CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND POLITICAL MODERNIZATION
1. Traditional Educational System: Kuttab Schools

The traditional education in the Gulf states, as in many other Muslim countries, was Kuttab education. The term 'Kuttab' was originally derived from the Arabic word, 'kataba' which means 'to write'. This was mainly religious in content and included teaching of the Quran and the basic tenets of Islam.¹ The kuttab system had informal organisational structure based on the absolute authority of the teacher, known as 'mullah' or 'muttawa'. A sort of superior-subordinate relationship was established between the teacher and the student and the latter was supposed to follow the teacher's behaviour pattern as well. Generally speaking there were two types of kuttab education, ordinary and advanced.²

Ordinary kuttabs were available in almost every village and did not have any specially constructed classrooms.³ Male teachers, muttawa, held Kuttabs in their homes, shops or even village bazaars,⁴ while female teachers, muttawah, held their

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classes only in their homes.\(^5\) At the ordinary Kuttab (plural of Kuttab), the Quran was memorized. On the other hand, the advanced Kuttab which were situated mainly in large towns and housed in special buildings, imparted Quaranic and religious teachings as well as taught reading and writing the Arabic language and elementary arithmetics.\(^6\) However, masjid (mosque) and kuttab system were closely related, and in cases the latter was a part of the former.

Children of both genders under the age of ten attend the kuttab. They could join the Kuttab any time and there was no strict rule of attendance.\(^7\) Muttawa or mulla were simple religious people having a basic knowledge of the Quran, the Hadith i.e., traditions of the Prophet, Fiqh i.e. Islamic jurisprudence, and the Arabic language. The method of imparting learning was simple.

In addition to the Kuttab some traditional schools in town imparted post-elementary education in arithmetic, geography, Arabic language, history and other subjects. In Makkah, Medina and Jeddah, the Saudi Arabian towns of high


\(^6\) Al-Kobaisi, n.2, pp.31-32.

religious importance, some specialized religious schools were established in the houses of the ulama and masjid (mosques).\(^8\) Besides, there were several private schools sponsored by individuals such as the Al-Falah schools in Makkah and Jeddah, or schools supported by voluntary contributions of the Muslim community.\(^9\) The ruling family and some business families in Saudi Arabia had special Kuttab meant for their children only.

Although there were some separate Kuttabs for girls, most attend by girls were co-educational.\(^10\) In the family's Kuttab, the girls were taught very elementary reading and writing by special arrangement.\(^11\) Girls were normally withdrawn from the Kuttab when they were about 11 years old. The Kuttab were run by men and initially used to be open for boys but later on they admitted girls as well. For instance, among the twelve well-known Kuttab in Qatar, only four were run by women teachers.\(^12\) However, Kuttab for girls also existed in the area, where girls were taught by


\(^9\) Ibid.


\(^12\) Al-Kobaisi, n.2, p.33.
women teachers. 13

It seems that the sociological functions of traditional education were (a) to transmit the religio-cultural heritage of the Arabs from one generation to the other, (b) to prepare students for different roles in the mosques and other religious and social institutions, and (c) to maintain the religious social order and strengthen the religious belief system. 14

2. Modernization of Education

Along with the disintegration of the traditional educational system, there started emerging a new educational system in the Gulf area in the twentieth century. A whole set of factors – both internal and external were responsible for this change. Internally, the limited socio-economic progress and increasing commercial ties with neighbouring and other countries due to the increased sea-borne trade created a consciousness for change. For example, in Kuwait, it resulted in the introduction of book-keeping, accountancy and business-correspondence in the Kuttab. Externally, the contact with the West, mainly the British, made an impact on education of the Gulf area. The Western influence on the Arab

education came from three major sources, namely, through Egypt in the early nineteenth century after Napoleon's victory of Egypt, through the Ottoman reforms of 1839 which introduced public education on Western style and through British ascendancy in the Middle East.  

Modern Western-style schools were opened in the Gulf except Saudi Arabia by a group of missionaries usually referred to as the Arabian Mission which was founded in 1889 by an independent American Protestant group and was adopted in 1934 by the Reformed Church in America. The Mission opened its first school for girls in 1692 in Bahrain followed by a school for boys. Gradually the number of students in these schools increased. These schools taught the Bible, the English language, Arabic grammar and Geography, together with sewing and embroidery for the girl students.


The first missionary school in Kuwait was established in 1913 for boys, followed by a school for girls with same curriculum. However, the Mission schools faced opposition in Kuwait and Bahrain and probably due to the fear of opposition and financial difficulty, no such school was opened in Qatar. The evangelistic aims of mission work discouraged the parents and provoked strong opposition from the local religious leaders.

Bahrain

Bahrain was the first Gulf state to introduce modern educational system. The first public school was opened there in 1921. However, a number of advanced kuttab schools, financed by local merchants, were functioning in Bahrain during the period 1910-1915. The school for boys named as al-Hidaya was supervised by a Sunni Committee, composed of notables and merchants, under the guidance of Sheikh Abdulla bin Isa. This committee opened another school

in 1923. These schools, restricted to the Sunni population only, prompted the Shia community to establish the Shia community-run schools in the late twenties. Girls school was opened by the government in 1928 with the Sheikh's approval.

The government started taking initiative with regard to management and finance of the schools as early as 1925. It started subsidising schools and the two committees were reduced to an advisory role and later were completely dissolved. By the end of 1941 there were eight boys' and four girls' schools in Bahrain with a total enrolment of 1,144 and 667 respectively.

Kuwait

The first modern primary school in Kuwait was established in 1912, called "al Mubarakia" by a group of merchants under the patronage of the Amir, Sheikh Mubarak-al-Sabah.

Its curriculum was mainly traditional but later on other subjects such as commercial correspondence, book-keeping and English language were added. Another school, al-Ahmadiya, was opened in 1922 with public contribution.

From 1936 on, the government started taking more interest in education. A board of education was then elected and was headed by a member of the al-Sabah family. In 1936 the al-Mubarakia and al-Ahmadiya schools were taken over by the government and more schools for boys were opened in subsequent years with modern curriculum.

The first modern government school for girls was opened in 1937 following the establishment of the Board of Education. However, instances are there of private girls school preceding 1937. The number of girl students increased rapidly leading to the opening of three more girls schools in the period between 1939 and 1941. Near the end of 1941 these schools were re-organized into three large schools.


34. Ibid., pp.78-79.

35. Ibid, p.83.
namely al-Madrasaha al-wasta, al-Madrasaha al-Qubliah and al-Madrasaha at Shargiah. Girl students in school represented about 25 per cent of total enrolment in such schools for boys and girls.

