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AUK OCCASIONAL PAPERS

LIBERAL ARTS & BUSINESS SERIES

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Establishing a Liberal Arts Tradition in Kuwait.

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This volume of *AUK® Occasional Papers* contains papers presented at the Second Liberal Arts Conference at American University of Kuwait held in May 2007. With the second conference following upon the 2006 AUK conference on *Liberal Arts and Business,* we aim to establish a tradition of academic discourse on liberal education in the Gulf. Readers will notice that while the topics of the papers are very diverse, as is appropriate to the scholarship of faculty at a liberal-arts college, the dominant themes are multi- and cross-cultural phenomena and the Kuwait context of the presented research. Among the conference participants were also John and Helene Rassias, of Dartmouth College and the Rassias Foundation in Hanover, New Hampshire, USA. John Rassias is recognized world-wide as the creator of the Rassias method of foreign language instruction. AUK is proud to be the first institution in the Gulf region to offer John Rassias an opportunity to present to Kuwaiti audiences his method of building language skills on a foundation of intercultural understanding and communication, both important aspects of contemporary liberal-arts education.

The Arabian Gulf education sector appears to be eager to emulate the American model of higher education in pursuit of the observed success of Knowledge economies. American institutions of higher education have been producing employable graduates, successful businessmen and entrepreneurs, and competent professionals, teachers, and researchers who are the productive force behind the massive amounts of highly sophisticated research, publications, and creative works. However, historically the Arabian Gulf region has been profoundly influenced by the British model of higher education which preceded the introduction of the American model. American universities evolved in a different pattern from the European system, which divided educational and research tasks among select universities, professional institutes, and Academies of Sciences.

New universities in the Gulf are expected (in Kuwait, required) to have a foreign partner institution of higher learning as a guarantor of academic quality and integrity; international institutional and program accreditation is expected as well. American partners are expected of American-model local institutions. Founded in 2004, American University of Kuwait is an independent, private, equal opportunity, and co-educational institution of higher education dedicated to offering our students a quality education based on the American model of a liberal-arts college – such as Dartmouth College, with whom AUK has a comprehensive Memorandum of Understanding. In 2004 Dartmouth, recognized as one of the top national American universities and famous for its commitment to liberal-arts education, hosted a conference titled "The Liberal Education: Dead or Alive?" The keynote conference speaker was Raimond Gaita, a philosophy professor of King's College London. He told an anecdote about the Thatcher years when universities felt under siege from the market-oriented conservative government. King's College faculty told a junior government minister they had invited that if a university eliminated its philosophy department, it couldn't be called a university. "That's OK," the minister replied. "We'll call it something else."

The aspiration of the Gulf states to quickly develop knowledge-based economies brings into question the role assigned to the institutions and practitioners of higher education in achieving this goal. American

higher education is distinguished by co-existence of Liberal Arts colleges alongside the large research universities. The liberal-arts college model presents a special challenge in the Gulf region. Liberal Arts colleges in the United States are noted for producing a disproportionately high share of graduate students and advanced-degree holders in non-Liberal Arts fields. In the Middle East, and especially in the Gulf countries, the concept of liberal-arts education is truly foreign. It is poorly understood, frequently misinterpreted, and virtually untranslatable as a term standing for a certain philosophy of university education. Even such a basic systemic aspect of liberal education as putting a scholar-teacher in the classroom is not readily understood abroad. Liberal education is routinely perceived as concomitant with disregard for research among the faculty and lack of serious professional preparation for students. Currently, American University of Kuwait is the only institution in the Gulf expressly committed to the liberal-arts mission of college education. A private, Kuwaiti-owned university, AUK integrates the liberal-arts curriculum in all its degree programs, including the Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, and Bachelor of Business Administration.

The concept of liberal education as a career-building foundation in the sciences, business and entrepreneurship invites a broad intellectual exchange, and this is our primary motivation for developing a tradition of academic conferences centered on the concept of Liberal Arts education in the 21st century. As we all know, education is about more than subjects, disciplines, and a curriculum; life is not divided into "majors." Our programs are designed to prepare students for the contemporary world where critical thinking, communication skills, and life-long learning have become imperative. The very transferability of liberal-arts skills has become a "selling" point for employers of liberal-arts graduates. These skills, variously named and numbered by the experts, include interpersonal and team-working skills, written and oral communication skills, adaptability to change, problem-solving skills, and critical, analytical, and creative thinking.

