforts to improve education. According to Article 25 of the Qatari Constitution, "Education is one of the basic pillars for progress of society. The State sponsors and takes care of it, and endeavors to spread it and make it public."[26] The government recognizes the need for it and is responsible for it in order to improve society as a whole State sponsor education means the state controls every aspect in terms of curriculum for all levels, funding and building new programs, and evaluating its resources.Education's purpose differs from each country. Qatar's Constitution recognizes the long-term needs for education for social progress. On the other hand, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia focus

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[25] Translated by Dr. Foad Fahmy Shafik. "Qatar Constitution." Oxford University Press at constitute.org. p. 8

[26] ibid. p. 5

on using education to preserve national identity, Arab and Islamic

traditions and beliefs, and to eliminate illiteracy. Qatar's

Constitution vagueness is used to its advantage as it provides

opportunities and to expand education that can focus on

westernization and still build programs that are meant to preserve

traditional customs and beliefs.

Kuwait's view of education draws on the same criteria similar

to Qatar. Article 13 of Kuwait's Constitution recognizes education

as advancement. Article 13 says "Education is a cornerstone in

social advancement. The state shall guarantee and tend it."[27] This

article reinforces that traditional culture and norms are maintained

along with social cohesion as a way to maintain norms. It does not

mention anything about expanding political or economic progress.

Article 14 declares it a state responsibility. "The State shall

supervise education,literature, and the arts, and shall encourage

scientific research."[28] It makes the state responsible the primary

benefactor and the citizen's its recipients.This declaration is vague

because it unclear and leaves Kuwait's government in further

determining education policy and standards.

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[27] "Kuwait Constitution's Constitution of 1962, Reinstated in 1992." Oxford University Press at constitute.org, p. 5

[28] ibid, 5.

Article 40 states education compulsory and free to Kuwaiti

citizens and sets up plans to eradicate illiteracy. "In conformity with

the Law and with in the limits of public order and morals, education

for Kuwaitis is a right guaranteed by the State. Law, education is

compulsory and gratis in its first stages. The Law shall lay down

the necessary plans to eradicate illiteracy. The State shall take

special care of the physical, moral and intellectual development of

youth."[29] Making education mandatory assists in eliminating

illiteracy in the population.

Saudi Arabia visualizes education to maintain stronger ties to

state, religion, and culture. In its Constitution Article 13 says,

"Education aims at the inculcation of the Islamic creed in the

young generation and the development of their knowledge and

skills so that they may become useful members of society who

love their homeland and take pride in its history."[30] Like Qatar and

Kuwait, education is compulsory and free but has a limited vision

in assessing its goals for the future. Article 30 declares that, "the

State shall provide public education and shall commit itself to the

eradication of illiteracy."[31] This reflects its earlier articles reflecting

[29] ibid, p. 8

[30] *Saudi Arabia's Constitution of 1992 with Amendments through 2005.*
Comparative Constitutions Project distributed on constituteproject.org, p.
4.

[31] ibid, 6

social cohesion, obedience and allegiance to the state, and preserving its Arab and Islamic traditions and customs.

The earliest legal applications for initiating education is founded within each countries' constitution. Over time, this has allowed reform in improving certain aspects education to either grow or stagnate depending on the government's actions and willingness to improve certain sectors. One of the common trends is that education is state-controlled, compulsory and free for its citizens, and requires bureaucratic management. Each country relies on any revenue generated from state-owned extractive industries to provide universal education to its citizens toward a certain purpose.

Education Development in Saudi Arabia

Education in Saudi Arabia had modest beginnings like the Gulf. Like Kuwait and Qatar, education developed as a result of the discovery of oil. Since 1935, oil was discovered and started yielding large revenue allowing for expanding social services.

The Ministry of Education was established in 1953 along with the first boy's schools. The Ministry of Education is responsible for general education (elementary, intermediate, and secondary), special education, and adult education and literacy. Later, the Ministry of Higher Education was established in 1975

and responsible for executing policy responsible toward higher

education in Saudi Arabia.

The Ministry of Education is a hierarchical formation with a

lot of oversight. For example, school inspectors had to report to

the General inspector who then reported to the Ministry of

Education. "A t the beginning of 1961, technical inspection was

instituted to supervise the progress of education; there are

inspectors for the Arabic and English languages, for the social

sciences and for mathematics, and others who visit school

laboratories."[32] The chain of command went from The Ministry of

Education went through some changes in terms of organization

and function during the 1960s. "The Ministry has been reorganized

and now has four divisions: General Directorate of Administration

(new division), General Directorate of Public Education, General

Directorate of Culture, General Directorate of Technical

Education."[33] These organizations remain the main organizations

in control of policy.

The Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia differs from the

Ministries of Education in Qatar and Kuwait. Due to its size, the

Ministry of Education delegated all operational and administrative

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[32] UNESCO. "International Yearbook of Education VOl. XXV, 1963."
International Bureau of Education, Geneva Publication No. 262, p. 283

[33] To learn more about the administration and responsibilities please refer
to the International Year Book 1967-1968, Saudi Arabia, p. 416

abilities to regional and provincial bodies. In doing so, "the

Ministry's headquarters concentrates on the strategic issues, as

well as planning and supervising of developmental and

promotional activities. Regulations concerning administrative areas

have been modified through resolution."[34] In other words, the
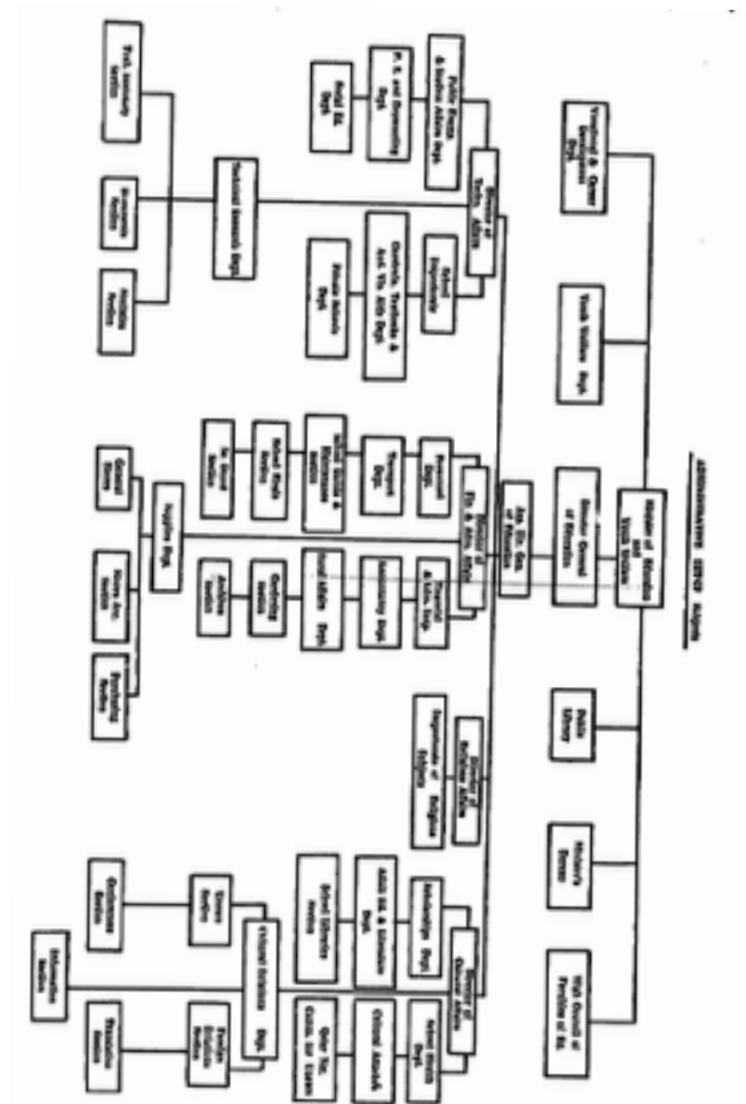
Ministry of Education controls the planning process for education

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[34] UNESCO. "World Data on Education, Saudi Arabia." 7th edition, 2010/2011.

policy. From utilizing this strategy, "the number of regional and provincial educational bodies has reached a total of 42 in 2006, including 13 General Education Departments and 29 Provincial Education Administrations."[35]

Educational Development in Qatar

The 1950s signifies the development in education in the Gulf. Qatar's development had modest beginnings from the 1950s through the 1970s in order to build the foundation for education to grow and include society. Starting in 1951, the first primary school for boys was opened while a Ministry of Education was established in 1956. The number of schools grew faster for boys that expanded. There are three periods where education achieved great development in Qatar where political, economic, and social factors included greater significance.

The overarching theme is maintaining the traditional values while embracing education. Each period represents different social, political, and economic influences at work within Qatari society. The first period (1950-1970) was largely independent from government control and relied on foreign assistance from other countries in terms of teachers, curriculum, and school books. The second period (1970-1995) where Khalifa al-Thani took over

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[35] ibid.

executive power over Qatar nationalizing education. The laws allowed greater control as the population became more educated and schools were built in response to increasing population growth. Lastly, in 1995, Hamid bin Khalifa al-Thani's bloodless coup took an alternative approach toward importing education for higher institutions.

Qatar's Education System from 1950- 1970

The Ministry of Education was responsible for all educational tasks since it was established in 1954. As oil revenue increased, Qatar had finances that allowed for constructing new schools and centers for literacy for adults and other programs. The Ministry of Education and Welfare had a monopoly of power from hiring teachers, mandating a national curriculum, providing the necessary components for schools to function. "Qatar's Ministry of Education was responsible for all education tasks. Expenditure on education represents about 11% of the general state expenditure."[36] At this time, higher education institutions did not exist so the Ministry sent students abroad. "The budget of the Ministry of Education for the year 1964 amounted to 26,059,082 rupees (but this sum does not take newly established institutions into account). There was an increase of 3,354,022 rupees

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[36] UNESCO. "International Yearbook of Education VOl. XXX, 1968" International Bureau of Education Geneva Publication No. 322, p. 404.

(+14.8%) as compared with the previous year."[37] The oil boom left Qatar financially stable while, at the same time, Qatar could direct funds toward building the foundation for education.

Before the 1970s, Qatar's education was not heavily centralized as it is today. It had to rely on regional neighbors to provide guidance in administration, curriculum, etc. Throughout the 960s, "Qatar followed an Egyptian model of education for the first decade or so. By the 1970s, male and female curricula were unified, and the public system was more centralized, although private schools began appearing at this time."[38] In addition, schools expanded to include primary to secondary schools, and universities. The grab below shows how education has expanded as the number of students, both boys and girls, number of teachers, and the number of schools has increased.[39]

3.1 Development of Education in Qatar 1995-1976

Academic Year	Number of Students			No. of Teachers			No. of Schools		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1956/57	1,388	-	1,388	80	-	80	17	-	17

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[37] UNESCO. "International Yearbook of Education VOl. XXV, 1963." International Bureau of Education Geneva Publication No. 262, p. 274

[38] Matthew Gray. *Qatar : Politics and the Challenges of Development.* 2013, p. 134.