Saudi Arabia

A similar course, in line with other mentioned states, was adopted by Saudi Arabia during the 1920s for the modernization of education. In 1925, the general Directorate of Education was established which was later on, replaced by the Ministry of Education. In 1925, four primary schools for boys were opened and in 1936, the first modern secondary school was established. In the 1940s and 1950s, boys schools were opened in towns and villages.

The girls education could be initiated only in the late 1950s due to stiff resistance from the bedouins and villagers.

Qatar

In Qatar, modern education started at a much later date than in Kuwait and Bahrain. According to al-Kobaisi,


38. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Saudi Arabia, p.120.
the movements away from kuttab education in Qatar started around 1948-49 with the opening of a school in Doha. From 1950-51, with government financial support to the school, number of students and teachers increased rapidly. The school curriculum consisted of Islamic studies, Arabic language, Islamic history, arithmetic, geography and English language. By 1954, the number of schools in Qatar increased to four, enrolling a total of 560 boys who were taught by 26 teachers. Education for girls was initiated by a lady named Amina Mahmud in 1938 which received government support in 1956 followed by a school for girls by the Educational Department of Qatar. The school curriculum consisted of the Quran, Islamic Education, Arabic language, arithmetic and moral and health education. The year 1956-57 marked the beginning of modern education for girls in Qatar, when the government decided to reorganize Amina Mahmud's kuttab

39. Al-Kobaisi, n.2, p.34.
41. Ibid, p.38.
45. Ibid.
into the first public school for girls. However, the change of attitude of the government and the public towards girls education owe a great deal to a 'Fatwa' (religious declaration) by Sheikh al-Mani who was residing in Saudi Arabia strongly advocating the cause of education for Muslim girls.46

Attitude Towards Modernization of Girl's Education

It is important to note that the effort to modernize education especially girls education in the early twentieth century did not get sympathetic treatment from the traditional ulema and the people and at times met with hostility. It was only after the assumption of state's role as a welfare state and huge subsidies by the state that led to smooth business in education mainly after the second world war.

The opening of girl's schools was not welcomed by the majority of the people in these societies. According to Sheikh Abdullah al-Sabah, Director of Education in Kuwait (1935-65) when the first modern school for girls was opened in 1937, the school remained open for nearly six months without any student as no girls would join it. However, after the Education Department initiated a campaign to secure public support and some financial assistance was provided.47


that the girls came forward and joined the school.

Similarly, in the case of Qatar, the idea of girls education raised strong opposition when Amina Mahmud opened a girl's school that was financed by the government. She tried to persuade people which yielded result. Amina Mahmud describes her efforts as follows:

they (the parents) did not want the girls to be educated because they thought that religion forbade it. I had to persuade them that education is a duty for every Muslims, male or female, then they gradually saw that girl's education was not sinful.

Ironically, training the girls to write was considered a moral danger by those who suggested to the Sheikh of Qatar that girls should be taught only reading and not writing.

Because of this opposition, girl's education was very slow till the 1950s. However, change resulting especially from the discovery and export of oil, led to rapid change in many fields including education.

Effect of Oil Income on Educational Modernization

A new era in the Gulf started with the discovery of oil in the 1930s. The oil revenues encouraged the government

49. American University of Beirut, University Development: Continuity and Change, p. 97.
to provide a wide range of social services including health, education and social welfare facilities. Oil income made a favourable impact on education also because an awareness of and demand for education was growing in these states.

Government funds were made available for expanding old schools, building new schools, recruiting greater number of qualified teachers, supplying of free text books, stationery, clothes etc. and, most importantly, making education free for all people at all levels of society.

Primary Education

There has been a considerable gap of time in introduction of primary education in different Arab Gulf States e.g., it started in 1921, 1936, and 1951 in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively. However, the expansion was limited until the late 1950s, and better planned primary education started only in the early 1960s. For instance, the enrolment in 1955 of boys and girls in primary schools in Kuwait increased 6.4 times and 12.9 time respectively in 1960. Although the rate is now declining, the actual number of both boys and girls in school has been gradually increasing. (See Appendix 1).

Though girl's enrolment was considerably lower than that of boys during the late 1950s and early 1960s, in 1980 the percentage of their enrolment in Bahrain, Kuwait and
Qatar had increased to 44 per cent, 47 per cent and 47 per cent respectively (See Appendix II).

**Curricula**

Initially, the school curricula were based on the Egyptian system of education. The Egyptian syllabus was first put into practice in the early 1940s in Bahrain and Kuwait. Since then the Egyptian system has not directly influenced educational system and curricula of some of the Gulf states, but it has also had some indirect effects. The Gulf states, starting their educational programmes at a later date, were dependent in many ways on the advice and facilities provided by neighbouring Arab states with older educational systems. Text books were imported from Egypt, Syria and Jordan during this period.

The second stage in the development of curricula started in the late 1950s. The Gulf states adopted as the basis of their curricula that laid down by the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement with some modifications. By this time the


51. The Arab Agreement was signed in 1945. Article four of the Agreement states: "The states members should work to reach homogeneous educational levels through coordination between the educational systems, particularly standardization of curricula, education ladders, study plans, text books, examinations, teacher training programmes, degrees and administration of educational institutes."
individual Gulf states started compiling and writing their own books on social science subjects.

The third stage of development started when formal education reached a more systematic stage. Ministries of Education, with the help of various committees comprising teachers, inspectors and other educationists, started revising and amending the existing curricula and text books so that they suited the real needs of the individual states. For example, some 232 school text-books were compiled in Qatar during that period.52

The fourth stage of development started with higher education. The opening of the State Universities brought specialised teachers from abroad. Their expertise was utilized by the Ministries of Education for evaluation and development of school curricula and text-books, and for the development of higher education.

The primary school syllabus in the Gulf States can be divided into major subjects such as (i) religious studies, (ii) Arabic language, (iii) mathematics, (iv) social sciences, (v) sciences, and (vi) English language. However, the three main subjects in the primary school syllabuses in

Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar have been religious studies, Arabic language and mathematics.

The science curricula and text books, almost identical throughout the Arab States, are still outdated and of low standards, despite revision and replanning of the science curricula at all levels of education.

In the 1940s and the 1950s, considerable importance was attached to religious studies and the Arabic language, followed by mathematics. The number of weekly lessons on religious studies and the Arabic language was higher for girls than for boys in Bahrain in 1940. For girls, in both Bahrain and Kuwait, considerable emphasis was placed on subjects such as domestic science, general science and hygiene, needle work and art. This was in conformity with the official policy e.g., in Bahrain, "The aim of the schools is to teach the girls better methods of managing their homes and bringing up their children".

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55. Al-Misnad, n.3, p.69.