In Kuwait and the Middle East, we struggle to make the concept of Liberal Arts understood, despite the wonderful heritage of medieval Islamic science and philosophy. The Liberal Arts in the Western tradition were based on Classical philosophy and the early disciplines that shaped the education from Antiquity to the Enlightenment. Strikingly, the ancient Greek term that was translated by the Romans as "art," was *techne*, meaning "skill" rather than "art" in our contemporary understanding. *Technai eleuteries* meant the "liberal arts" in the sense of knowledge and intellectual qualities required of a Greek citizen in the age of Athenian democracy. In Rome, and then in medieval Europe, "Liberal Arts" came to mean the broad education in a whole range of knowledge not limited to a certain profession or craft, an education that enables a person to gain competency in various fields and develop a civic consciousness and informed habits of thought. The usual translation of "Liberal Arts" into Arabic as "*funoon hurra*" (from *fann* "art"), although correct etymologically, carries for the modern student confusing implications of Fine Arts, of art as craft, or even of science as technique. The Arabic word *aadaab*, the plural of the singular *adab*, usually translated as "literature," fully corresponds to the plural "Letters" in the phrase *al-funoon wa-'l-aadaab* "Arts and Letters" or in *al-adaab wa-l'-`uloom*, "Arts and Sciences." The phrase *"aadaab hurra"* for "Liberal Arts" better conveys the social and intellectual aspects of reflective knowledge, of enlightened judgment, and of educated and cultivated qualities required for meaningful participation in society. Still, it appears to omit the science-education element so often overlooked in interpretations of liberal education. The educational breadth may be better conveyed by using *diraasaat hurra* or *diraasaat faseeha*, another choice for scholars and native speakers of Arabic to ponder. This interpretive challenge is an important reminder of the intellectual complexities faced daily by academics working in multi-cultural contexts and environments.

In the race for developing the national professional classes, rather than building integrated colleges of Arts and Sciences, Gulf countries have often chosen to import selected professional programs from distinguished American universities. U.S. institutions are encouraged or invited to bring to the Gulf business, professional or pre-professional programs (with few exceptions, these are undergraduate). In affirming AUK's commitment to the Liberal Arts mission, we often argue that the learning skills developed through liberal education sometimes are valued by faculty and employers alike over narrow professional knowledge.

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However, it is important to emphasize that the argument for Liberal Arts does not constitute an argument against professional knowledge. Rather, we aim to avoid narrow-field knowledge and training in favor of broad-based knowledge of a full range of disciplines. Without knowledge and informed acquaintance with many areas of study, analytical and critical thinking may descend to the level of uninformed opinion or biased attitude – occasionally supported by manipulation of words, numbers or images -- rather than balanced analysis of facts in context. By using critical thinking, students learn to examine and evaluate evidence and to distinguish between argument, opinion, and fact. They "learn to identify assumptions, evaluate evidence, to reason correctly, and to take responsibility for the conclusions that result".

* [*Grinnell College Catalog, "Education in the Liberal Arts," at http://www.grinnell.edu/academic/catalog/education/].

Numerous studies have demonstrated the career-building potential of Liberal-Arts education among American and international leaders of the industry, business, and governments.

The magazine *Business Week* reports that chief executives are quick, creative learners who embrace change. We recognize those qualities as the products of a broadly based liberal education. Yet here in Kuwait, we hear apprehensive predictions that American-model liberal education will produce unemployed liberal-arts graduates. Such fears are not totally alien to the United States public opinion. In response, W.R. Connor, president of Teagle Foundation and former president of the National Humanities Center, writes: "The greatest problem confronting the liberal arts is not a glut of graduates possessing these qualities, but the difficulties of developing them more fully at every stage of education. In that effort we have perhaps more allies than we might think, including those outside academic who know how much they are needed in our society today. Just as war is too important to be left to the generals, so the liberal arts cannot be the exclusive prerogative of those of us in academia. Thoughtful, committed people from outside academia – we all know some of them – can help keep us focused on the importance of these skills of freedom in this time of radical, unpredictable change."

[* W.R. Connor, "Liberal Arts Education in the Twenty-First century." AALE Occasional Papers in Liberal Education #2 (Chapel Hill, NC: American Academy for Liberal Education, 2000, p.8).]

AUK faculty work hard to create a caring environment where every aspect of students' development gets attention and support. To achieve positive student learning outcomes, our faculty incorporate a wide range of educational practices into classroom instruction and mentoring. Moreover, our liberal-arts-oriented educational mission calls for a positive connection between teaching and scholarly activity. AUK Liberal Arts conferences provide a forum for our international faculty to share their expertise and brings to the university their experience and wisdom and their passion for educating students "broadly and liberally."