[39] Ministry of Education, Doha, Annual Report, 1975/76 p. 47 taken by Rosemarie p. 127.

Academic Year	Number of Students			No. of Teachers			No. of Schools		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1957/58	1,879	451	2,330	105	14	119	22	2	24
1958/59	2,408	579	2,987	163	26	189	25	5	30
1959/60	3,244	1,423	4,667	286	91	377	27	11	38
1960/61	4,023	1,942	5,965	359	135	494	40	20	60
1961/62	4,607	2,450	7,057	376	144	520	46	21	67
1962/63	5,353	2,715	8,068	410	175	585	51	24	75
1963/64	6,145	3,381	9,526	419	195	614	50	27	77
1964/1965	6,981	3,872	10,853	455	214	669	50	28	78
1965/66	7,906	4,811	12,717	499	237	736	49	31	80
1966/67	8,301	5,405	13,706	507	278	785	48	32	80
1967/68	8,685	5,651	14,336	525	305	830	48	34	82
1968/69	9,371	6,281	15,652	547	350	897	47	37	84
1969/70	10,122	7,101	17,223	575	381	956	48	39	87
1970/71	10,704	7,827	18,531	626	447	1,073	47	38	85
1971/72	11,833	9,096	20,979	655	510	1,165	48	41	89
1972/73	12,957	10,435	23,392	740	634	1,374	49	44	93
1973/74	13,821	11,654	25,475	813	702	1,515	51	44	95
1974/75	14,855	12,924	27,809	874	814	1,688	52	45	97
1975/76	15,855	14,807	29,942	976	950	1,926	59	59	118

Early education depended on expats throughout the region,

especially from Egypt and Jordan. Teachers, books, and

curriculum developed from expat teachers. Most teachers were

allowed more freedom in educating students and use the

curriculum as source material. Qatar depended on expats

teachers. Most of the teachers originated from Egypt and Jordan.[40]

The third graph represents the breakdown of teachers by country

that assisted in educating Qatari students with an education

toward technical practices. Figure3.2 below represents teacher

qualifications and figure 3.3 breakdown the amount of expat

teachers and where they originated from.[41]

3.2 Qualification of Teacher's in Qatar's Education System during the 1960s							
	Less than Secondary	Percentage	Secondary	Percentage	University	Percentage	Total
Primary	41	3.5	788	67	348	29.6	1,177
Intermediate and secondary schools	9	1.2	118	15.48	622	83	749
Total	50	2.6	906	47	970	50.4	1,926

The level of schooling "Of the intermediate and secondary school

teachers, 83 per cent have a university degree and almost 30

percent of those in primary school have attained the same level;

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[40] Zahlan, Rosemarie Said. *The Creation of Qatar (London, Croom Helm Ltd, 1979).*,p. 129.

[41] Compiled from Ministry of Education, Doha, *Annual Report, 1975/76 p. 121 referenced by* Zahlan, Rosemarie Said. *The Creation of Qatar (London, Croom Helm Ltd, 1979),* p. 128.

thus, an overall average of half of the entire school teachers have

university degrees.[42]

Figure 3.3 Nationality of Teachers at the Primary and Secondary Levels

		Qatar	Egypt	Jordan	Palest-ine	Syria	Sudan	Leba-non	Saudi Arabia	Yemen	Other	Total
Prim-ary	Number	444	139	260	259	24	16	6	1	20	8	1,177
	Percentage	37.7	11.8	22.2	22	2	1.3	0.5	0.1	1.7	0.7	
Seco-ndary	Number	26	333	166	127	16	58	2	-	3	18	749
	Percentage	3.5	44.5	22.2	17	2.1	7.7	0.3	-	0.4	2.4	
Total	Number	470	472	426	386	40	74	8	1	23	26	1,926
	Percentage	24.4	24.5	22.1	20	2.1	3.8	0.4	-	1.2	1.3	

Teachers in Qatar only represented heavily in primary school

teaching. Most were unqualified to teach at the higher levels

because technical schools were unavailable.

Education in the 1970s: Nationalizing Education

Government increased controlled over policies. For instance,

Law No. 5 provided the Ministry of Education delegated toward

preserving traditional cultures and modernizing policies. "To

sponsor and preserve the national cultural heritage and assist in

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[42] ibid, *p.130.*

spreading it, and to promote and guarantee education as a means to expand culture and as the pillar of progress."[43] The purpose required two objectives: the full participation of women in society and "quantification of the educational system stands well to the test, the building of the future society of Qatar cannot be measured in the same way."[44] First, the introduction of girls in schooling, provided girls with the opportunity to obtain an education and to create more women to become active in society. The latter requirement is difficult to achieve because it emphasizes in protecting traditional customs and beliefs while preparing it for the future in modernization.

The bureaucracy is another interesting feature to early education and development. In the 1970s, the hierarchy has been done by the Minister of Education and Youth Welfare. This position oversaw various departments related to education development and maintaining cultural affairs. The purpose of education is to instill cultural values and national identity into the Qatari youth. The chart below is to show the patriarchal formation

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[43] ibid, p. 132

[44] ibid p. 132.

of education and cultural affairs.[45] Qatar has implemented most of its provisions spelled out in Law No. 5 of 1970 to establish the functions of the Ministry of Education. But the spirit of these provisions- To sponsor and preserve the national cultural heritage and assisting spreading it and to promote and guarantee education as a means to expand culture and as the pillar of progress- cannot be ascertained or measured easily.[46]

At that time, the characteristics of Qatari society lie in the contradictions between the maintenance of tradition and the reality of the modern era. Qatar recognizes the need to modernize and involve every person in society. The previous 50 years, Qatar maintained links with both these forces, the past and the present. As Zahlan concluded, "They recognize the need to push forward to preserve its culture, future, and livelihood. However, traditional rote learning and teaching based on memorization is not the style needed to push this vision forward.[47]

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[45] Ministry of Education and Youth Welfare. Development of Education in Qatar in 1973/74 and 1974/1975. Doha, 1975, 31, 24. 35th Session of the International Conference on Education (Geneva, 27 August- 4 September 1975) UNESCO: IBE 1976, p. 13.

[46] Rosemarie Said Zahlan, *The Creation of Qatar (London, Croom Helm Ltd, 1979),* p. 132.

[47] ibid*, p.132.*

Education and Development in Kuwait

Kuwait's approach to developing its education differs from Saudi Arabia and Qatar's earlier development. As the state achieved independence in 1961, education demand increase and management was more authoritarian as delegated in the Constitution. The framework of the Constitution and establishing this pseudo-democracy where executive power is vested in the Sabah family and the legislative power is directed by the Parliament. Ministerial decrees, laws, and government directed action from different agencies have contributed to establishing the rules and norms for education. Laws toward expanding education was, in part, a reaction to economic, social, and political changes that will be addressed. Changes in these structures ahem an impact on what the law provides for these laws.

The Constitution is one of the most important articles in Kuwait as it is the foundation for rules, checks and balances, etc. It is also responsible for delegating goods to citizens, such as education, health care and other social services. Article 13 of the Constitution says, "the State shall care for the young and shall protect them from abuse as well as from moral, physical and spiritual neglect."[48] This early responsibility establishes direct state

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[48] UNESCO."World Data on Education, Kuwait." International Bureau of Education, VII Ed. 2010/2011, p. 3.

control over all aspects of management, administration, and curriculum.

Education is an entitlement provided by the government to its citizens much to its function as a rent seeking culture. Early legislation to new laws in education have provided two things: education is free to all children and the Kuwaiti government has control over every aspect. "According to Law No. 1 of 1965, education is compulsory and free of charge for all Kuwaiti children, from the first grade of primary education (age 6) to the end of the intermediate or preparatory level."[49] This law makes it incumbent on the State to provide school premises, books, teachers and all that is necessary in terms of human and material means to guarantee the success of compulsory education.

In Kuwait, Ministry of Education shares many of the responsibilities while it was developing more specialization. Expenditures in Kuwait increased every year. "The budget for the Ministry of Education's budget for 1963-1964 amounts to 12,027,513 Kuwait dinars (1 dinar = £1 Sterling or $2.80), which represents an increase of 351,101 dinars as compared with the previous year (+ 3%).[50] The increase in budget totaled

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[49] UNESCO. "International Yearbook of Education VOl. XXV, 1963." International Bureau of Education Geneva Publication No. 262, p. 192.

[50] ibid, *p.* 192.

$983,082.80 in 1963 dollars with inflation. In 1964, Kuwait's total budget cost $4,295,540.35 in US 1963 dollars. Today, their spending budget is the equivalent to $32,642,214.26 with inflation. Compared to the previous year, Kuwait increased funding by $7,593,409.16 in 2015 with inflation. It had a significant portion of government spending. "Credits allocated to education represent 11.17 % of the general State expenditure and 6.13 % of the net national revenue."[51]

Education centers were constructed quickly throughout the region first targeting men and followed by women' education. "The number of basic education centres for men has decreased from 22 to 18, with 9,550 students. The reason for the decrease is that some of these centres were very poorly staffed and that it was economically desirable to regroup them."[52] Despite decreases in adult education for men, women centers of education increased from 2 to 7, giving access to 1,330 students. Education for both genders was important.

Conclusion

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[51] ibid, p.192.

[52] 1 UNESCO. "International Yearbook of Education VOl. XXV, 1963." International Bureau of Education Geneva Publication No. 262, p. 192-193.

Early formal and informal areas of education was limited by the elites but that began to change as the states become the primary distributor for access to education.

There are many similarities in how education developed during a time of state receiving independence. Education primarily began and developed due to the discovery of oil and state sovereignty. Each state developed their own personal welfare state as a result primarily making the state the benefactor and distribute oil as needed. Government vision and objectives were very similar across the board as well. Vision and policy dictated toward making education more accessible to the rest of the population. The majority of revenue was spent on constructing schools. The difference between Saudi Arabia and its neighbors was the amount of coverage over distance. However, coupled with a larger and organized Education Ministry, made the task more efficient to reaching isolated villages and towns throughout the region. Early goals looked toward eradicating illiteracy within the population by making education compulsory for all kids. At the same time, each country built centers for adults to learn how to read and write. The curriculum focused on developing and instilling national identity and culture values as a way to maintain social cohesion.

The bureaucracies supporting these policies were very weak in administrative organization and personnel. The Ministry of

Education is a hierarchical system that was responsible for developing and mandating a national curriculum, some standards toward student progress, and construction projects. Each state relied on assistance from around the region, primarily the Levant, in developing curriculum, teachers, and books. Purpose of early education established in each country. similar and differences

The remaining chapters will focus on the modern education system. As the welfare state has matured and grown, the governments in each state has had to respond to basic societal needs and development plans. The developed welfare system is a new factor to education reform and that was not anticipate back while each country was building its economic foundation.

Chapter 4 Government Vision and Personalistic Monarchs

The previous chapter provided a historical perspective on how education developed and grown. Education correlates strongly with revenue earned from each country's extractive resources establishing a rentier state. The purpose for providing education was simple: to reinforce national and cultural identity through teaching while eradicating illiteracy. As the state developed and grew, the needs and vision for education changed as well.