However, since the early 1950s, the school curricula for both boys and girls have been undergoing revisions and modifications. Nowadays the school curricula and most of the text books are designed and composed by the individual state authorities under the guidelines laid down by the Arab Cultural Unity Agreement. Furthermore, Article II(a) of United Nations Convention Against Discrimination in Education states that:

Maintenance of separate schools for boys and girls shall not be considered discriminatory if, among other requirements, these institutions offered the opportunity to take the same or equivalent courses of study. It is particularly important that all basic subjects for boys and girls should follow the same curricula in order to give them equal preparation for final examination and the same background with which to continue further studies or future employment; girls should not be handicapped in later life by shortcomings in their education as compared to that of boys.

The main subjects in the primary schools in Bahrain, Kuwait, and Qatar are still Islamic religion, Arabic language and mathematics as evident from the tables (Appendices, III, IV and V).


More time is devoted to teaching humanities than to teaching science or other practical extra-curricular activities. In the three states, about 66 per cent of the total teaching time is devoted to Arabic Language and to the teaching of Islam and mathematics compared to 8 per cent for science and 8-10 per cent for physical education.

Secondary Education

Unlike primary school education, secondary school education was almost non-existent until the early 1960s in the Arab Gulf states under discussion. From a humble beginning, however, secondary education has undergone considerable expansion during the last two decades. By 1978, except Oman and Saudi Arabia, enrolment as percentage of population aged 5-19 years crossed 50 per cent mark.

This growth is primarily due to expansion of primary education in the 1950s and early 1960s.

The history of secondary school education in the six Gulf states, shows corresponding variations of dates. Initially the role of secondary education was considered

60. Al-Misnad, n.3, p.72.
61. Ibid, pp.73-74.
Present Structural Organization of Secondary Education

Bahrain

SECONDARY EDUCATION

GENERAL ACADEMIC (boys and girls)

TECHNICAL

INDUSTRIAL (boys only)

Kuwait

SECONDARY EDUCATION

GENERAL ACADEMICS (boys and girls)

TECHNICAL

RELIGIOUS (boys only)

Qatar

SECONDARY EDUCATION

GENERAL ACADEMIC (boys and girls)

TECHNICAL

INDUSTRIAL (boys only)

COMMERCIAL (boys only)

RELIGIOUS (boys only)
as a kind of technical or professional training of primary school graduates for clerical, commercial and teaching jobs. Its preparatory role for higher education attracted least attention from both the public and the authorities, since there was no tradition of university or other forms of higher education in these states. 62

The planning of Secondary education lagged behind the time so far as raising the intellectual standards in the nations and in preparing a new generation to be capable of leading and maintaining their national development programmes are concerned.

A Brief History of Secondary Education

Bahrain

Though secondary education started in Bahrain in 1940 with the opening of Manama College "al-Kuliyah" for boys, a general improvement was noticed only after the World War II. During the 1960s particularly, all students who completed their primary education joined intermediate schools and approximately 85 per cent of the students continued their secondary education. 63

Secondary education for girls started in 1951-52 and was established along lines similar to those of boys general academic education. In the 1960s girls secondary schools continued to expand very rapidly.

**Kuwait**

The Kuwaitis developed their own secondary schools during 1942-52. In the preceding years, students were sent to other Arab States for secondary education.

Secondary education for girls in Kuwait started in 1951 and its development in the period 1954 to 1965 followed lines similar to those of the schools for boys.

**Qatar**

Secondary education in Qatar started in 1956 with the opening of three classrooms and for girls it started in 1961-62. Between the mid-1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, village education was reorganized to provide primary education at all grades, and in some cases intermediate and secondary education was also made available.65

64. Ibid, p.16.
65. Al-Kobaisi, n.2, p.44.
Reorganization of Secondary Education

The aim of secondary education has been two-fold. First, to provide with sufficient relevant education; and secondly, to provide with satisfactory education in arts and science subjects to continue higher education at university level.

Until 1965 secondary education for boys comprised (i) general academic (science and arts), (ii) commercial, (iii) teacher-training, and (iv) industrial (technical schools). For girls it comprised (i) general academic (science and arts), and (ii) teacher-training schools. The normal duration of secondary education has been three, four years. 66

Intermediate School Education and Its Expansion During 1965-1980

There has been a steady increase in the numbers of both boys and girls at the intermediate schools during the period 1965-1980 (See Appendix V).

The Appendix table shows there has been a considerable increase in the enrolment of girls during this period.

An analysis of the ratio of boys and girls enrolled in the science and arts sections of the general academic

secondary school indicates that a comparatively larger proportion of boys join science courses. The enrolment of girls has risen from 25 per cent to 51 per cent in Bahrain, 32 per cent to 47 per cent in Kuwait and 18 per cent to 52 per cent in Qatar during the period 1965 to 1980 (see Appendix VII). These figures are encouraging when compared with the findings of an UNESCO survey on 'Women and Education in the World Today'. It is clear from Appendix VIII that girls enrolment in the Gulf states is higher than in any other Arab country.

Moreover, the average pass rates of boys and girls at all grades of intermediate and secondary education reveals that the average percentage of girl students who pass their examinations at both intermediate and secondary school level is approximately 9 per cent higher than that of the boys (see Appendix IX). Furthermore, the girls also secure more top positions in the general school examinations.

Expansion of Schools

In current years, the number of schools have kept pace with the increasing number of students. The number of students, both boys and girls, varies between 30 and 36 students per class, slightly overcrowded. The schools

68. Al-Misnad, n.3, p.104.
provide all kinds of educational and recreational facilities, such as laboratories, libraries and sports halls. With the increasing number of schools and students, there has been a parallel increase in the number of teachers in the intermediate and secondary schools over the last 15 years (see Appendix X).

The majority of teachers at intermediate and secondary schools these days have university qualification, approximately 72 per cent, 79 per cent and 81 per cent in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar respectively. However, a large number of these teachers who hold university degrees and teach at secondary school level did not have any teaching training or experience prior to their first appointment.

General Discussion

The development of secondary education in the Arab Gulf states shows two dominant features. First, since its commencement, secondary school education has expanded rapidly to absorb the increasing number of students who successfully complete primary school education. Secondly, in the last two decades, secondary education has undergone a multitude of changes and reorganization in almost every respect.

70. Ibid, p.120.
71. Ibid, p.121.
Secondary education is still a weak link between the primary and higher education in these states. Hardly any serious attention has been given to reorganization and development of secondary education. Until 1965, primary education was the focus of attention.

One big defect of the secondary education has been its lack of objectives and scope. In general, it has been treated either as a continuation of primary education or a preparation for higher education. So far its curriculum has neither been related to everyday problems and needs of students nor has it been designed to promote the development of attitudes among students necessary for the achievement of national and social goals. The present curriculum emphasises book learning, rote memory, and is largely dominated by a stifling examination system.