For successful implementation of the American model in non-American environment, educators and higher-education authorities need to be clear about the salient features of existing local systems of education, the salient features of American higher education, where the gaps and differences are and how they impact the outcomes. AUK has taken the lead in developing an international dialog on the subject of Liberal Arts, liberal education, and the paths of higher education development in the Gulf. The first two Liberal Arts conferences held on the AUK Salmiya campus in Kuwait were followed by an international meeting at the Rockefeller Foundation Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy in August 2007. The third AUK conference, themed Liberal Arts Education and Tomorrow's Professional (May 2008), will be followed in 2009 by a high-level international conference in Kuwait which will bring together experts, decision-makers, and practitioners of higher education across the region. Research contributions and scholarly discussion surrounding these events will be published in edited collections and subsequent volumes of the *AUK Occasional Papers*.

The Impact of a Glass Ceiling on Women in Kuwait

Athmar Al-Salem

Abstract

The aim of this research was to determine whether or not a glass ceiling exists in Kuwait, or - in other words - whether or not women in Kuwait are being prevented from getting promoted to top corporate positions. This was done through a survey of the makeup of the managerial hierarchies of several business organizations in Kuwait. As a close evaluation of our observations indicated, there may indeed be a glass ceiling in Kuwait.

The data used in this study was collected by students who conducted interviews with various managers as part of an assignment for an introductory management course. Initial data collection was supplemented with follow-up interviews with executives at each study location in order to confirm the accuracy of the data initially collected and to pose further questions relating to a potential glass ceiling at each workplace. The initial data collected was then collated and the common responses obtained were summarized in a report.

The analysis of the answers obtained through this study is the very core of this report, as it furnishes various hints about the existence or absence of a glass ceiling in the country. Indeed, the issues identified and discussed in this report serve as an important basis for a more in-depth understanding of local culture and how it influences management, and their implications may well extend to the other Gulf States and much of the Middle East.

Introduction

The term "glass ceiling" most commonly refers to the condition in which top-level management in businesses is dominated by men. A "ceiling" is suggested because women are seen as limited in how far they can advance up organizational ranks, and the ceiling is linked to a glassy barrier because the various limitations impeding the promotion of women to the upper part of the corporate ladder are not as apparent.

It is important to note here that the "glass ceiling" is distinguished from formal barriers to advancement, such as education or experience requirements. Furthermore, when the meaning conveyed by this term is extended to other groups, such as racial or ethnic minorities, it is usually made with direct or indirect reference to Gender.[1] And while the "glass ceiling" term is most often used to refer to women's access to upper management, it also refers to the general tendency for women to be underrepresented at higher levels of the occupational hierarchy.[2]

The Glass Ceiling in Kuwait

Like many modern trends and notions in the field of senior management, the term "glass ceiling" is not widely known in Kuwait. Seldom can anyone find an article in a Kuwaiti newspaper speaking about management in general, let alone specific managerial-related terms. Therefore, an interest in the academic meaning of terms related to management and marketing in general is quite lacking in Kuwait, and that is precisely why it is often difficult for one to prove something as either prevailing in Kuwait or not.

What makes a study of the "glass ceiling" term in Kuwait even more challenging is the fact that the promotion of women to top managers is generally related to their experience and cannot easily be judged in Kuwait, where women only started contributing to the workforce within the last 25 years. The part of the Kuwaiti labor force consisting of women tends to be concentrated within the fields of government education and health care, which means that not enough managerial experience has been gained by females in the country over the past years.

In an effort to unravel the glass ceiling mystery in Kuwait, articles on the subject were searched for, yet barely any could be found. The only article that actually tackled the topic to a certain extent was found in "Khaleej Times Online", and it consisted of a long discussion of the term as it applies in only one of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries – the United Arab Emirates.[3] It listed examples of different women from the United Arab Emirates, while completely ignoring the other countries in the G.C.C. region. In fact, the writer of the article did not even attempt to clearly define the term but, instead, merely provided the reader with hints about the topic in question. Apart from this exception, one generally cannot find articles discussing this particular subject in the G.C.C. media in general and the Kuwaiti media in particular.

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1   <Jones/George, Essentials of Contemporary Management, 2/e, McGraw-Hill (109-110)>

2   <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/glass/glass_ceiling>

3   <http://www.khaleejtimes.com/DisplayArticleNew.asp?xfile=data/weekend/2006/December/weekend_December 9xml&section=weekend&col>

Hence, in order to proceed with this research and to gain some insight into how people generally perceive the status of female managers in the Kuwaiti corporate world, the only option was to resort to questionnaires addressing the "glass ceiling" term. A random sample population was chosen for this study, the results that were accumulated have reflected the Kuwaiti population's perception of the glass ceiling in a way that might enable one to conclude the existence of the phenomenon of glass ceiling in Kuwait.