Policy starts with the leadership. They have control over the political agenda and what laws need to created or reformed. The royal family has largely remained the same except for dynastic changes in leadership. New rulers have either incorporated new or strengthen existing education programs, creating a curriculum, or delegating new responsibilities and jobs. In rentier authoritarian countries, power is primarily derived by the ruling family and monarchy. Thus, reform and rule making comes from this system. However, that is not to say that the bureaucracy remains important given its function in the government. This chapter will analyze what entails government vision and how top-down reform influences policy the short and long run pertaining to Qatar and Saudi Arabia. Due to both countries centralized power, both have the initiatives to set policy as the rulers see fit.

Authority is centralized from top to bottom as is the role of legislation to implementation from the ruling family carried down to the ministry or agency responsible for enforcing and implementing the policy. Top-down reform is the only way for policy action, change, or reform to occur, because the royal family controls all levers of political power. Qatar and Saudi Arabia's centralized control over political power has a major advantage in passing education policy more quickly compared to Kuwait. Despite their similarities, they have more differences in how each see their respective country both in the present and future.

Each leader sees their country's development differently from one another as they occupy different positions as they integrate into the international community. Education and improving inputs to education is vital for further progress as they compete with other countries. These inputs derive from the Ministry of Education. As Wilkens explains, "Reform efforts can be advanced or impeded by how governments promote policies that ensure quality."[53] Thus, policy is revolved around the monarch. Oil is important to fund new projects. Oil will eventually disappear and countries so taking initiatives to build stronger programs or to improve certain sectors gradually over time as oil revenue will

[53] Wilkens, Katherine. "Higher Education Reform in the Arab World." Brookings. Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World 2011 US- Islamic World Forum Papers, August 2011, p. 4

decrease will safeguard the state's future. The following sections will discuss at how countries take into account of where they are and what goals they have for the future and uses these documents to record what tasks must be completed to reach this goal. Saudi Arabia and Qatar have different motivations, objectives, and ideas to pursuing a similar output, modernization. No doubt modernization's definition differs from one another but each country must undergo reform or risk falling behind the international community and their fellow neighbors.

Education policy is highly reflected in the laws provided. Laws and policies are important because it reflects leader's vision and objectives toward pursuing a certain goal. The difference in vision and law is execution. Education laws were only aimed at addressing the short-term problems and not looking toward long term growth.

Qatar's National Vision 2030

Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani said, "Comprehensive development is our main goal in striving for the progress and prosperity of our people."[54] Qatar's government sees education as the foundation toward social, economic, and political progress. As one of the smallest countries in the Gulf, Qatar has big plans for its

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[54] General Secretariat for Development Planning. "Qatar National Vision 2030." ,1

future. Qatar National Vision (QNV) 2030 is the document citing its goals over the next couple decades aimed at diversifying its economy and improving the standard of living for all Qataris. Its inception in 2008, establishes goals that "aims at transforming Qatar into an advanced country by 2030, capable of sustaining its own development and providing for a high standard of living for all of its people for generations to come."[55] The goal is to establish a knowledge-base economy and further diversify its economy beyond extractive industries. Qatar's hydrocarbons resources will continue to fund these programs covering these areas for development and legislation. The four pillars in Qatar's National Vision are categorized by human development, social development, economic development, and environmental development. These fields are aimed for rapid growth and funding for new projects. Lastly, this vision is translated into top-down reform signaling the approval and willingness from the Al-Thani family.

QNV 2030 identifies many challenges in face of change in the short and long run. The goal is to balance these challenges while continuing to work on these challenges.[56]

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[55] General Secretariat for Development Planning. "Qatar National Vision 2030." p. 1

[56] ibid, p. 1.

- Modernization and preservation of traditions requiring a balance between maintaining social cohesive values while at the same time working toward economic growth.
- Balancing the needs of the current generation and future generations. Economic prosperity from revenue excesses have raised the standard of living for all Qatari citizens. QNV 2030 is working to build high standards of living for future generations without oil revenue.
- Managing growth and expansion in order to make sure that progress will go uninterrupted and not default from reform.
- The size and the quality of the expatriate labor force and the selected path of development in response to large population growth and devising a plan for Qatar to reduce its dependence.
- Lastly, economic growth and environmental protection are two different concepts combined into one. This challenge is to develop technology that will protect the environment while increasing economic growth.

These challenges that I have summarized are potential problems for development but they are anticipated. Having already identified these key challenges, Qatar's government seems prepared to work toward those goals.

The government has made social development one of its top priorities. Education is the foundation toward social, economic, and political progress. The state and its citizens must cooperate in order to bring further prosperity to Qatar's economy. Qatar's government is responsible for providing educational opportunities

and will further expand both quantitative and qualitative programs.

The first pillar of QNV 2030 is focused on social development. In

other words, it focuses on expanding the social welfare services

such as education, health care, and other benefits.

> Qatar aims to build a modern world- class educational
> system that   provides students with a first-rate education,
> comparable to that offered anywhere in the world. The
> system will provide citizens with excellent training and
> opportunities to develop to their full…potential, preparing
> them for success in a changing world with increasingly
> complex technical requirements…encourage analytical and
> critical thinking, as well as creativity and innovation. It will
> promote social cohesion and respect for Qatari society's
> values and heritage, and will advocate for constructive
> interaction with other nations.[57]

The Qatari government will continue to provide, manage, and fund

education opportunities domestically and abroad for its citizens. In

the next chapter, system-wide education development and reform

will change how education is legislated, implemented, and

enforced. The RAND corporation's involvement in presenting

policy changes is vital to improving the system responsible for

inputs and standardizing education in Qatar. There will be more

talked about RAND's involvement and education reform in the next

chapter.

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[57] ibid, p. 6

QNV's third pillar is economic development and prosperity. One of the main features of this vision is using its own revenue from oil production and trade. "Converting these natural assets into financial wealth provides a means to invest in world- class infrastructure; build efficient delivery mechanisms for public services."[58] In the meantime, relying on traditional modes of economic activity will help expand and develop the private sector for future generations. This has already been used on many infrastructure and development projects and will continue to be the backbone of brining out modernization.

Qatar's Education City and Science and Technology Park: Policy in Action

The creation of Education City is one of the plans implemented in not only increasing the availability of higher education to its population but providing expertise in fields in need for greater development. Education City is run by the Qatar Foundation, headed by Sheika Moza. Alongside education reform in K-12, secondary education from abroad has provided education opportunities from western universities. Education City, run by Qatar Foundation (QF) imports universities from abroad. Over the last 15 years, Education City has grown to include eight

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[58] ibid, 13.

universities from Europe and the United States. The group below

is to show the growth in Education City:

Figure 4.1 Universities in Education City

School	Year	Specialization
Virginia Commonwealth University in Qatar (VCU-Q)	1998	fashion, design, art history
Weill Cornell Medical College in Qatar (WCMC-Q)	2001	Medicine
Texas A&M University at Qatar (TAMU-Q)	2003	chemical, electrical, mechanical, and petroleum engineering
Carnegie Mellon University in Qatar (CMU-Q)	2004	Computer Science, Biology, and business
Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar (SFS-Q)	2005	International Relations, International Economics
Northwestern University in Qatar (NU-Q)	2008	Journalism, English
HEC Paris	2011	Masters
UCL	2011	Archaeology

Each school is specialized into certain areas that are in

accordance with Qatar's National Vision whether it is expanding

social programs, expanding oil and gas industries, or international

politics.

The government's role in this increasing diversified economy

is separate. Instead, the judicial systems remain independent and

not pressured by executive. "The QFC consists of an independent

financial regulator (the Qatar Financial Regulatory Authority or

"QFCRA") and an independent judiciary which is constituted of a

Civil and Commercial Court as well as a regulatory tribunal."[59] This

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[59] ibid

helps promote international investment in the private sectors and for companies to establish businesses. In Qatar, there are other channels that international companies can explore such as the multiple free trade zones.

Other necessary policies in place has been developing Qatar's infrastructure providing opportunities for research, economic growth, and other social growth. The establishment Qatar's Science and Technology Park, located outside of Doha, is designed for science and technology research. It provides many countries or companies to work in together on different projects pertaining to renewable energy and petrol chemicals. "The Qatar Science and Technology Park or "QSTP" allows for foreign entities to fully own the company and trade in Qatar without a local agent."[60] The Technology Center provides companies with tools to develop technology and provides connections through QSTP. "QSTP companies are not taxed and can import goods and services free of any Qatari added tax or customs duties."[61] The center is a major center for companies to work and interact on projects together. "Projects that collaborate with Qatar's institutes of higher learning are particularly encouraged. Chevron, Rolls

[60] McNair Chambers. "Doing Business in Qatar: The Essentials." *McNair Chambers International Commercial Lawyers.* March 2011, p.7

[61] ibid

Royce and Microsoft are some of the twenty plus companies

registered within the QSTP."[62] Education City resides nearby and

there has been collaboration between the universities and QSTP.

Saudi Vision for Education at the Turn of the 21st Century

Saudi Arabia has relied on many mechanisms to providing

education to its people. After 40 years of providing education, it

has achieved in decreasing illiteracy rates and increased

enrollment for both boys and girls. The Ministry of Education has

shown to be more powerful than expected. It controls policy. The

turn of the century has brought more focus toward development.

The seventh (2001-2005), eight (2006-2010), and the ninth

(2010-2014) are all specialized toward certain objectives in

developing education standards, mechanisms for accountability,

etc. These were set up and enforced by the Ministry of Education.

Saudi Arabia has the largest population in the Arab Gulf.

Increasing population rates has strained the government in

providing the facilities needed for education and other social

programs. Reforming education to not only providing students with

the best education possible but a future investment in Saudi

Arabia's economy.

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[62] ibid

In the last 10 years, the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia has increased government expenditure on education. The creation of a comprehensive plan for education development is practical toward investing in the individual's welfare. "This implies that the educational process is not just a service provided to answer society's demands, but it is also an investment aiming at the improvement of the individual's standard of living and the achievement of the social and economic."[63] Education is a service to society's demands and investment aimed at improving individual standards and socio-economic development. This requires qualitative and quantitative reforms within the Ministry of Education, school curriculum, and institutions. Figure 4.2 shows the amount of government expenditure in Saudi Riyals from 2002 to 2009.[64]

In 2002, that figure represented over 20% of government expenditure. In 2009, it rose to 25% of government expenditure. In order to fund this program, the Ministry of Education requires more resources in order to achieve its goals. "The special emphasis given by the Saudi government to achieving its objectives in

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[63] UNESCO. "World Data on Education VII Ed. 2010/2011." International Bureau of Education. Revised August 2011. p. 1.