Recently, Sayigh also pointed out that as far as methodology is concerned, education still fails to provide sufficient scope for innovation and intellectual stimulation, and concentrates instead on cramming the student's memories with information. According to Zarrugh, "their (Arab

73. Ibid.
74. Ibid, p.124.
Youth's superficial school training is not deepened or reinforced in terms of genuine national needs, and although they pass through to reach the university, yet their background in terms of experience and knowledge is extremely limited. 76

So far as girl's education is concerned, it has progressively increased and today represents one-half of the secondary school population. This can be considered as a remarkable achievement as modern education especially girls education is a new phenomenon in the area.

University Education

University education of the Gulf nationals at universities abroad started much earlier than university education in the national universities. In fact, only by 1970s national universities started getting adequate attention.

In recent times, the expansion of university education abroad as well as at home is due to a number of factors which include (a) a rise in the total number of secondary school graduates, (b) an enthusiasm for university education and a lack of interest in technical education, (c) an unexpected increase in the number of female students, and (d) an official policy which has promoted university education. 77

77. Misnad, n.3, p.205.
At present, university education is available both at home and abroad but before the opening of universities at home the only way to acquire higher education was to go to universities abroad. 78

The scheme of university education of Gulf national can be represented as follows:

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University education of Gulf States' students

at universities abroad        at home universities

at universities outside the Gulf Area

at universities within the Gulf Area

Registration
in correspondence courses

Registration
in full time courses
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A. University Education Abroad

Bahrain

During the first quarter of this century, Bahraini students received university education, mostly privately, in Egypt and in other Arab countries.

78. Ibid, p.201.
There has been increase in the number of students both male and female in recent years, though growth rate has been inconsistent (see Appendix XI).

The data as to the total number of male and female students who went to universities abroad between 1970 and 1980 shows that the number of Bahraini male and female students in Arab countries has been higher than in non-Arab countries. For financial support, the data for the period 1977-1980 shows that about 50 per cent of Bahraini students receive their university education abroad privately. On the otherhand, the government of Bahrain's scholarship scheme offers opportunity to only 25 per cent of total students, the remaining 25 per cent receiving fellowships from governments other than that of Bahrain. There has been, however, little difference between the numbers of male and female students sponsored by governments. However, when parents have to pay for their children's education at universities abroad, preference is usually given to boys.

80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
Among the total number of students on Bahraini government scholarships, 67 per cent were sent to universities in Arab countries and 37 per cent to universities in non-Arab countries, almost 98 per cent of the total number of Bahraini students with fellowship awards were at universities in Arab countries, particularly universities in the Gulf area.\textsuperscript{83}

So far as distribution of students according to their fields of study is concerned, available data indicates that a large number of female Bahraini students joined courses in general arts studies and in music, fine arts, home economics, physical education compared to male students. On the other hand, a large number of male Bahraini students are enrolled in courses in engineering, commerce, economics and business studies, and in general science and mathematics\textsuperscript{84} (Appendix XII).

\textbf{Kuwait}

Kuwaiti government enforced strict measures to ensure higher education only for deserving students. In 1959, a new scholarship law was introduced which set higher academic standards for secondary school graduates wishing to qualify for university education abroad. The regulation put a limit on the number of scholarships awarded to male students,

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.
but did not restrict the number of scholarships for university education abroad for female students.\textsuperscript{85}

However, with the opening of the University of Kuwait, the availability of government scholarships for female students restricted in a similar way as applied to male students. During the late 1970s the official policy on university education of Kuwaiti women at universities abroad underwent two major changes. First, the majority of government scholarships for education abroad were offered to male students, and secondly, government scholarships for women were restricted to universities in Arab countries.\textsuperscript{86}

An analysis of the available data\textsuperscript{87} indicates that some 50 per cent, 14 per cent and 36 per cent of the total number of male and female Kuwaiti students in university education abroad were respectively on government scholarships, fellowships awards or privately funded. The percentage of female students privately funded (28 per cent of the total number of female students) had been smaller compared to that of the corresponding proportion of male students (38 per cent


\textsuperscript{86} An interview to this effect, quoted in Al-Misnad, n.3, p.217.

of total male student member).

Until 1976-77 the number of Kuwaiti students at Egyptian Universities was higher than that at United States Universities, but this trend has been changing since 1977/78, when the number of Kuwaiti students at US universities began to increase. Further, analysis of the data for 1975-76 to 1979-80, on the basis of gender of students show that a large majority of female Kuwaiti Students (63 per cent to 75 per cent) had been enrolled in Egyptian universities. The number of male students going to the USA had increased from 37 per cent to 55 per cent, with a parallel decrease at the Egyptian universities from 41 per cent to 23 per cent.

So far as the major fields of university education abroad are concerned, more than 50 per cent of male students and 60 per cent of female students on government scholarships were sent to engineering and medical courses respectively. Generally speaking, female students show a preference for medicine while male students prefer engineering.

90. Ibid.
Qatar

Unlike Bahrain and Kuwait, university education abroad for Qatari students did not start until the mid-1960s primarily because modern school education in Qatar started in late 1950s.

Unlike Bahraini and Kuwaiti students where 25 per cent and 14 per cent of students who receive funding through fellowships from other governments for university education abroad, a considerably large majority of Qatari students obtain their university education abroad usually through the Qatari government scholarship schemes.

The Ministry of Education, Qatar's Annual Report 1972/73-1979/80 indicates that only 70 per cent to 75 per cent of the total number of Qatari students had opportunities for full time education. However, the average percentage of Qatari women in correspondence courses has been increasing rapidly during the last five years, while the percentage of male students has been declining steadily. But, there is at least a ten-fold difference in the number of male and female students registering for full time courses in universities abroad.

As per the above Annual Reports, 33.5 per cent and 20.3 per cent of Qatari students were sent to Egyptian universities and to the Arab University in Lebanon respectively while only 14.5 per cent and 11.3 per cent went
to universities in the UK and USA respectively.

The percentage of Qatari men enrolling in universities abroad is as under: USA (36.7 per cent), Egypt (27.9 per cent), Lebanon (18.2 per cent), other countries (9.3 per cent), UK (7.9 per cent) which shows that while the trend to go to countries such as Egypt, Lebanon and the UK has been declining, the trend to go to universities in the USA has been increasing rapidly (see Appendix XIII).