In Kuwait, the glass ceiling is evident in virtually all companies and government sectors. Most companies in Kuwait are run by men, except for a few limited companies that are run by women. Among the things that were done to survey public opinion on the term at hand was to ask interviewees about the number of males working in their companies. Then, the interviewees were asked about the number of female managers working in their company in order to determine the extent to which the company members, given an expectedly large number of males working as juniors, would prefer to have a female manager working with them. Finally, questions were posed to determine whether the company, when advertising for managerial posts, used statements implying that it was seeking males only, or that it preferred males. The research was done in discretion, so as not to influence the interviewees' responses, and great care was taken to detect any signs of a glass ceiling in the process, even when the subjects did not in any way hint to its presence.

Eventually, several important and interesting conclusions were drawn from the results accumulated in this study. First, it was found that, although more than half of the Kuwaiti population consists of expatriates, not many of the latter are females who could be found in managerial positions. Second, it turned out that the majority of the managers that were interviewed in this study did not know the meaning of the term 'glass ceiling', even though the vast majority of companies in Kuwait apply foreign standards and tend to have both regional and foreign expansion plans. Yet, it is worth noting perhaps that these same managers were altogether unclear about the presence or absence of any discrimination in the recruitment or promotion of women to top management or senior positions in their companies. The third and most important result that was found is that most of the subjects did not know the number of female managers in their company; the only thing they knew for sure was that females were present in significantly lower numbers than males. Considering the notably low numbers of female managers that were

encountered in the vast majority of companies studied, it seems quite surprising that the term was not better recognized by the people working in these companies.

When asked about whether or not they tend to advertise for male managers rather than female managers, nearly all of the companies studied asserted that they do not publish gender-biased ads, stating that this tendency used to be the case in the past, but not nowadays. This might at first lead one to infer a growing awareness of the importance of eliminating discrimination between male and female managers in Kuwait; yet, the majority of these same companies admitted to hiring mostly male managers for junior positions, stating that their employees generally did not feel comfortable working with people of the opposite gender. Many male employees, for example, did not like taking orders from female managers, and cherished having the freedom to move around and to travel as and when they please.

It is important to note here that the glass ceiling does not merely relate to the recruitment and appointment of managers, but manifests itself in various forms. Another form of the glass ceiling, for example, is the discrimination in salaries between female and male managers in Kuwait. Sadly enough, the majority of women managers that were interviewed as part of this study agreed that there is indeed discrimination in salaries between men and women, even though it differ in its degree from company to company. A manager at a prominent company in Kuwait mentioned that she herself happened to be in a position where her salary value is often manipulated by her superiors - often from month to month.

Ultimately, what made this research on the glass ceiling in Kuwait especially challenging is the fact that, although discrimination between males and females in the workplace used to be overt in the old days, such discrimination tends to be somewhat less evident nowadays. At one point, it was not acceptable in Kuwaiti society for a woman to travel alone or to work, and women in general were expected to abide by certain traditions, values and rules that tend to be conservative in nature. Eventually, some of these rules were broken in the private sector, and more quickly so than in the government sector, due to the greater flexibility of the private sector. This happened because, over the years, many educated women faced aggravation and hostility in the workplace in a way that often forced them to quit and establish their own company. As a result, new companies were established in Kuwait that, in turn, gave more and

more women a chance to flourish in the Kuwaiti business world. Hence, although various signs of a glass ceiling were detected in the vast majority of companies studied in this research, a few companies were encountered that showed a great support of and dependency on female managers. One such company is Global Investment House.[4]

Global is a company whose managerial model and hierarchy clearly contradict the presence of a glass ceiling. For one thing, the Vice Chairman and managing Director of the company is Mrs. Maha Khaled Al-Ghunaim[5], a remarkable businesswoman who, as one source puts it, has managed to build a highly admirable reputation for herself that extends far beyond the Arab business community. She is the leading asset of the company and the person who takes care of the management team as well as all other departments. At Global, the qualifications of job applicants - rather than their gender - are taken into account when employment is involved. Furthermore, everyone is treated equally in the company, and salaries, increments, as well as bonuses are distributed according to job position alone.

Indeed, Mrs. Al-Ghunaim's success story - which started less than 6 years ago upon her decision to start her own corporation[6] – clearly demonstrates that women can indeed make it to top management positions and excel as managers if they possess enough determination. Like Mrs. Al-Ghunaim, there are several other distinguished women that were able to overcome the glass ceiling with their determination and hard work and make it to the top of the corporate ladder. These include Sheikha Khaled Al-Bahar[7], the general manager of the National Bank of Kuwait, and Sara Akbar[8] from the Kuwait Oil Company.

Kuwaiti women throughout much of history have had to fight for their rights to work, travel, and vote within a dominant male society. After they were granted the right to vote in 2006, Kuwait witnessed the appointment of its first female minister, Dr. Masouma Al-Mubarak.[9] Even though women feel that they are moving forward in their efforts to claim their rights, many women are still

denied certain positions that the government feels that they cannot handle.