[64] Ministry of Education, Statistical Report (1426-27); Al Rajhi Report, p. 7 Arab News 12/23/2008 as taken from Mona Al Munajjed. "Women's Education in Saud Arabia: The Way Forward." Booze&co. pp. 3.
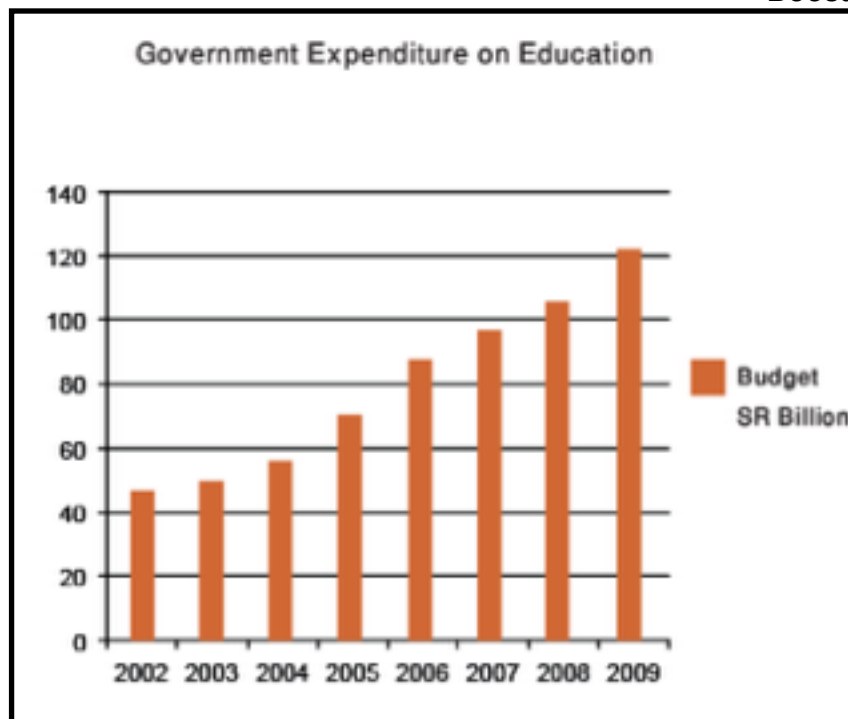
Figure 4.2: Government Expenditure on Education from
2002 to 2009

universal education has led to an increase in the allocation for

education and human resource development, from SR47 billion

(US$12.5 billion) in 2002, to SR96.7 billion (US$25.7 billion) in

2007, to SR105 billion (US$28 billion) in 2008, to SR122 billion

($32.5 billion) in 2009."[65]

King Abdul Al Saud played an active role in directing billions

of dollars. About a year ago, "King Abdulla approved a five-year

plan worth more than $21.33 billion (80 billion riyals) to develop

the kingdom's education sector….executive working program in

order to meet the goals of the King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Project

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[65] Mona Al Munajjed. "Women's Education in Saud Arabia: The Way
Forward." Booze&co. pp. 3.

for Promoting General Education."[66] The program is set up toward

reinforcing legitimacy on education and social programs. In

addition, this is run by the executive branches and ministerial

committee to supervise the implementation of the program rather

than having the Ministry of Education work on it autonomously.

The 10 year development includes reinforcing norms and

legitimacy in the Al-Saud family. The first is reinforcing legitimacy

and authority where education concerned with (education and

instilling national identity and loyalty to Saudi Arabia and Islamic

values. The second is developing a new methodology and

teaching to prepare students to compete internationally and

overcome the technical disadvantages. The previous 10 year plan

has been very difficult to improve because Saudi's education

system is facing social problems from increasing youth population

in schools to the shortage of teachers available, economic and

financial cost to improving accessibility to the larger youth

population, and the political loyalty to maintain stability.

Since 2001, there have been three short 5-year plans

implemented under the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia.

These short term plans were to address issues at that time and

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[66] Anonymous. "Saudi King Oks Five-Year Education Plan Worth $21b. Al Arabiya. Updated May 20, 2014. Viewed April 14, 2015. http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/05/20/Saudi-king-OKs-five-year-education-plan-worth-21b-.html

work to improve education. These five-year plans have been going on since 1971 that were briefly summarized and reported to UNESCO. At that time the goals for the plans 1-6 were toward eradicating illiteracy and increasing enrollment for all students. The Seventh Five Year Development plan 2001-2005 was geared toward update curriculum and advancing technology. "The Plan also aims to update and develop school curricula and teaching methods and to improve teachers' skills. It also encourages the private sector to participate in the provision of higher education."[67] Bringing in the private sector is strategic movement because it provides the government with input for the necessary skills needed. Although it remains in question how much is being taken into consideration when it comes to such reforms.

The Eight Five-Year Development Plan that started in 2005 and ended around 2009 was gear toward raising qualitative standards of education in order to improve the quality of education. The late King Abdullah al Saud formed the ministerial group. The goal was that "The Supreme Council of Education, appointed by the government, aims to raise the standard of higher education and to improve the quality of Saudi education, including technical education for girls and greater vocational training while preparing

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[67] Mona Al Munajjed. "Women's Education in Saud Arabia: The Way Forward." Booze&co. p. 4

them to enter the labor market."[68] This is a bit different from its previous departure in improving curriculum standards.

One of the challenges is expanding education but to what end? Some of the goals listed in this plan are mismatched and, to some extent, contradictory in terms of providing students with the best education and learning. The third goal in the 10 year plan is to continue instilling national identity and traditionalism by "Deepening the spirit of loyalty and proud of the country through intellectual awareness based on recognizing issues of the country."[69] What is more worrisome is objective 3 calling for "enhancing teacher's role in achieving the concept of national loyalty."[70] The first question is how do teachers instill nationalism and loyalty? The words themselves are contradictory. A teacher is responsible for providing his or her students with the tools they need for the future. Instilling these ideas of loyalty does not provide those tools for the future market but provides the Saudi government with dominance.

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[68] ibid. p. 4

[69] Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia. "The Executive Summary of the Ministry of Education Ten- Year Plan 1425-1435H (2004-2014)." Second Edition, 2005. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Education Deputy Ministry for Planning and Administrative Development, p. 10.

[70] ibid, p.10.

The 9th goal in the 10 year plan reflects Saudi Arabia's commitment to maintaining social cohesion and cultural values. It looks toward reforming the curriculum and learning material. Goal 9 states that it will "develop syllabi based on Islamic values leading to the development of male and female students' personality and to their integration in society as well as to the achievement of scientific and thinking skills and life characteristics resulting in self education and lifelong learning."[71] This focus on liberal arts for an increasingly technologically advanced world creates a mismatch for the future labor market. Religious education has always been central in all levels of schooling in Saudi Arabia. "Religious education is emphasized at all levels of education in Saudi Arabia. The educational objective of the country stress the importance of creating a sense of loyalty and obedience, and the duty of spreading the message and defending it against 'the enemies.'"[72]There has to be a need for integrating mathematics and science into classes into new syllabi.

Administrative reform is important because they delegate and responsible for carrying out certain actions as needed. One of

[71]Mona Al Munajjed. "Women's Education in Saud Arabia: The Way Forward." Booze&co., pp. 15.

[72] Michaela Prokop. "Saudi Arabia: The Politics of Education." International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-) 79, no. 1 (Jan., 2003): p. 79.

the biggest changes that needs to happen is to rearrange the

Ministry of Education. In the previous 10 year plan, Goal 14 is

geared toward "the Ministry's comprehensive administrative

development."[73] The objectives are listed below.[74]

> 1. To improve administrative procedures inside the
> educational system.
> 2. To build a geometric frame and system to facilitate the
> achievement of the ten-year plan's related goals.
> 3. To develop and improve the system of appointment
> selection and promotion in the educational system.
> 4. To raise the rate of professionals with higher qualifications
> required in the educational system.
> 5. To grant more powers, to reduce centralization (in the
> Ministry of Education's administrations and schools), and to
> enhance educational leaderships to be efficient in the
> development of the educational system.
> 6. To develop and enhance schools' administration to reach
> a modified form of school self-administration.

There needs to be a clear separation of powers, roles, and

responsibilities. In the words of one New Zealand policy expert,

"You can't have the same people who are responsible for

improvement be the ones who are judging whether or not that

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[73] Mona Al Munajjed. "Women's Education in Saud Arabia: The Way Forward." Booze&co., p. 17.

[74] Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia. "The Executive Summary of the Ministry of Education Ten- Year Plan 1425-1435H (2004-2014)." Second Edition, 2005. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Education Deputy Ministry for Planning and Administrative Development, p. 17.

improvement has actually happened."[75] The lack of objectivity and transparency within the administration will reinforce the current norms within the ministry. The problem of education is in part the curriculum and teaching method but not being able to evaluate and measure school and individual performance is a bigger problem. Having those mechanisms for measuring performance is important because it can evaluate education wholeheartedly.

Saudi Arabia has still been unable to excel in education. Since 2003, they have participated in Trends in Mathematics and Sciences Study. In 2003, they were ranked 43 and 39 in mathematics and sciences respectively for 8th graders.[76] Bahrain was the other representative in the Gulf and was ranked four positions higher. According to the 2007 "Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study" (TIMSS) undertaken by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, and based on an international evaluation of 50 countries, the educational system in Saudi Arabia is lagging well behind European, Asian, American, other Arab countries in mathematics and sciences. It took 46th place out of 49 in mathematics and 44th place out of 49 in sciences. Saudi students

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[75] Barber,Michael, and Mourshed, Mona, and Whelan, Fenton. "Improving Education in the Gulf."The McKinsey Quarterly 2007, p. 46.

[76] Michael Barber and Mona Mourshed, and Fenton Whelan. "Improving Education in the Gulf."The McKinsey Quarterly 2007, p. 41.

got an average of 329 points, which was well below the world

average of 500 points.[77] Figure 4.1 shows the average scores in

2007 and 2011 for both 4th and 8th graders.[78]

Figure 4.1 TIMSS (English and Science) Average Scores in the

	Year:	2007		2011	
Country:		Math	Science	Math	Science
Qatar	4th Grade	296	294	413	394
	8th Grade	307	319	410	419
Kuwait	4th Grade	316	348	342	347
	8th Grade	354	418	NA	NA
Saudi Arabia	4th Grade	NA	NA	410	429
	8th Grade	329	403	394	436
Oman	4th Grade	NA	NA	385	377
	8th Grade	372	423	366	420
UAE	4th Grade	NA	NA	434	428
	8th Grade	NA	NA	456	465

The results have show significant improvement from 2007 to 2011

in Qatar even though it still lags behind many other developed and

developing nations. In Qatar, the average has increased by a 100

points in both subjects for fourth and eighth graders between 2007

and 2011. In Saudi Arabia, there is a slight decrease in how

[77] Mona Al Munajjed. "Women's Education in Saud Arabia: The Way Forward." Booze&co., p. 11.

[78] This is the data compiled from the results of the scores for 4th and 8th graders in the math and sciences in 2007 and 2011 for the Gulf region alone. "NA" represents that the group did not participate in.

students score in both mathematics and sciences but scores have not changed much between 2007 and 2011 as compared to the improvement Qatar had between the fourth years. It is clear that creating a standardized based system, the introduction of private schools, and providing better management has improved Qatari education and services to its citizens. Though there has never been clear communication, having the opportunity to create a schedule is innovative and never before seen.

New Ruler, Same Vision?

Regime changes are another characteristic encompassed in government vision and action. Every monarch is not the same. There are good monarchs and bad monarchs that are equipped with different skill sets, strengths, and weaknesses. Regime changes can influence certain policies and policy outcomes.