The cumulative data of the decade 1970-80 suggests, so far as the position of Qatari women in university education abroad is concerned, (i) women students comprised only 28 per cent of the total number of students studying at universities abroad: (ii) the ratio of Qatari men to women students at universities abroad is 1:1.14 in Lebanon, 1:0.26 in UK, 1:0.14 in Egypt, 1:0.01 in the USA, and 1:0.31 in other countries, (iii) among the total number of women students at universities abroad, a large majority (74 per cent) were registered at the Arab University of Beirut in Lebanon, 14 per cent at Egyptian universities, 1.3 per cent at US universities, 0.7 per cent at UK universities and 10 per cent at universities in other countries, mainly in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, (iv) only 12 out of 1,094 female Qatari students registered at the Arab University of Beirut, were in full time courses (rest in correspondence courses). Further information shows that they have extremely limited access
to university education in western universities. A majority of female Qatari students enrolled in universities in the USA during 1979-80 were the spouses of Qatari men who were receiving university education in that country.\footnote{91}

While a large majority of male students (37.7 percent of the total number of men) is enrolled in engineering courses, a considerably higher proportion of female students (77.9 of the total number of women) is in general art courses.\footnote{92} Male to female student ratios in general arts and engineering courses have been 1:1.43 and 1:0.006 respectively.

The general trend in education for the decade 1970-80 can be summarised as follows: (i) general arts versus general science enrolment ratios have been almost 10 times higher for women students than those of men students; (ii) a large proportion of students prefer to join applied sciences rather than general and academic science courses; (iii) ratios of student enrolment in academic versus applied arts courses have been significantly lower compared with similar ratios in science subjects. Enrolment ratios in academic to applied arts courses are 1:1.49 for male students and 1:0.11 for

\footnote{91. Al-Ahd, Qatari Magazine, no.240, 9 October 1979.}
\footnote{92. Ministry of Education, Qatar, Annual Reports, 1972/73-1979/80.}
female students; (iv) with regard to changes in the trends of male and female students it appears that while the number of men studying engineering, medicine or commerce, economics and business studies has been increasing slowly, there has been a steady decrease in the number of men enrolling in general arts courses over the last five years. However, no clear pattern in the trends of women studying for a particular course can be seen. Moreover, they are usually given only a very limited choice in selecting their courses of study.  

The establishment of Kuwait University, 1966/67 appears to have made very little impact on Qatar's education. The establishment of the Qatar university has done more harm to female education since it has blocked their education abroad except in correspondence courses in Beirut University, thereby, restricting them mainly to general arts.

B. University Education at Home

The late 1970s witnessed the development of higher education and the establishment of national universities in the area, as a result of many economic, social and political factors.

One basic factor which has influenced university education has been the development and expansion of modern education.

secondary school education. Moreover, the high social status attached to university degrees generated demand for university education. The rapid economic change further motivated the Gulf governments to have their own universities, though, it led to duplication in educational facilities.

Kuwait

Kuwait was the first Gulf state to have its own University. The opening of advanced teacher-training colleges in 1966 marked the foundation of Kuwait University, and it expanded rapidly shortly after that. In 1967, two more colleges, a college of law and sharia (Islamic law) and a college of commerce, economics, and political science were opened to offer undergraduate training in these subjects.94

In the same year, a separate college for women was opened which offered courses in arts, science and education. The girl students can enrol in any branch of higher education. All the colleges and departments of Kuwait University enrol both male and female students except for the College of law and Sharia and the original University College for Women.

Qatar

The first attempt to establish an institute for higher education in Qatar dates back to 1969, when a proposal was

94. University of Kuwait, Kuwait, Assessment of Kuwait University (Kuwait,1966/67), p.5.
presented to the Ministry of Education concerning the establishment of a regional college to train teachers for the preparatory and secondary schools. After an agreement was signed between the government, the UN Development Programme and UNESCO as the executive agency in 1973, two teacher-training colleges, one for men and the other for women were launched. The two higher teacher-training colleges for male and female students were reorganized into four faculties: faculty of humanities and social science, faculty of sharia and Islamic studies; faculty of education, and faculty of engineering which opened in 1980/81.

**Bahrain**

In Bahrain, the government introduced higher university education late mainly because most Bahraini students after completion of their secondary education, used to seek employment or join the family's business and as there was no shortage of school teachers in Bahrain as compared with other neighbouring Gulf states such as Kuwait or Qatar. The

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University College of Bahrain was opened in 1978-79, after an agreement was signed in 1978 between the government of Bahrain and the UN agency to establish the University College of Bahrain. The University College, apart from teacher-training courses, offers B.A. and B.Sc. degrees also.

Arab Gulf University

The desire to establish a Gulf University serving the whole Arab Gulf area has been expressed repeatedly over the past two decades by all governments of the Gulf states. But real co-operation was neither available nor was actually desired because all the Gulf states wanted to establish their own universities. 100

However, the project of the Gulf University gained some impetus when the first conference of the ministers of education of Gulf states was held in 1975 in Riyadh under the auspices of the government of Saudi Arabia. Finally, the bill for establishing Arab Gulf University in Bahrain was passed on the occasion of the Fifth Conference of Ministers of Education of the Gulf states, held in Kuwait on the 13 March 1980. The seven Arab states – Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, UAE and Bahrain are signatories to this agreement.

100. Ibid, p.253.
50 per cent of the budget was provided by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia only. 101

The policy of the Arab Gulf University on enrolment of students from the seven member states can be summarised as follows 102: (i) the University will accept only those students nominated by the education authorities of their respective countries and who fulfill the admission requirements specified by different faculties under the University regulation, (ii) 30 per cent of the total number of places available in each faculty or department will be allocated to students coming from member states whether that particular discipline(s) of study or training is not available at the national university, (iii) the remaining 70 per cent of places in all faculties and departments will be available in equal numbers to students from all seven member states irrespective of the availability or non-availability of such facilities in their own national universities.


102. Arab Bureau of Education for the Gulf States. The Agreement on the Establishment of the Gulf University, Kuwait, p.5.
Enrolment

In both Kuwait and Qatar Universities, about 85 per cent of the total University places are reserved for national students. But the percentage of national student in these universities has always been less than 85 per cent mainly because of their preference to go abroad as in case of Qatar. 103

At Kuwait University, on average the number of women has increased to 56 per cent of total student numbers during the period 1966/67 to 1979/80 (Appendix XIV).

An analysis of student enrolment according to nationality shows that Kuwaiti students comprise the majority, the average percentage being 63.3 per cent. While Bahrainis have comprised about 8.4 per cent of the total students population, the Palestinians or Jordanian constitute the second largest group at Kuwait University almost 11.7 per cent (Appendix XV).

At Qatar University, though the enrolment has been increasing steadily, the relative proportion of Qatari students to that of the total number of students shows a steady decline. Among non-Qataris, students from other Gulf states have always constituted a majority compared with any other group of students at the university (Appendix XVI).