In my opinion, men and women are alike, especially in business, but they differ in their ability to implement and adapt to a job or a business in a way that makes their presence noticeable. After the liberation of Kuwait, I went for an interview to one of the largest companies in Kuwait. I was interviewed by two male managers; during the interview, I experienced a great deal of tension and negative sensations, and I kept wondering what the source of this feeling was. I soon came to realize that my education, experience, and technical knowledge, as well as my being a female Kuwaiti, was too much to deal with for some. The interview lasted for 20 minutes and as I was leaving, one of the directors escorted me to the door and bluntly informed me that I was overqualified for the job and could cause a threat to any one of them.

Therefore, it is very common in Kuwait for a woman not to be promoted to a higher position just because she is a woman. A lot of work in Kuwait is done in the "Diwaniya", a daily male ritual where men gather at night in a special meeting room for social and family contact purposes. With time, the Diwaniya evolved into a form of business contact through which big business deals are made. Since women are not allowed into the Diwaniya, top managers tend to feel that they will somehow lose in the long run if they were to hire female managers - even if the female applicants qualify for the job.

Although many indicators of a glass ceiling are present in Kuwait, it is important to note that the glass ceiling phenomenon extends to many important business institutions around the world, including ones in advanced and developed countries. Empirical evidence for the glass ceiling in the United States is rather widespread,[10] for example, and this seems especially true if one looks at the Fortune 500 companies and their ratio of female to male CEOs. According to an article released recently in 2007, "as of 2005, only eight Fortune 500 companies have women CEOs or presidents, and 67 of those 500

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4   <www.globalinv.net>
5   <http://www.forbes.com/lists/2006/11/06women_Maha-Al-Ghunaim_9EMO.html>
6   <http://www.entrepreneursindubai.com/content/speakers_maha_alghunaim.asp>
7   <http://www.communicate.ae/article_newsr.php?cle=65>
8   <http://www.spe.org/spe/jsp/basic/0,,1104_1008244,00.html>
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9   <http://www.womeninbusinessmagazine.com/article.asp?Sn=443
    <http://www.arabicnews.com/ansub/Daily/Day/050613/2005061320.html>
10 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glass_ceiling>

companies don't have *any* women corporate officers."[11] This pattern is also evident in Europe, where a survey conducted by the European Professional Women's Network in 2006 found women to constitute only 8.5 per cent of corporate boardroom seats in Europe.[12]

In Kuwait and the G.C.C., the glass ceiling is certainly no exception to the general trend. Although females and males in Kuwait do enjoy equal opportunities for education, in most cases such educational opportunities are offered to them for free. Thus, it is only when they enter the workforce that gender discrimination becomes apparent. This discrimination is surprising for a number of reasons. First, it is a known fact that most women in Kuwait graduate from university with a much higher Grade Point Average than do their male colleagues. Second, many women pursue higher levels of education and academic qualifications than do men, and this may be due in part to the boundaries imposed on them by local culture. Such boundaries allow women less freedom to travel and to pursue challenging opportunities, and so they focus on their education. I personally believe that this is the main reason why most organizations prefer to hire male managers, and with time I have also realized that it is harder for females to reach high managerial positions because of our society's perspective of working women. Ultimately, these difficulties which women face helped develop the glass ceiling in Kuwait.

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Now, one might wonder just how the glass ceiling may be eliminated in Kuwait and around the world. In my opinion, companies must try and embrace the open door policy if they are to achieve this end. Top managers should send a clear message to all managers and supervisors that the company will not tolerate any form of discrimination based on gender. Moreover, all employees should have the right to see their evaluation, to sign it, and to challenge if they feel necessary. Indeed, all of these changes are of vital importance, especially considering that that a clear code of conduct in the workplace is quite lacking in Kuwait.[13]

In spite of all the challenges, Kuwaiti women today are eager to pursue a career in management because they believe that they are capable of planning, organizing, leading, and controlling. Most importantly, they recognize that being a manager is a highly rewarding opportunity and a great learning experience for any women or man.[14]

Conclusion

Almost everyone interviewed as part of this study felt that a glass ceiling exists in Kuwait in general and in the government sector especially. That is why, in my opinion, the government sector is very ineffective in Kuwait. The glass ceiling phenomenon in Kuwait can be summarized by the word "WASTA", and not having the right "WASTA" can definitely be a barrier for promotion to top corporate levels.[15] Furthermore, the majority of the observations made in this study confirm the prevalence of a stereotypical attitude towards women – one that reflects a general lack of acceptance, and even resistance.