The bloodless coup in Qatar in 1995 is an example of such action as Sheik Hamid bin Khalifa Al-Thani overthrew his father Sheik Khalifa Al-Thani as a way to gain power and rule Qatar. Fortunately, the result has been very good for Qatar but at its beginning it was hard to tell what was Sheik Hamid's motivations and to what certain policy. He unleashed many reforms toward diversification and development as mentioned above.

King Salman's ascension to the throne only a couple months

ago has left analysts to wonder what Saudi Arabia's future hold.

Since becoming king, he has reshuffled government power in

order to consolidate political power and legitimacy. King Abdullah

who ruled Saudi Arabia from 2005 to 2015 allowed certain rights

for women, increase education funding. The question is how will

King Salman act? It can be said that things might not improve for

education and it might hinder any education development.

King Salman will continue to promote the same message as

his predecessor. In his first televised speech, he emphasized

religious and cultural foundations. "He also pledged to maintain the

kingdom's Sharia Islamic law, emphasizing its central place in the

kingdom."[79] This message is to maintain the political alliance

shared with the religious ullama granting them religious authority.

In addition, the state would play a larger role in education and

social problems such as high unemployment and corruption.

"Addressing himself to young Saudis of both sexes, he said the

state would do all it could to help develop their education, sending

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[79] Jim Bourg. "King Salman Pledges to Maintain Stability, Create Jobs." Reuters Middle East. March 10, 2015. April 3, 2015. http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/10/us-saudi-king-idUSKBN0M61U320150310

them to prestigious universities, to help them get jobs in either the public or private sector."[80]

There is a chance that King Salman will have to work to keep the state afloat with low oil prices and large unemployment among the youth. It begs the question if he will improve education or not as Saudi Arabia is one of the lowest ranked countries in math and science along with its neighbors.

Lasting Impressions on Government Vision and Motivation

One of the challenges that each country faces is founded within its rulers. Creating a government vision that balances between modernization and preservation of traditions is difficult within these tradition rules of governance. Some find that rapid change through economic and social progress diminishes the traditional cultural and social values. This extends to the traditional hierarchy of political power. In Kuwait, the deadlock between the Parliament and the Emir can cause little to no progress in creating new legislation. Traditional and cultural influences are embedded into society making change very difficult.

Top-down reform is key requiring a strong government vision and willingness to enact reform and change. Each country controls the system whether it is economic, political, or even social progression. It is not impossible to continue change but it requires

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[80] ibid

governmental approval and motivation. In addition, the population

must hold the government accountable and continue its action.

The goals and objectives have to be consistent throughout

and achievable. The difference between Saudi Arabia and Qatar's

national vision plans pertaining to education is that Qatar's seems

to be more honest and efficient. The results speak for themselves

in terms of test scores as this can be seen one of many facts. QNV

2030 has broad objectives that are coherent and purposeful. This

On the other hand, the Ministry of Education's goals for the last 10

years show contradictory policies in terms of mandating a national

curriculum, the Ministry of Education's administrative reform, etc. It

calls for many areas of reforms in a short amount of time in many

different sectors of education from teacher preparation to

curriculum reform.

Figure 5.2 Organizational Structure of the Education for a New Era Reform, 2002-2006.

Chapter 5: New Millennium, New Education:

System-Wide Education Reform in Qatar

Changes in education is influenced by both administrators and the ruling family. One of the most interesting approaches to education policy is Qatar reaching out to the international community for assistance in developing its education and science and technology. Education is the foundation toward social, economic, and political progress. Qatar's action in leading education reform throughout the whole system was aimed to increase In 2002, RAND was asked to analyze Qatari's education system through the k-12 system including the administrative responsibilities.

The goals, purpose, and objectives to education have changed. The goals, objectives, purpose, instruments, etc. They have all changed but the question is does this help the overall education. During the 1950s-1990s/2000s, the objective and purpose was to make education more available and improve literacy in the Gulf. Reform in 2000 has been directed to improve education toward a career. Reform has comprised of implementing a number of strategies simultaneously to improve the management, responsibilities, and accountable system that gives government

less control over the inputs and focus on the outputs of education.

The outputs of education is preparing students for higher education, job preparation, etc. The initial RAND project had four goals:[81]

A. Understand and describe the current system.

B. Identify problems with the system.

C. Recommend alternative reform options to improve the system.

D. Devise a plan to implement the chosen reform option.

This section will analyze the reform initiative and how this has transformed from previous education practices, norms, etc. into building a world class education system.

Applying the Independent School Model

The Independent School Model was to focus on well-aligned standards, curriculum, assessments, and professional development. It promoted four main principles.[82]

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[81]Gabriella Gonzalez Vi-Nhuan Le Markus Broer Louis T. Mariano J. Enrique Froemel Charles A. Goldman Julie DaVanzo, "Lessons from the Field: Developing and Implementing the Qatar Student Assessment System, 2002-2006." *RAND Corporation*,

[82] Gabriella Gonzalez, Vi-Nhuan Le, Markus Broer, Louis T. Mariano, J. Enrique Froemel, Charles A. Goldman, and Julie DaVanzo. "Lessons from the Field: Developing and Implementing the Qatar Student Assessment System, 2002–2006." RAND Corporation, 2009, p.3.

I. *Autonomy*. Promote the autonomy of school teachers and administrators.

II. *Accountability*. Independent schools are held accountable to the government through regular audits and reporting mechanisms, as well as student assessments, parental feedback, and other measures.

III. *Variety*. Interested parties may apply to operate schools, and diverse schooling options are to be offered, since each Independent school is free to specify its educational philosophy and operational plan.

IV. *Choice*. Parents are allowed to select the school that best fits their child's needs.

Implementation on the education reform initiative, Education for a New Era (ENE), began in 2002. With government support for RAND to recommend policies reflects Qatar's initiative to improve education practices. The administrative changes are important as they are responsible for managing certain duties and responsibilities, creating new rules, and funding programs. The RAND corporation introduced three new permanent bodies to improve the existing hierarchical structure: The Education Institute, Evaluation Institute, and Supreme Education Council are core to performing education reform.

Timeline for Plan

Design 2001-2002

Phase 1 was building the infrastructure. This was one from 2002 to 2003.The Institutes and their Offices would begin to build the organizational and policy infrastructure needed to support the opening of the first Independent schools, and the legal authority of the SEC and the Institutes would be established. This step is critical into embedding new roles and responsibilities for the institutions.

The second phase is testing students from 2004 and continues to be a major part. This has expanded in opening new independent and government schools.

opening new schools 2004-2007

With the first national administration of student tests and school education surveys. The first generation of Independent schools would open in September 2004,

Phase 3 system integration 2007 was to entail integration of the elements of the new system. At this point, the Qatari leadership would have to determine whether the entire education system would retain its parallel structure. This decision would depend on the course of the reform and the Ministry's response to it.

Administrative Reform:

The previous administrative role and responsibility was inefficient. This was the same throughout the Gulf countries and parts of the Middle East. There is an initial conflict of interest in

creating standards, monitoring standards, and utilizing other

accountability mechanisms to improve and evaluate educational

achievement. This separation of power from previous administrative

function is far reaching for the Gulf.It was imbalance as the Ministry

was previously assigned to facilitating reform and evaluating

education progress. The RAND corporation established four new

branches, three permanent and one temporary group that will assist

in the implementation team. Education Institute, Evaluation

Institute, Supreme Education Council are responsible for

establishing rules, responsibilities and regulations in education

policy. The Implementation Team was the only temporary institution

responsible for helping to establish the other institutions and for

performing oversight, coordination, and advisory functions during

the transition to the new system.

Education Institute is a new permanent institution

responsible for over-seeing the new, Independent schools and

allocating resources to them; developing national curriculum

standards in Arabic, mathematics, science, and English; and

developing teacher training programs to ensure a supply of

qualified teachers for the new schools.[83] In addition the department

of Independent Schools "have the authority to operate under their

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[83] see Figure 5.1 on the following page.

own budgets and hire and train staff."[84] Unlike, traditional Ministry

schools, they are able to operate under their own budget and hire

staff as they see fit. They are integrated with private Arabic schools,

Ministry of Education schools as government-sponsored schools.

"The new system was to run in parallel with the existing system."[85]

Figure 5.1 shows the lines of control in how this system would

integrate into the existing system while figure 5.2 gives a more

detailed outlook of the departments occupying the new institutes.

Organization of Qatar Education System

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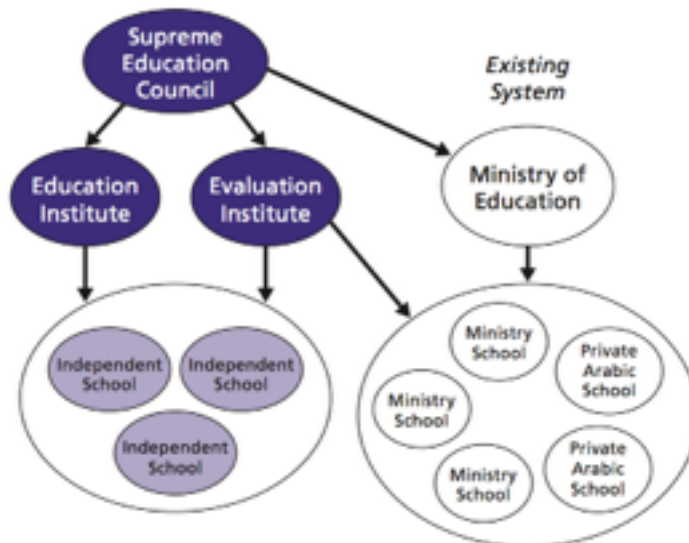
[84] Gabriella Gonzalez, Vi-Nhuan Le, Markus Broer, Louis T. Mariano, J. Enrique Froemel, Charles A. Goldman, and Julie DaVanzo. "Lessons from the Field: Developing and Implementing the Qatar Student Assessment System, 2002–2006." RAND Corporation, 2009, p., 4.