So far as the percentage of female students are concerned, on an average they form 64 per cent of total students (1973/74 - 1979/80). Available data shows that on average, female Qatari students form the largest group, almost 63 per cent of total female students (Appendix XVII).

Enrolment at the University College of Bahrain shows similar pattern i.e. while the number of men is significantly smaller than that of women, the number of women has increased rapidly (Appendix XVIII).

University education of Gulf students at universities abroad started much earlier than university education in national universities. Although university education in the form of national universities has expanded rapidly during a short period of time, university education abroad is still the main venue for Gulf students.

With the development and expansion of secondary school education during the 1970s, both the total number of secondary school graduates and those wishing to acquire university education increased rapidly. The expansion of secondary school education thus appears to have influenced the development of university education in two ways. First, it created an increasing demand for university education, and secondly it increased the demand for better qualified teachers to meet its own expanding requirements.

Despite some internal and external opposition, a number of factors contributed to the expansion of university education abroad as well as the development of national universities. These factors include (a) rise in the total number of secondary school graduates, (b) desire for university education and lack of interest in technical education, (c) unexpected increase in the number of female students, and (d) official policy which has promoted university education.

Throughout its short history, university education in the Gulf States has laid emphasis on sending male students to universities abroad for higher education. This stems from the deep rooted customs and beliefs prevalent in the Gulf area. In a family, sons are given preferential treatment over daughters, and also any financial expenditure put into the educational training of men is considered an investment in the future fortunes of the family.

In contrast to the decrease in the number of women at universities abroad, the education of male students at universities abroad has been expanding since the late 1970s. Whereas in the earlier days the education authorities placed no restrictions on the choice of studies, and students were allowed their own preferences, which were most often in general arts, with the establishment of Faculties of Arts and Science the government began to restrict the number of
scholarships allocated in these areas of study while increasing scholarships in scientific and technical fields. A large majority of students with fellowship awards or privately funded prefer to undertake courses in general arts or business studies and allied subjects. Most young people in the Gulf tend to obtain administrative, executive and managerial positions after finishing their university education. Although the government authorities have recently started to limit the number or scholarship for university education abroad and to restrict them to specific areas of training, these measures do not appear to have had any significant effect on the tendencies and desire of Gulf students to study abroad, as the number of students paying their own fees has been increasing. Besides, with regard to the choice of host countries for university education abroad, there appears to have been a significant shift from Egyptian to American universities during the last decade.

There is no doubt that the students of Gulf states have benefited tremendously from the establishment of national Gulf universities. It is quite obvious that without their establishment it would have been impossible to provide university education for all students abroad, due to the difficulties involved in securing sufficient number of places in foreign universities.
Contrary to the fears of some critics at the time of its initiation, university education in these Gulf states has not been a complete failure although it has involved a certain degree of wastage. These national universities are still in their infancy. Even if they have failed to prove their qualitative excellence so far, these universities have made a considerable contribution to raising the number of Gulf nationals with a university education. This is particularly true for the female students of these states, who otherwise had very little chance of university education in the presence of hostile social customs and traditions concerning their course of higher education and their general role in Gulf society.

Analysis of enrolment trends at universities at home and abroad indicated that only a small minority of male students enrol in home universities whereas the large majority prefer to go to universities abroad. Had it not been for national women whose number is about twice that of men, and non-national students who comprise about one-third of the total university enrolment, the total enrolment of national male and female students would not have comprised more than 40 per cent of total enrolment. This small number has not made these universities viable projects.
Similarly, the objection concerning the lack of proper academic and research facilities and the adverse effect on the development and progress of an academically active university also seem to hold good. Lack of highly qualified academics and researchers in arts and sciences, essential for graduate teaching and training as well as for establishing postgraduate research activities, shows its effect in the poor standard of undergraduates and absence of any postgraduate research and training facilities in these universities.

Finally, it appears that the doubts cast at the time of the opening of these universities concerning possible interference from governments and the ruling class have proved to be true. Concrete evidence exposing such official interference is hard to find, either in the national press of these countries, or from comments or protests made by the university authorities or academics, because of the prevailing political system and censorship. However, an overall review of some practices and policies in higher education being carried out in these countries provides sufficient evidence that the universities authorities and academics are not consulted in the formulation of these policies. It is important to note that whereas a university and its academics are traditionally regarded as having freedom of thought and expression, a complete lack of evidence that they have challenged government authorities on their illogical decisions suggest that they have not succeeded in achieving the necessary measure of autonomy.
Effect of Education on Women

The study of the effects of education on the role of status of women presents its own problems. First, there is no comparable situation either in wealthy and advanced societies or in the poor and developing nations of the world. Secondly, there are no well-defined and universally accepted indicators which can be used directly to assess the role and status of women in different societies. Further difficulties arise from our tendency to assess a situation in a non-western society from the viewpoint of western society.

To assess the impact of education on the role and status of women, the following aspects need examination:

(a) the change in the attitude of men towards women in the Gulf and, the emergence of the nuclear family structure,
(b) the development of women's societies and organizations;
(c) the position of women in the electoral, political and administrative system of the Gulf states.

(a) Attitudinal Change and Emergence of the Nuclear Family Structure:

Expansion of modern education has brought about a subtle change in the attitudes of men and women towards each other and in relationships between the sexes. Taki states:
Education can be considered as one of the most important factors that has affected the position of women in Bahrain in particular and in the Gulf area in general. Education has not only changed their attitude but has broadened their horizons regarding their relationships towards each other as well as their collective and individual responsibilities. 105

From his survey of the attitudes of Kuwaiti men towards the position of women in present day Kuwaiti society, al-Thakab concluded that Kuwaiti men who had themselves received university education were the group most sympathetic towards the women's cause and the feminist movement. 106 Many sociologists and anthropologists have discussed the role of education as a true index of the changing social position and lifestyle of women in the Arab world. To Wahaib 107 "in the Middle Eastern countries education was the open sesame that unlocked twentieth century harem doors and victorial parlours."

Along with education, encouraging changes is noticeable among men on family structure and size. A survey carried out by al-Thakab in Kuwait in 1976 showed that 80 per cent of the educated people, mainly university graduates, among the survey


sample wanted to have small families, while only 16 per cent of this group wanted families comprising eight or more children. Conversely, of the uneducated group in this survey, 68 per cent wanted eight or more children.108

Education also appears to have increased the trend towards a nuclear family structure. Being relatively independent economically, young educated couples feel capable of bringing up their own families without interference from the older, senior members of their extended families. Moreover, since education and professional qualifications as well as employment opportunities, however limited, have created greater self-confidence among those who are the beneficiaries of this system, they no longer regard themselves simply as housewives or commodities in their parents' or husband's home.109 Besides, more encouraging are the signs that the attitudes of young educated men towards various aspects of family life and its structure are changing.