Yet, those who, like Mrs. Maha Al-Ghunaim, do make it to the top of the managerial hierarchy often make outstanding and lasting contributions to management and serve as the much-needed role models of feminine success in the Arab world today. And it may be true that, at the present time, there are not enough women managers here in Kuwait; yet, with the country's booming economy and some great strides being made in the area of development, the number of women promoted to top management positions may well rise higher than any glass ceiling which may exist at present.

During the past five years, there has been an increase in the number of women in managerial positions, and this has been true not only in Kuwait but also in countries like the United States, something that might provide some hope that the glass ceiling will decrease with time and awareness, especially since people are becoming more and more aware of this problem.

The best way to prevent any unfair practices or bias when it comes to promotion – which are not uncommon worldwide, let alone in Kuwait - is to clearly list the qualifications required for one, male or female, to receive promotion, and to make these criteria public to all employees to ensure that all managers are given an equal chance and that promotion decisions are not made according to supervisors' subjective preferences.

So, in the end, yes there are obstacles in Kuwait that prevent women from being promoted, especially in government sector, but less so in the private sector; yet, ultimately, one must take to not be merely concerned with gender when looking at the top of the corporate ladder, but also to

11 <http://www.factmonster.com/spot/womenceo1.html>
12 <http://www.management-issues.com/2006/8/24/research/women-still-rare-in-europes-boardrooms.asp>
13 <Al- Salem, Al-Mutairi, Cripps. Cross Cultural Perspectives on the Work Ethics: Diversity, Discrimination and Ethics in Kuwait. Jan 14, 2006.
14 <Jones/George. Essentials of Contemporary Management, 2/e, McGraw-Hill, , (8-12)
15 <Al-Salem, Al-Mutairi, Cripps. Cross Cultural Perspectives on the Work Ethics: Diversity, Discrimination and Ethics in Kuwait. Jan 14,2006

consider other factors such as the extent of a manager's competence and determination. Indeed, as the examples of various successful female managers previously mentioned suggest, an efficient and determined enough manager can prove herself in spite of all the obstacles in a way that simply cannot be ignored.

In summary, first, it was found that, although more than half of the Kuwaiti population consists of expatriates, not many of the latter are females who could be found in managerial positions. Second, it turned out that the majority of the managers that were interviewed in this study did not know the meaning of the term 'glass ceiling', even though the vast majority of companies in Kuwait apply foreign standards and tend to have both regional and foreign expansion plans. Yet, it is worth noting perhaps that these same managers were altogether unclear about the presence or absence of any discrimination in the recruitment or promotion of women to top management or senior positions in their companies. The third and most important result that was found is that most of the subjects did not know the number of female managers in their company; the only thing they knew for sure was that females were present in significantly lower numbers than males. Considering the notably low numbers of female managers that were encountered in the vast majority of companies studied, it seems quite surprising that the term was not better recognized by the people working in these companies.

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7. <http://www.entrepreneursindubai.com/content/speakers_maha_alghunaim.asp>

8. <http://www.communicate.ae/article_newsr.php?cle=65>

9. <http://www.spe.org/spe/jsp/basic/0,,1104_1008244,00.html>

10. <http://www.menareport.com/en/business,Oil_and_Energy/198941>

11. <http://www.womeninbusinessmagazine.com article.asp?Sn=443>

12. <http://www.arabicnews.com/ansub/Daily/Day/050613/2005061320.html>

13. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glass_ceiling>

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15. <http://www.management-issues.com/2006/8/24 research/women-still-rare-in-europes-boardrooms.asp>

Retaining the Liberal Arts Student: Social and Academic Programming Needs at an "American" University in Kuwait

Abigail Gray

At a time when student numbers are down at universities throughout the Middle East, and more specifically, given the competitive nature of the academic market in Kuwait, an examination of the latest trends in student retention and attrition is not only apropos, but vital to improving an institution's retentive power. Student retention is the responsibility of the entire university community (Powell, 2003). Students who are satisfied with the formal and informal academic and social systems in a college or university tend to stay in school. To the contrary, students who have negative interactions and experiences tend to become disillusioned with college, withdraw from their peers and faculty members, and ultimately leave the institution (Tinto, 1987). The ability to benchmark based on best practices that colleges and universities are using to retain good students is not only critical to a universities continued success, but may also provide an early warning system for under-represented groups and professions—providing a mechanism to improve the productive capacity and leadership preparedness of a nation operating within a highly competitive global marketplace.