[85] Dominic Brewer, Catherine Augustine, Gail Zellman, Gerry Ryan, Charles Goldman, Cathleen Stasz, and Louay Constant. "Education for a New Era: Design and Implementation of K-12 Education Reform in Qatar Executive Summary." RAND Corporation, 2007.p. 7

Supreme Education Council is a permanent institution

responsible for setting national education policy. They oversee each

of the new institutes that were created and even includes the

Ministry of Education. Figure 5.2 displays the new hierarchy

established.[86]
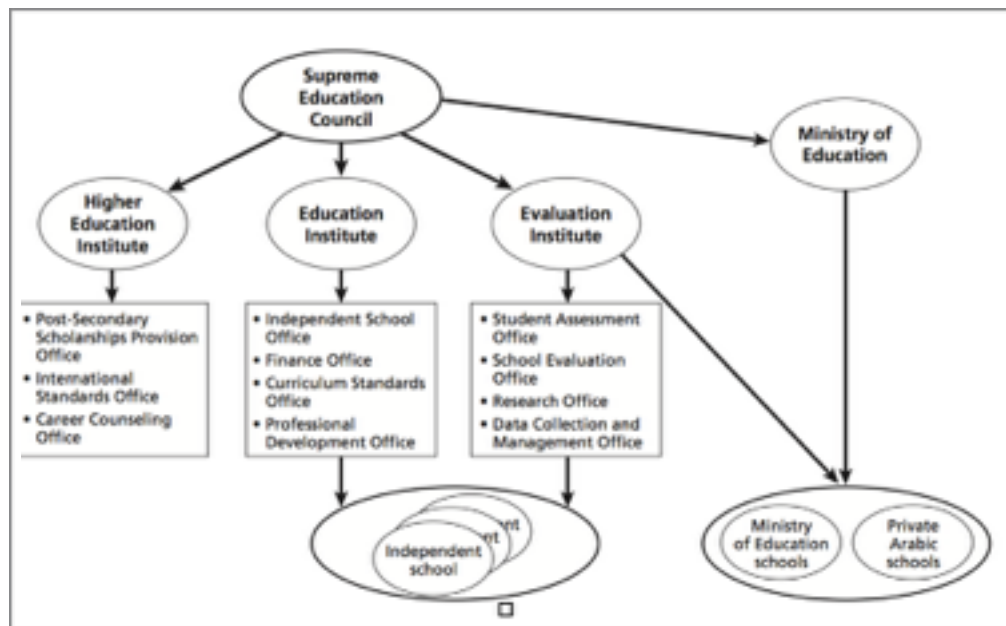
Rearranging the structure and separating separate institutions

eliminates contradictions. Creating and organizing the new

institutions with better mechanisms for establishing and reporting

accountability standards. The Ministry of Education's duties

decreased but this allows for better management and efficiency to

take place.

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[86] Gabriella Gonzalez, Vi-Nhuan Le, Markus Broer, Louis T. Mariano, J. Enrique Froemel, Charles A. Goldman, and Julie DaVanzo. "Lessons from the Field: Developing and Implementing the Qatar Student Assessment System, 2002–2006." RAND Corporation, 2009. p. 4.

Developing Curriculum and Performance Standards

How does one define standards? What is the correct method of defining these goals for what students should know by the end of each grade? This was the hardest part of implementing because it had to define a new standard for education. Previously, the Ministry of Education had the basic goal of providing fundamental education to a largely illiterate population throughout the late 1900s. Now developing standards require more expertise and precision. For instance, in May 2003, "the Education Institute staff and RAND selected CfBT (at the time, the Centre for British Teachers; now, CfBT Edu- cation Trust) to develop the curriculum standard."[87]

Building up curriculum and performance standards are essential in building measures for accountability. The Evaluation Institute is responsible for monitoring student and school performance in both Ministry and Independent schools; designing and administering national tests in four subjects, developing and conducting surveys of students, teachers, parents, and principles, performing special studies on the schools and the reform's progress and operating the national education data system.

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[87] Dominic Brewer, Catherine Augustine, Gail Zellman, Gerry Ryan, Charles Goldman, Cathleen Stasz, and Louay Constant. "Education for a New Era: Design and Implementation of K-12 Education Reform in Qatar Executive Summary." RAND Corporation, 2007, p. 10.

Over the last couple years, one of the reforms has been implementing national test scores. The designs recommended by RAND were to create competitive exams based on content and performance. These were developed in four subjects: Arabic, English, mathematics, and science. Arabic because it is the national language. English because the goal was to prepare students for post-secondary education abroad, particularly the United States or Europe. The final tests in Mathematics and Science stems from the modern world's emphasis on science and technology and needs for its society.

Developing the Assessment System

After developing standards for k-12 in English, mathematics, Arabic, and science, one of the last pivotal points is building mechanisms for assessing the information. That system was designed and named Qatar Student Assessment System or QSAS for short. It was designed to serve for three broad purposes: provide information the public about school performance and promote parental choice, provide a feedback system to teachers to assist in school instruction and teaching methods, and provide policy makers a picture of student performance relative to curriculum standards. This data was collected in two ways: standardized tests given at the end of the school year and surveys.

Qatar Comprehensive Educational Assessment (QCE)

began in 2003 in developing standardized tests. The Educational

Testing Service was responsible for developing Arabic and English

tests while CTB was selected to develop tests in mathematics and

science. The testing took the longest part to develop as it was

decided to include K-12. In 2004, the first exams were given

before opening independent schools. This was served to be a test

run to measure current performances. These results were not

reported and made nationalized until 2005. "The SEC and the

Evaluation Institute publicly reported the first results from the

surveys and assessments. The surveys were upgraded and

repeated in 2005 and 2006."[88] Thus, the process has been

repeated ever since.

Results of Reform

The results of these reforms have shown significant

improvement as this policy framework is continued to be

implemented. Testing indicators do not paint the entire picture.

However, they are helpful in evaluating how students perform and

requires a deeper look at curriculum and school performance. The

Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)

documents, tests, and ranks how countries perform in mathematics

and sciences every four years. The goal is to show not only how

[88] ibid, 12.

countries rank toward one another but tests the efficiency of the

education in that country. On this test, Qatar still ranks behind many

of the top countries including some of its own neighbors when it

participated in 2007 and 2011. The chart below describes the

average score in each section. The average TIMSS score is 500.

Top caliber education systems in Singapore, South Korea, and the

United States ranges from 550-600+ score. The results below show

how the Gulf countries (excluding Yemen) have performed in 2007

and 2011.

The results have show significant improvement from 2007 to

2011 in Qatar even though it still lags behind many other developed

and developing nations. In Qatar, the average scores increased by

a 100 points in both subjects for fourth and eighth graders between

2007 and 2011.[89] In Saudi Arabia, there is a slight decrease in how

students score in both mathematics and sciences but scores have

not changed much between 2007 and 2011 as compared to the

improvement Qatar had between the fourth years. It is clear that

creating a standardized based system, the introduction of private

schools, and providing better management has improved Qatari

education and services to its citizens. Though there has never been

clear communication, having the opportunity to create a schedule is

innovative and never before seen.

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[89] see figure 4.1

The result of this investment in education sources and infrastructure has put Doha on the map as a hub that balances between modernization and traditional values. Education is one of the many determinants that drive progress. The Global Competitive survey by World Economic Forum measured and ranked 144 different countries and economies for the potential for economic growth in the long run. Qatar ranks highly given the systems and qualitative. Overall Qatar ranked 11 out of 144 in the Global Competitive Index improving from its 2011-2012 rank by three. Figure 5.2 compares the quality of education measured.[90]

Figure 5.3 Quality of Education

Country	Quality of Educational System		Quality of Primary Education		Higher Education and Training		Quality of Scientific Research Instittutions	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Qatar	4	5.7	10	5.6	33	4.9	5	5.8
U.A.E.	17	50	18	5.2	37	4.9	35	4.6
Saudi Arabia	32	4.4	45	4.4	40	4.8	37	4.5
Bahrain	35	4.4	45	4.4	40	4.8	107	3.1
Oman	60	3.9	59	4.1	61	4.3	74	3.5
Kuwait	104	3.1	89	3.4	82	4.0	103	3.2

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[90] Klaus Schwab. "The Global Competitiveness Report 2012-2013." World Economic Forum, 2013. Data collected from a number of areas from quality of education and other levels. In addition, it compares with the quality of scientific research institutions.

Education reform, on this scale, is rapid and ambitious because it consisted of simultaneous changes in all areas of educational reform. However, it was successful in implementing a performance standards, assessment mechanisms, and reform the administrative role and responsibility and integrate it into the existing Ministry of Education. It also focused on hiring qualified professionals that would lead in these fields. Despite its success, there are some challenges that must be anticipated. Here are a few of the problems.

This reform entails many areas for improvement and creating. Qatar's reform based on RAND's policy recommendations included reforming each sector from the bureaucracy responsible for creating education standards, tests, and other tasks to how the curriculum in establishing strong guidelines and methods for learning. Building organizational structure (administrative changes, hierarchy, separating responsibilities), developing curriculum standards (data management/performance/accountability) and supporting their implementation (top-down reform), developing the assessment system (accountability, tools to record).

Chapter 6: Deadlock in Kuwait's Government and its Impact on Education Policy

Kuwait's political structure is a semi-authoritarian regime made up of authoritarian and democratic institutions. The hereditary monarchy has control over the executive responsibilities while the National Assembly, comprised of 50 elected members of Parliament, has control over most legislative functions. Kuwait's Constitution provides a framework to how powers are distributed between both branches of government, as well as provides some checks and balances. Elections have been a tool used to promote democratization where opposition parties are able to participate freely. However, the function of elections has been used as a step backward toward democratization, forcing more authoritative measures as a means to try to resolve the issue.

Kuwait's style of governance is unique among the Gulf region. The Constitution delegates roles and responsibilities for legislative National Assembly and ruling Al-Sabah family. The National System has power that can compete and block legislation making the system is inefficient and causes deadlock stagnating policy and depending on its oil revenue to pay off loans and debts. Kuwaiti citizens participate in electing members of Parliament and have a financial incentive to working in the public sector. "Kuwaiti nationals generally work in the already overcrowded public sector-

which employs over 80% of the Kuwaiti workforce."[91]Kuwaiti

nationals prefer to working in the public sector is more beneficial

than working in the underdeveloped private sector due to longer

hours and less pay. Both the government and society completely

depend on oil financially. This relationship has effected how policy.

Once, Kuwait was ahead of its neighbors but it has fallen greatly

behind due to this political deadlock whereas Qatar and the UAE

have been able to expand their economies and education

opportunities.

The goal of this chapter is to examine the impact of deadlock

has on education policy. Conflict is founded between opposition

groups in Parliament and the Emir, among groups within the

opposition, and even within the government. These tensions have

reinforced Kuwait's dependency on oil and left the government

paralyzed. It has hindered democratization from spreading and

making rational decisions while electing candidates where tribal

and Islamist opposition have been elected as clear majorities.

There are two main factors that assist in prolonging

deadlock: rentier effect and deep tribal relations. Both are used and

evaluated through elections signifying how strong economic and

cultural norms play in Kuwait's rentier activities. The discovery of oil

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[91] Bertelsmann Stiftung, "BTI 2014 — Kuwait Country Report." Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014, 12.

and the distribution of oil revenue in the state caused the population and the government solely dependent on oil revenue and world oil prices as a means for economic security for the population and a tool used for reaffirming authority and legitimacy.

Kuwait's Political and Social Transformation

Deadlock in Kuwait's government is not a new phenomenon since the creation of Kuwait's Constitution and the development of a welfare state. Before gaining independence from Great Britain, the social-political relationship was balanced.

The origin of the Kuwaiti state is important to understanding how the Al Sabah Family came into power. They did not obtain rule by force but was appointed "as part of the necessary division of labor within a growing economy and society."[92] The political institution was another business like pearling, trading, and shipbuilding. They were appointed by the public to look for the state's interest rather than pursue their own. This gave the Al Sabah family complete control over executive, legislative, and judicial powers as their designated duty to society. They depended on society for taxes and revenue just as society depended on their job to maintain law and order. The Al-Sabah family was responsible

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[92] Paul Salem, "Kuwait: Politics in a Participatory Emirate," *Carnegie Papers*, June 2007, p. 2.

for governing and the merchants were responsible for providing funds for the state.