(b) Establishment of Women's Societies and Organizations:

Unlike other Arab countries which have history of women's movements and well-organised women's organisations, the Gulf states had no such societies or organizations until


the late 1950s. However, with the beginning of education and modernization programmes, women's societies in primitive forms started to emerge in the Gulf area in the late 1950s. The first women's society, "The Bahrain Young Ladies Society", was found in Bahrain in 1955, followed by a similar organization in Kuwait in 1962. There are now six women's societies in Bahrain and twenty in Kuwait. In Qatar, a women's branch of the Red Cresent - the Muslim version of the Red Cross - started in 1980. The Government of Qatar does not allow the establishment of such society as it thinks that such organizations would allow people the opportunity to exchange views and opinions which in turn would lead them to oppose the prevailing system of government in the country. 110

The women's societies are mainly charitable and social in nature. The activities of most of these societies include providing adult literacy classes and vocational training centres for women, day care centres for the children of working mothers and guidance and advice for mothers. However, membership of these societies is low. Many reasons were given for not joining women's organizations 111 (i) women

110. Ibid, pp.310-12.

111. S. Abdl-Rahman, Study of the Conditions of Kuwait Women and Their Attitudes (University of Kuwait, 1980).
were not allowed to go out alone; (ii) their fathers would not allow them to join; (iii) their housework took up all their time; (iv) the women themselves were not convinced about the role and purpose of such societies.

With the exception of the Bahrain Young Ladies Society, founded in Manama in 1955, and the Awal Women's Society, founded in Muharraq in 1969, both of which strongly campaign for the right of women to participate in the political life of Bahrain, the other women's societies do not seem to have any strong political motivation. However, in general, to quote Bahbahani: 112 "the Kuwaiti woman suffers from alienation, dependency and social customs which she can do without. The women's societies came to confirm such passive spirit in her." This proposition is tenable for other Arab Gulf states.

An important point is that the Bahraini and Kuwaiti women's organizations are run by women who belong to the privileged and upper classes of society. This is due to the fact that they have access to education in the first place. An abundance of wealth apparently abrogated the need for a conscious uprising of the people.

(c) Political Rights of Gulf Women:

Until the 1960s and 1970s the system of government in these states was autocratic. Economic development and modernization of these societies created a general demand for political and social reforms which in turn exerted pressure on the ruling families to introduce modern national institutions in order to gain wide legitimacy for their rule. The result of these forces was the introduction of written constitutions. Kuwait was the first country in the Gulf to democratise its political system by introducing a written constitution and electing a national assembly. The introduction of constitutional process in Gulf countries has been discussed in a separate chapter. Here we will discuss the questions of political rights of women in Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar in some detail.

Women in the Arab Gulf states have no political or electoral rights, they cannot nominate themselves or elect anyone to public office. For instance, Article 1 of the Kuwait National Assembly Election Law of 1962 states 113 "every Kuwaiti male over 21 years has the right to elect: excluded

from this category are the naturalised citizens who have been in the country less than 20 years."

Clearly this law does not only deprive Kuwaiti women of the vote but also excludes them from being nominated as candidates for the National Assembly or to public office, since the constitution stipulates that a nominee for these positions must be eligible as an elector.

It is ironic that the Article 1 of the Kuwait National Assembly Election Law contradicts other constitutional law,\textsuperscript{114} such as Law 30 which states: "The Government system in Kuwait is a democracy, the sovereignty belongs to the nation, the source of all power." It also contradicts the constitutional Law 7, which states: "Justice and equality are the basic principles of the society" and Law 29 which states: "Justice and equality are the basic principles of the society" and Law 29 which states: "People are equal in their human dignity, they are equal in front of the law in the duties and rights. No distinction can be made between them for reasons of sex, race, language or religion."

This is the position of women's political rights in other Arab Gulf States also. The position of Bahraini women with respect to their political, electoral and constitutional

\textsuperscript{114.} \textit{Watan} (Kuwait, 16.282).
rights is identical. The situation in Qatar is worse than in any other Gulf state. It is strange that no protest has been made either internally or externally over the disenfranchise-ment of women in these states.

However, educated women in Bahrain created a furore over the Article 1 of the Constitutional Assembly Law No.1311972. The women's organizations issued a statement asking for popular support for their rights to vote in which they argued against the governments position on this issue. The representatives of the women's organizations asked the Ministry of labour and Social Affairs for a permit to collect signatures to a petition to be presented to the Government. This request was refused and the Ministry allowed the women's organizations only to collect signatures representing groups and associations. Though the petition was presented to the ruler on 20th November 1972, 10 days prior to the Constitutional Assembly elections, nothing was done. In their petition concerning women's rights, the women's organization stated that: "the decision to keep the women

118. Ibid, p.149.
away from the formation of the Constitutional Assembly and the discussion of the constitution is the most severe insult which can be given to women..." The two reasons given for depriving women of their political rights may be summarised as follows. First, the women is veiled, and therefore it is difficult to ascertain her identity. Secondly, women are uneducated, and therefore they have no independent opinion so that a man can influence their vote.

Both reasons are unconvincing. As to the first, procedures may be taken to ascertain the identity of the veiled woman, and secondly a large percentage of ignorant men also exist - men who have no independent opinions. The election laws do not require that men must be aware and knowledgeable before they are given right to vote. The United Nations charter clearly prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex in the area of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1952 also grants men and women equal political rights. It is evident that a clear and logical reason for depriving women of their political and constitutional rights was never given.

However, the national as well as the international press raised voice on the issue of the disenfranchisement of women, but to no avail. A contributor to al-Taliah, a
Kuwaiti magazine, wrote: 119

Women are equal to men and they should be given their political rights. How unfortunate to discuss such a subject at this time, when women have been granted the right to vote in many other countries and when women proved their abilities to enter different fields and succeeded.

The issue of political rights of Kuwaiti women was debated in January 1982 by the National Assembly, which voted against a proposal to enfranchise women. Nadia Hijab, editor-in-chief of the 'Middle East' magazine, referred to some of the several 'valid' reasons being considered by the Assembly in their decision not to allow women voting rights. 120 (a) Many women in Europe do not vote... (b) many Arab men do not vote... (c) the time is not ripe. Over 10,000 Kuwaiti women hold university degrees. Clearly the Assembly felt that the scales were already weighted in women's favour and to add political rights would tip the balance... (d) women cannot bear the responsibility. Kuwaiti women clearly have not studied conditions in the Arab world before passing for the vote. Their Arab 'brothers' are engaged in fratricide in various corners of the nation; large parts of Arab land are under occupation... So far Arab women have had little

part to play in this situation... (e) it is not in line with Arab tradition..."