This study triangulates a meta-analytical approach to the literature on college student retention with student surveys and faculty interviews at a small, liberal arts university in the Middle East. Numerous studies demonstrate that finance is the key reason why students do not enter or withdraw from their full time and part time higher education courses. Although exit data at the selected university identified "financial" as the primary reason that Spring 2006 admits chose not to enroll, further examination indicates that poor faculty-student relations, lack of facilities, course load, and poor time management skills are key considerations in determining if a student chooses to continue at the university or not. In addition, although both high student involvement in academic life on campus and faculty participation in campus programs and events are proven ways to retain students, current enrollees reported a lack of sufficient academic and social activities on campus, a noticeable lack of faculty participation in campus events, and only a 60% overall student satisfaction rate.

Recommendations for increasing student retention rates and facilitating successful degree completion are discussed. Recommendations include the development of numerous practical and proven student-centered retention and effective learning strategies. Recommendations include, but are not limited to, a re-examination of the degree of academic preparedness of students transitioning from part time instructors' to full time instructors' courses; mandatory student advising prior to course registration; enhanced tutoring and counseling services; enhanced multimedia and computer-based learning approaches; attention to recreational, health, and wellness needs; increased number of program offerings; increased on-line course offerings; a more extensive and mandatory orientation program for freshmen; a second-year experience aimed at retaining students; more scholarship opportunities, especially for students who demonstrate significant improvement in their grade point average by their second year; better, increased, and more innovative university advertising platforms; and increased enforcement of university standards that promote student responsibility for their own actions.

Introduction

The successful completion of a college degree in today's society is perceived as paramount to individual achievement (Pritchard and Wilson, 2003). The issues of student retention, attrition, and persistence have continued to grow in importance in higher education literature and practice. Early studies focused on the characteristics of students that did not persist (Astin, 1997), and provided evidence for the need for higher admission standards and high quality controls in recruitment processes. In the early 1970's, the focus shifted to the reasons students did or did not persist, and the strategies universities could employ to retain students.

College student retention studies span the globe. In the international educational community, an institution's retention rate can influence its ranking in college guides, the implication being, "the higher the retention rate, the higher the quality of education" (Astin, 1993). In the US, retention rates may serve as a benchmark for state allocated funding (Borrego, 2002). In Britain, recent government policies to widen access to higher education, increase student numbers rapidly and change mechanisms raised concerns about maintaining university standards (Rickinson & Rutherford, 1995). McInnis et al (2000a) found, in a recent study of first-year on-campus students in Australia that many considered themselves not well prepared, unmotivated to study, and did not get satisfaction from their participation in study. In addition, McInnis found that dissatisfaction with the academic quality of students rose from 18% in 1978 to 50% in 2000.

Indeed, some argue, as Robert Lee Mahon does in "Rethinking Retention," (2003), "When you're

academically unprepared…you must be prepared to work hard to compensate. Failure to do so should mean failure to stay the course." He goes on to say, "Our job is not to retain, but to retrain. And if our basic trainees are unwilling or unable to accept the training, then we can't let them go any further."

When And How Do They Drop Out?

Research consistently indicates that college students who drop out usually do so by the time they finish their first year (Noel, Levitz, and Saluri, 1985). (Note: Drop-outs usually denote, in the literature, students who permanently left the institution because they were academically under-prepared. However, many drop-outs are academically prepared and successful, but the institution failed to meet their needs and expectations.) According to American College Testing (ACT), one in every four students leaves college before completing the sophomore year. What's more, nearly half of all freshmen will either drop out before getting their degree, or complete their college education elsewhere (Whitbourne, 2002).

According to "Learning Slope" (1991), published in *Policy Perspectives*, the most critical stage of vulnerability for student attrition continues to be the first year of college at all types of higher education institutions, including those that are highly selective. More than half of all students who withdraw from college do so during their first year (Consortium of Student Retention Data Exchange, 1999), resulting in a first year attrition rate of more than 25% at 4-year institutions (ACT, 2001).

According to nationally recognized retention scholar Vincent Tinto, the majority of new students entering higher education leave their initial college of choice without completing a degree (Tinto, 1993). Tinto (1987) found that a full 57% of college students leave their first college choice without receiving a degree, and 47% drop out all together, never completing a degree. As Tinto explains:

"Though the intentions and commitment with which individuals enter college matter, what goes on after entry matters more. It is the daily interaction of the person with other members of the college in both formal and informal academic and social domains of the college and the person's perception or evaluation of the character of those interactions that in large measure determines the decisions as to staying or leaving. It is in this sense that most departures are voluntary. Student retention is at least

as much a function of institutional behavior as it is of student behavior (Tinto, 1987, p. 127, 177).

It can be argued, that AUK students are not currently satisfied with how the university is "behaving." According to Carl Parker (1997), in his article "Making Retention Work," if we are truly to assist students in their quest for academic success, then the university must become barrier free, reducing the risk of failure. As Parker suggests, institutions must respond to issues surrounding academic preparation and conduct on-going audits of the institutional environment. As he suggests, the goal is create a campus atmosphere where, "students are presented with a mandate to succeed rather than the right to fail" (Parker, 1997, para. 3). Arguably, AUK is an environment that has achieved, in its youth, only the latter thus far.