This relationship does not exist today due Kuwait's transformation into a rentier welfare state through its oil reserves. This overstep created a fused step where economics and politics are one in the same where the Al Sabah family's authority is still important. Their rule is embedded and reinforced into the system long before the discovery of oil and is still a major component to Kuwaiti society like authoritarian families in the Gulf today.

During the 1960s, the discovery of oil changed the economic and social situation that continues to exist today. The government established new companies and oil refineries to extract oil. The oil revenue generated massive amounts of money and it tipped the balances in the social arena. Originally, the merchants were in charge of money and businesses but for the first time the government has its own resources that disturbed the balance between the population and the ruling family. The government's new ownership over this resource changed the social norms and economic norms that transformed it to become a major rentier state. Kuwait provided subsidies for the population to try to accommodate the population's demands and restore stability. A major drawback to this is that it created society's norms today that have severe drawbacks to Kuwait's development.

The 1960s was a major time of reform economically, politically, and socially. In 1961, Kuwait received its independence from Great Britain and Kuwait's political sphere was changed completely. Kuwait adopted a constitutional "democracy" creating democratic institutions while the Al- Sabah family remained as the head of the state and continues to carry out its original function. The creation of a unicameral branch was responsible for legislation. This is very unusual in the Gulf area, because most countries are authoritarian governments governed by a ruling family. This is prominent in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, and the UAE. This gave the population new political power and freedoms. Kuwait's Constitution decreased the Al- Sabah's power, which allowed Parliament to interfere and obstruct any major changes. With the establishment of Parliament, the population interferes with the Al- Sabah's family's duty.

Today, Parliament's function reflects the political instability that is dependent on oil subsidies and the selfish interest of the population that elected them. Kuwait's rentier state combined with a democracy, that employs all its citizens into the government, creates imbalance within political institutions. The population's demand for larger subsidies creates a political deadlock between the ruling family and the Parliament as well as economic strain because of a growing population. High political participation has

been more obstructive and halted any progress. Political deadlock between the ruling family and the population has increased political instability causing the Kuwait government to continue to depend on its oil reserves and making the process toward diversification much more difficult.

Function of Parliament

Kuwait's parliament does what it is designed to do: it represents citizens and in doing so it obstructs legislation being passed. It is divided by three main groups: the liberals, Islamists, and tribals connections. There has not been any clear majority since the 1990s and early years of Parliament. The lack of functionality of Parliament is driven by the individual's self-interest to remain in power. First, individuals who want to work in office must appease the public or blocs`. The most common way is to align with parliamentary blocs or ideologies. Herb explains the attitudes for members who want to stay in office. He wrote, "Once in office, members of the government—or those who wish to stay there a long time—try to avoid offending the major parliamentary blocs."[93] By maintaining and continuing to promote the population's demands, one must act in favor of the population and the party will continue to support them for reelection. Herb continues, "This can

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[93] Michael Herb, "A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the UAE," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2009, p 370.

be accomplished by pursing policies congenial to the parliament and by dispensing patronage to its members. The end result is that the parliament, by wielding the threat of interpellation, has a substantial impact on policymaking in Kuwait."[94] Parliament members want to continue to broadcast their role for the people and in doing so, they pass acts that interfere with national affairs like economic reform and diversification. Their role obstructs any legislation. This has an enormous impact on the economy and any legislation that would generate foreign investment and economic development. Unfortunately, Parliament does not see past that and are focused on appealing to the public and blocs in order to stay in power.

Parliament obstructs the ruling family's values by the type of legislation that is passed. In doing so it diverts attention from the economy. Parliament's function in government has transformed to become even more powerful and outwardly challenges the ruling family's authority, integrity, and legitimacy in the political atmosphere. The ruling family has the most challenging job in the government. Their authority is constantly challenged by Parliament's power. This deadlock between the Parliament and ruling family creates instability as well as slowed the process to getting legislation passed.

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[94] ibid, p. 379.

The ruling family tries to cooperate with Parliament in creating new legislation, but Parliament focuses on issues that don't concern with the state's well being like foreign investment, the economy, or expanding the private sector. "The ruling family avoids appointing ministers at risk of losing a parliamentary vote of confidence. This extends to members of the ruling family: as a consequence, family members who are responsive to the parliament are more likely to serve in the government and gain valuable political experience."[95] The ruling family cannot act to its full potential without criticism. Parliament questions the ruling family's authority. However, the ruling family has the authority to dissolve Parliament on the basis of how uncooperative it has to establish laws. In the last 12 years Parliament has been dissolved over 6 times. After the Emir dissolves Parliament, elections are held again within 60 days, and the process to reappoint new ministers and reelect new members of Parliament repeats. Thus, the political process escalates further tension between the ruling family and the Parliament and slows the process even more. It takes time for new members to take up roles and by the time the new government is settled, Parliament could be dissolved again instantly due to uncooperative relations between the ruling family and the

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[95] Herb, Michael, "A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the UAE," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2009. Page 379.

Parliament. This repeated process will start again and the

population will elect the same members because the population

wants to maintain the norms and subsidies that the government

provides. This repetitive cycle will remain the same unless there are

not any new measures to resolve the uncooperative relationship.

Unfortunately, the process of electing new members makes it more

difficult to pass new legislation causing the government to increase

its dependence on oil. The economy remains stagnant and the

legislation does not provide the tools for economic growth.

The Emir's Response to Parliament

The Emir has had two common ways to change the

situation: gerrymandering support in elections or using its

constitutional power to dissolve Parliament and call for new

elections. Elections have stayed relatively the same throughout

Kuwait's history until 2006 had a system where there were 25

voting districts for two Members of Parliament were elected making

up 50 seats in the National Assembly. Under this system, the Emir

has used coalitions to push groups against one another. In addition,

naturalizing citizens from tribal areas, the Al-Sabah family was able

to form a coalition in favor supporting the Emir reaffirming the

Emir's authority and legitimacy in Kuwaiti politics. However, this

system has changed and the opposition has used the elections as

a source to reaffirming its power and a platform for challenging the Emir's authority.

The Emir has the authority to dissolve Parliament on the basis of uncooperative the National Assembly is to the government. In the last twelve years, Parliament has been dissolved over six times. Previously, the Emir dissolved Parliament in 1976-81 and 1986-91 permanently. This is not an alternative situation because following the second period, the Invasion of Iraq made the Al Sabah family weak in the public sphere.

After the Emir dissolves Parliament, elections are held again within 60 days, and the process to reappoint new ministers and reelect new members of Parliament repeats. Thus, the political process escalates further tension between the ruling family and the Parliament and slows the process even more. It takes time for new members to take up roles and by the time the new government is settled, Parliament could be dissolved again instantly due to uncooperative relations between the ruling family and the Parliament. This repeated process will start again and the population will elect the same members because the population wants to maintain the norms and subsidies that the government provides. Unfortunately, the process of electing new members makes it more difficult to pass new legislation causing the

government to increase its dependence on oil. Elections prolong the political deadlock between the Emir and the National Assembly.

Recently, the power struggle has intensified since the 2006 Succession Crisis. The power struggle stems from multiple factors such as reinforced social-economic norms, lack of political parties or association, a non-existent civil society, and an electoral system that has a high potential for voter fraud by certain groups. Opposition made up of tribal and Islamic groups have dominated in elections and seek to make changes away from democratization. It is hard to understand who possesses power because each body of government uses certain powers or institutions that promote authoritative or a step back toward rule.

The political deadlock between the Emir and the National Assembly is a major obstacle toward greater advancement and passing education legislation. It has relied on Kuwait's Ministry of Education to take more of the work and carryon the production. The political turmoil and conflict has prolonged education policy and other policy of the sort. As a result, Kuwait is falling ranks 5th in the Gulf as fourth and eighth graders participated in TIMSS in 2007 and 2011.[96] Kuwaiti fourth graders have improved by a small margin from 317 to 342 in math and remained the same score in science at 348 in 2007 and 2011. Eighth Graders faired well in 2007 with a

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[96] see Table on page 75

354 and 418 in math and science respectively but did not

participate in 2011.

The conflict has had little progress toward a resolution.

Although there a rules and regulations for amending the

Constitution, this remains a taboo subject within the government.

Parliament fears that amending the Constitution would diminish

their power significantly creating an authoritarian government.

Public Opinion and Perception

Kuwaiti society is a direct recipient of oil revenue and a voter

for all elections except for the Emir. It is not really a surprise that

deadlock stems from the election and re-election of members of

Parliament. Every citizens depends on the government financially.

This includes benefits in education and other social service

programs as well. "Over 90% of the Kuwaiti population works for

the government and granted free education abroad."[97] The citizen's

role is warped and under question. Kuwait's high participation rate

affects the political situation in two ways: the political system tends

to encourage political deadlock between the Parliament and the

rulers, and the political instability encourages its dependence on oil.

This results in decreasing foreign investment and decreases

initiative to expand the private sector. Kuwait's political atmosphere

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[97] Suzanne Maloney, "Kuwait, Qatar, Oman and the UAE: The Nervous
Bystanders," in K. Pollack et al, *The Arab Awakening,* p 177.

generates instability and the domestic level is partly to blame for

continually participating to the never-ending cycle in the political

sphere to maintaining social norms and increase subsidies. The

problem lies in the social norms of Kuwaiti society that concerns

with maintaining the current subsidies from oil wealth. The

population's interests differ greatly from the Al Sabah family.

Parliament's obstructive nature in government reflects the

population's attitude. Kuwait's citizens have the highest political

participation rate in the Gulf at their disposal and actively play a role

in the voting process. This political participation is found in voting

parliament members that are aimed toward who will fulfill their

needs and desires. The process of electing members is highly

corruptible and impact other areas needed for development.

The political power of Kuwait society is a standoff between

public opinion represented through Parliament against the authority

Al- Sabah family. The public is more concerned with maintaining the

social norms and increasing subsidies funded by the state-owned

oil companies, the government provides the population with major

benefits and subsidies that comes in the form of public services. A

2006 survey of Kuwaiti voters conducted by the National Assembly

illustrates citizens' perceptions of their interests.

Surveyed voters were asked to select ten out of nineteen

possible priorities that they thought the National Assembly

should pursue in its upcoming session. The top-ranked
choice was a parliamentary proposal to have the
government pay off consumer debts. Health services and
housing (both seen as government responsibilities) were
second and third. Three of the nineteen items directly
concerned the growth of the private sector: privatization
ranked sixteen, reforming the stock market was eighteen,
and encouraging foreign direct investments came in dead
last.[98]

The population is more concerned with their money subsidies than
other areas than state benefit and growth. The bottom three issues
mentioned above directly affect with economic growth and
diversification, a source for new economic growth and finances.