Despite all these reasons, Kuwaiti women are refusing to take no for an answer. For one thing the floodgates of debate have opened on a number of normally taboo topics. For another, women have become more organized in campaign for political rights. Crown Prince Saad al Abdullah, a consistent supporter of women's rights, once said that the Assembly's decision cannot be regarded as final.¹²¹

To conclude, the role of Muslim women in the contemporary Arab World is a complex one. She is still bound by traditional patterns of behaviour, yet moving forward to a forceful and more active position in society. According to al-Said.¹²²

Thus one of the most important challenges facing the Arab women today is that of trying to equate her inner self, her thoughts and attitudes and feelings, with the contemporary social reality about her. It is not easy to resolve the contradictions, both personal and societal, which are bound to occur between the old inherited traditions and the new currents of thought.

¹²¹ Ibid.

Encouraging increase in the number of educated women does not seem to have produced any clear results for the political status of these women. However, increasing awareness among the women is noticeable. For instance, there were and are educated women and their societies who campaigned and are rallying for political rights for women. Their number is small at present and their voices unheard, but it is now becoming obvious that as long as these women remain resilient and keep up the struggle and propagate their views, they will eventually win their basic political rights.

An Assessment and Recommendations

The Gulf states present a unique case compared with other developing countries of the Third World, because of their small populations and their extremely rapid economic development owing to revenue from oil exports. Modern education, provided free of cost to those who wanted it, was first adopted as something fashionable and for its cosmetic value. Later on, the importance attached to school and university qualifications in both government and private employment rapidly boosted its economic value.

In the case of the Gulf states, the quality, standard and diversity of school education are of major importance to the socio-economic and industrial development. It can be assumed that the poor quality and lack of improvement in
school education could be due to a shortage of national experts and educationalists. However, even after the establishment of national universities and other institutes of higher education, no major steps have been taken to improve the quality of school education.

Since its beginning some 30 years ago, modern school education has expanded considerably in the Gulf states. Although the large majority of children attend schools, a significant percentage of school-age children are not enrolled in school education. No effective measures have been taken, either by the governments or by the education authorities, to eradicate it.

Some other aspects of school education also require immediate and radical modification. These include curricula, methods of teaching, and the system of assessment and examination. The school curricula, originally introduced some 25 years ago, have changed little over the years. They are still overloaded and, to a large extent, fail to meet the needs and interests of the students. The school curriculum still emphasis arts and humanities rather than science and technical subjects. The methods of teaching remain traditional and depend largely on textbooks and the blackboard.

Since the beginning of modern education, the shortage of qualified national teachers has been considered to be a
major cause of the poor quality of teaching and was the main reasons for the expansion of better and more specialised educational institutes such as the universities and the advanced teacher-training institutes. For many historical reasons, and also due to the economic climate in these states, young male Gulf graduates are unwilling to join the teaching profession.

Similarly, the university education suffers severely from lack of proper planning and a clear definition of its role and purpose. A striking feature of higher education is that the majority of students receiving higher education at universities, at home or abroad are engaged in studying general arts and humanities. The standard of the new universities is relatively low and their programmes tend to neglect science and technology. Moreover, the national universities have greater attraction for some students of lower academic standard who wish to acquire a university degree as a passport to future employment. It is important that higher education should play a much broader role in the general intellectual and economic growth of Gulf society.

A number of observations have been made by social scientists on education in the Arab Gulf. They have made certain recommendations as well. In the following pages we will look at their points.
Shirawi has made a case study of Bahrain. This case study of education in Bahrain has, through the analysis of the various environmental forces, social, political, religious and economic, through the analysis of the changes and reforms resulting from limited oil, and through the analysis of the strengths and weaknesses in the education of today's Bahrain, suggested a model for educational reform that can be applied in Bahrain, in the Gulf and in the Arab world.

The main conclusions that can be drawn from the case study is that the educational systems of the region will be facing, shortly, new problems and difficulties arising from the "deplete" or "without oil" era. Therefore old problems should be dealt with immediately. These include the following. 123

1. First, to eliminate illiteracy, particularly among females; and to end discrimination against women – because this reduces the potential labour force in the area by one-half.

2. Second, to change the prevailing attitudes towards manual labour; those close to the tribal way of life look down on all physical work. This will necessitate a change in curriculum toward an emphasis on values and towards more balance between them and application, academic and vocational.

3. Third, to develop a "teamwork" spirit; and to co-ordinate creative effort to build high quality research institutions capable of dealing with any set of social, political,
economic and technological problems. Such research institutions should be able to anticipate the trends of the world and of the region; and to prepare appropriate manpower for future.

Fourth, to shift the emphasis from Islamic religion to Islamic culture. Cultures, being living organisms, must change and develop in order to preserve their basic values and characteristics. Change of this nature will enable the culture to contribute positively to the development of the societies, while unchangeable religious standards tend to impede such a development.

Fifth, to create a public awareness of the population explosion. The high rate of population growth in the Arab world has significantly contributed to the high rate of illiteracy, to the primitive state of technology, and to the present status of women in Arab society. Therefore, shifting the emphasis in education from quantitative expansion to qualitative innovation is necessary.

Sixth, to democratize the learning process. Individual as well as academic freedom should be respected and preserved. Studies should be encouraged to have faith in democracy and practice inside and outside the classroom. This requires an understanding of the global information revolution.

Bagader has examined some aspects of education vis-a-vis social change in the case of Saudi Arabia. He has arrived at certain revealing conclusions which are as follows.124

1. The texts' structure makes them oriented towards having traditional, conservative outcomes. They only encourage a traditional teacher-student relations rather than a dialogue between the two.

2. The subject matter of the texts does not provide any challenging, stimulating or interesting reading materials that will provoke the adults or give them useful tips on how to get by in the changing society around them. Coupled with the texts' structure, the subject matter of the texts will produce a dysfunctional literate, who would in no way differ from their previous situation, with the exception that now they think they are literates.

3. Some of the values presented in texts are oriented towards modernizing the adult population, but being provided in the existing structure and put in the given context, it is not clear whether these values would be perceived by the adults as intended. The texts as they are, are not designed to change the adults' way of life, or perspective, thus it does a little to have new ideas in that context.

4. Mainly, it seems that the values and ideals provided in the texts are intended to foster traditional value and loyalty to the state.

To conclude, we can say that the educational development is in its infancy in the Arab Gulf states. Reforms in education system is also required. Only then it can cope with the challenges of modernisation in the region. There is lack of studies in the region as to the effect of education on political socialisation and change in the region. However, we will touch upon the theme in the discussion on nature of bureaucracy and constitutional change in the region. Significantly, education has influenced the elite recruitment in
the area and political participation. We have discussed already the impact of education on the Arab Gulf women which included political impact as well.