Elections and Electoral Turnout

Kuwait has the potential to become another economic capital
for business like Qatar and Dubai but has not made the right
decision to implement new economic policies that will decrease
dependency on oil and increase participation in the private sector.
This is reflected in the political process itself. The population's
interest reflects how members of Parliament (MP's) operate once
elected into office. Even though political parties don't exist in Kuwait
politics, Kuwait citizens align themselves in blocs of voting that

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[98] Michael Herb, "A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and
Economic Diversification in Kuwait and the UAE," *International Journal of
Middle East Studies*, 2009. Page 1

reflects a certain ideology. These voting blocs fluctuate with every election but continue to play the same role

As mentioned earlier, political parties or associations are not permitted in Kuwait; Kuwait citizens align themselves to blocs reflecting a certain ideology. "Several factions from the disparate ends of the ideological spectrum have dominated the debate. These include Islamist groups, which function as a vocal opposition to government positions and vary in their degree of religious orthodox, as well as more secular and liberal faction that also engages in criticism of the government."[99] The lack of civil society or freedom for political associations or political parties makes tribal and Islamist factions the strongest voting blocs in Kuwaiti society.

The tribal identities stem from family networks and translates into broad voting blocs. People vote according to a certain bloc. The most important bloc is the conservative tribal group who promotes to maintain the status quo. The citizen's purpose to vote is not for the benefit of the country but electing people who will continue to keep the social norm. Like the population, the Members of Parliament have their own interest in government. They provide civil society and communal benefits and are effective in organizing members for elections. These voting blocs fluctuate with every election but are still powerful in the Parliament. Political

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[99] ibid

associations are a fundamental part to a growing democracy but have not been implemented. The liberal blocs are unable to mobilize as efficiently as these groups giving Islamist and tribal groups a major advantage in elections.

The voting patterns of the population reflect strong tribal identity found in Kuwaiti society. Tribal and Islamic groups have grown stronger in the last 20 years. The members of Parliament are strengthened and continue to exist since the aftermath of the Gulf War. " The 1990 Iraqi invasion galvanized a strong sense of Kuwait nationalism, but sectarian, tribal, and family identities remain paramount."[100] These identities translate into broad voting blocs. People vote according to a certain bloc. The most important bloc is the conservative tribal group who promotes to maintain the status quo. The citizen's purpose to vote is not for the benefit of the country but electing people who will continue to keep the social norm. Like the population, the Members of Parliament have their own interest in government.

The tribal and Islamist allegiances have used elections gain greater authority in the National Assembly. The second system implemented after 2006 consisted of five districts for ten members of Parliament and each voter has four votes to choose four different

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[100] Suzanne Maloney, "Kuwait, Qatar, Oman and the UAE: The Nervous Bystanders," in K. Pollack et al, *The Arab Awakening, p* 177.

candidates. The tribal and Islamist bloc aligned themselves toward

each other and trade votes to elect candidates representing the

majority in Parliament. The lack of existing evidence is proof but

this process has been used by both the Parliament and previously,

the Emir to buy support to maintain legitimacy and authority. The

chart below provides the number of voters and voter turnout in

elections since 2006.[101]

Figure 6.1 Voter Turnout in Kuwait's Parliamentary Elections 1999-2013

Election For	Date	Votes	Registered Voters	Turn Out
National Assembly	2013-07-27	228,314	439,911	51.9%
National Assembly	2012-12-01	163,301	400,296	40.8%
National Assembly	2012-02-02	238,308	400,296	59.53%
National Assembly	2009-05-16	-	384,790	-
National Assembly	2008-05-17	214,886	361,684	59.41%
National Assembly	2006-06-29	312,762	340,248	91.92%
National Assembly	1999-07-03	93,996	112,882	83.27%

Voter turnout has decreased significantly, especially in the last four

since 2012 even though there are more registered voters and votes

in place. The same groups still dominate and try to make strides in

legislation. Decrease in voter turnout only emphasizes that there

are flaws to the electoral process and elections. Protesting the

elections have represented dislike but it is inefficient since there is

not any central leadership guying these demonstrations.

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[101] Election Guide: Democracy Assistance and Election News. "Kuwait."
2015. http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/116/

Since 2006, women have played a larger role in elections as they represent the majority of the Kuwaiti population. They are slowly integrating into politics but continued to be faced with different challenges and barriers to entry, primarily Islamist and tribal blocs. The tribal and Islamic groups have a major advantage because they are interwoven into society allowing fewer barriers to mobilize support than liberal blocs.

Conclusion

The bureaucracy can't function without its governing bodies. The legislative and executive roles in the government is to direct policy as seen where it is needed. However, how can education policy be improved in a mixed regime that can't pass the simplest legislation. The political deadlock has significant tolls on education policy and future growth toward modernization. The conflicts based between the opposition and the Emir, Emir and the population, and parties within the Parliament prolong the issue of governance and society.

Education policy is an essential component that allows for policy and implementation. Education policy can't grow withut direction from above. The Emir directs funds as where it is needed in order to execute legislation that is shared among members of Parliament. The Ministry of Education is embedded and grounded but it still requires action from above or risk the consequences.

The deadlock has a larger impact on education reform. Kuwait falls behind many of its rivals. Many blame the deadlock between the Parliament and the Emir for such stagnation. More recently, Kuwait's 2010/2011. The increasing price of oil in 2011 and 2012 provided a surplus of revenue. Such reforms were taken in response. However, Kuwait's economy remains the same. "Moreover, crude oil remains the main component of the GDP and oil represents 94% of the GDP, while oil refining only represents 6%."[102] The private sector remains weak and underdeveloped compared to its oil industries.

Political deadlock is bad for business. Foreign investors don't want to invest money in a country that is not running smoothly and efficiently. Kuwait is among the lowest recipients of foreign direct investment within the Gulf. The political deadlock between the Emir and members of Parliament will continue unless the conflict is resolved at one of the zones of conflict. For example, changing election laws and requirements allowing for less votes or redistributing districts may help in diverting power from wronger blocs. In addition, it could also be an opportunity for women candidates to run and get elected into office. The second area is

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[102] Amer Thiab al-Tamimi. "Kuwait Development Plan Fails to Achieve Goals." Al-Monitor. April 224,2014. April 3, 2015. http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/business/2014/04/kuwait-development-plan-fails-achieve-goals.html

building a cooperative atmosphere. Kuwait can't afford to waste

more time between new elections as it had previously done over

the last ten years. The Al-Sabah family must work in order to create

at atmosphere conducive to passing policy toward education and

diversification. Kuwait has trailed behind its neighbors and needs to

reclaim some sort of commitment dedicated to not only its citizens

but to future generations. In doing so, it must improve its education

policy and relinquish some privatization.

Chapters 7: Conclusion

Education is the guiding principle essential to economic growth and development. In the Gulf, policy needs to be rearranged and look further at the inputs of education to the actual groups responsible for education policy and regulation. This thesis addressed the politics of education analyzing how agencies work toward building the educational institutes. This has gone beyond the existing literature focusing on the inputs and going to the source of policy. I argued that the mismatch between education and the labor markets lie within the function and delegation of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education has been in charge of overseeing and responsible for implementing education reform.

There are other factors influencing this relationship between the ruling family and the bureaucracy such as the transformation and experience of the rentier state, culture (traditional and modern). In addition, the channels of power within the government and how that impacts policy given the authoritarian state.

The political culture has influence over the relationship between the groups in power. Rentierism and traditional culture beliefs have been a factor both directly and indirectly involved in policy making affairs. The early rentier state was able to repress the need for democratic reform and other areas but that has changed as each has undergone a certain path through of development through their rentier experience. States are

entering a stage of late-rentierism calling them to be more active and

responsive to society's needs in order to protects its interest and address

such problems that have befallen from it. This has been influenced by

increasing globalization characteristics and social problems within. The

need is influenced by the cultural and rentier role of the state. Thus, one of

the objectives was to analyze the rentier experience in each state and

understand its transformation toward late-rentierism. This has had the

most influence on education policy as states can no longer falling behind

economically and technologically. States are more responsive to the world

and to their citizens. The rentier experience does shape education policy

in where the state is at and its future and its comparison to the rest of the

world.

As the state has developed, the purpose and objectives for

education has evolved as well. During the 1950s, the goal was to provide

access to basic education and eradicate illiteracy in the process. As each

state has developed and expanded, the relationship has changed. In an

increasing globalized world, the Gulf has to go beyond the traditional

modes of education and be more responsive to society's needs and the

international communities. The Ministry of Education remained bloated

and unorganized. The administrative functions were limited in vision and

action.

Education has always been a state responsibility and service to the

people. Every country focuses on education to the same purpose. It

guaranteed to all citizens of the state. The state is responsible for providing citizens with access and availability. Lastly, each country recognizes that education is valuable to educating the youth about national identity and cultural norms but to advancing society. The implementation process is where the latter part gets derailed and the politics enter.

In Saudi Arabia, education has been more difficult to modernize as it relies on its tradition political ties to the ullama and its message toward maintaining strong loyalty to the state and to Islam. Its religious influence is the reason for maintaining power. In addition, it has to deal with more social problems. Population growth and high rates of unemployment have created major issues and increase stress on the state in maintaining resources. In addition, it stresses the state financially to build more schools and other essentials for funding to increase enrollment.

Among the existing social programs, Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Education is behind in implementing the needed reforms to promote quantitative functions rather than qualitative. It lacks a strong standards based system and assessment mechanisms to evaluate the weaknesses founded within its own system. Although they are participating in international tests and surveys, it still does not provide much information on the weaknesses within the system.

The political ties within Saudi Arabia's government are strong and it requires further action. King Salman's ascension to the throne may be the

defining point in transforming Saudi Arabia's education system but it is too early to tell. It has worked in the region before as regime changes have brought more action and response. His actions are yet to be determined.

Kuwait's political relationship within the government is conflicted and prone to deadlock. This deadlock not only impacts education policy but other areas for policy. Deadlock within this mixed regime, where the Parliament has actual power, revolves around the rentier culture processes embedded in the state and society as both depend on oil resources to continue the state pushing forward. The Emir appoints Ministers and the Parliament approves them or not. However, the Parliament has been uncooperative with the Emir in respect to function and programs. This has extended to the public and the government as electoral laws change the shape and composition of the Parliament although it remains largely the same due to the number of Islamist and tribal blocs occupying these spaces. In doing so, it reinforces tribal and islamist ties to represent the government and moving Kuwait a step backwards.

Political deadlock not only hinders progress but it also drives away foreign direct investment. Kuwait's dependence on oil revenue can go so far. Without additional sources, Kuwait will have a difficulty in building the mechanisms needed to build a world class educational system. In addition, it will continue to fall behind its neighbors and competitors in education, economic, and political development. As long as there is no

institution solution to solve this political deadlock, then this pattern will continue.

Qatar's National Vision 2030 is a politically honest document aimed at identifying goals and objectives toward achieving modernization and diversification. It has the financial resources to carry out these actions as directed. The traditional Al-Thani family has been very successful in branding Qatar as a place that is finding balance between its traditional values and beliefs and embracing modernization at the same time.

Qatar seems to be the only country, thus far, taking precise action in establishing the needed reforms in education that can translate toward increasing future economic growth and providing students the technical skills they need for the job market. The Education for a New Era has improved education system-wide. It has reformed the Ministry of Education and integrating new institutions that are more organized and efficient. ENE included reforms designated toward building performance standards, evaluating assessments on curriculum, and standardized test for K-12 in English, Arabic, mathematics, and science.

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