Why They Drop Out?

According to Vincent Tinto, chair of the Higher Education Program at Syracuse University in New York, a large number of students are ill-equipped for the challenges of college. In his (1987) book "Increasing Student Retention," he identifies a number of factors that contribute to drop-outs and stop-outs, to include academic difficulty, uncertainty, incongruity, isolation, adjustment problems, lack or clear academic goals, lack of clear career goals, lack of commitment, and poor integration into the college environment.

Rickinson and Rutherford (1995) found that students who withdrew in the first term identified three main reasons for withdrawal: (1) feelings of being unprepared academically, (2) feelings of being unprepared emotionally, and (3) welfare problems (e.g., financial, family responsibilities). In addition, they found that 'low risk' students were able to use both departmental and central support systems appropriately, whereas 'at risk' students did not seek help from any source. According to the authors, "this supports the theory that lack of commitment and coping resources are linked. The ability to identify difficulties, and seek and use appropriate help, signifies the possession of coping resources" (para.18).

Whitbourne (2002) lists six common reasons why students are not retained, to include (1) too much fun, (2) not joining in, (3) academic unpreparedness, (4) lack of funds, (5) choosing the wrong major, and (6) first generation student challenges. On the latter, he explains that first generation students, who are often minorities, are more likely to drop out before educational completion.

Terenzini et al (1996) also identified several reasons why student drop out, to include lack of finances, poor student-institution fit, changing academic or career goals, personal circumstances, failure by the institution to create an environment conducive to the individuals learning and educational needs, inability to manage normal school work, inability to assimilate with the student population, lack of motivation to do well in school, lack of understanding of the importance of education, inability to apply theory to practical problems, lack of appropriate role models or mentors in the academic environment, and a sense of being overwhelmed and stressed by the transition from high school to college life.

Taylor and Bedford (2004), in their article, "Staff Perceptions of Factors Related to Non-completion in Higher Education," suggest that the best available summary of factors that may have negative effects on student completion is as follows:

Wrong choice of program;
Poor quality of the student experience;
Inability to cope with the demands of the program;
Unhappiness with the social environment;
Matters related to financial need;
Dissatisfaction with aspects of institutional provision
Problems with relationships and finance;
Pressure of work (academic and employment);
Learning efficiency (students' general cognitive skills);
Students self-efficacy (self-reliance, locus of control, and self-directedness);
Quality of instruction (students perceptions of the quality of teaching);
Course difficulty in relation to academic support and counseling available;
Interaction with faculty and staff;
Student's goal commitment (planning skills; motivation);
Time for learning (students' planning and organizing of their study programs)
(Weston, 1998; Yorke, 1999)

Whose Problem Is Retention?

According to Dr. Joe Lee, President of Alabama State University, "retention is the responsibility of the entire university" (para. 12). For those hesitant to embrace this perspective, think:

(1) In terms of promoting fiscal solvency to a university operating in the red. Retention efforts make good business sense. Student recruitment efforts require substantial institutional expenditures. By comparison, retention initiatives are estimated to be 3-5 times more cost effective than ongoing recruitment efforts; for example, the cost of recruiting one new student approximates the cost of retaining 3-5 enrolled students (Noel, Levitz, & Saluri, 1985).

(2) In terms of examining assessment outcomes. Outcomes assessment has received visible attention at AUK. Many of AUK's desired outcomes are difficult to measure prior to persistence to graduation or beyond: self-awareness, personal growth, critical thinking, effective communication, respect for diversity, and moral and ethical responsibility in society. By comparison, student retention is an assessment outcome that can be accurately measured and quantified, can serve as a primary outcome measure, and can be used to make meaningful interpretations of other assessed outcomes (Cuseo, 2003).

Factors Influencing Retention:
Qualitative And Emotional

Qualitative

Rickinson and Rutherford (1995), in "Increasing Undergraduate Retention Rates" found that two main factors influenced student retention rates: (1) the degree to which students felt prepared, both academically and emotionally, for the transition to the university, and (2) the availability of appropriate academic and personal support at the transition. Factors influencing retention include, but are not limited to, major field of study, institutional size, high school class rank, prep class enrollment, on or off campus employment, and late application (Astin, 1984, 1997; Reisberg, 1999; and Sydow, 1998).

Qualitative factors such as gender (Sanders, 1998), educational level of parents (Ting and Robinson, 1998; Pritchard and Wilson, 2003), high school GPA (Tobey, 1997), ACT/SAT scores (Foster, 1998), and more have been associated with retention rates. For example, Astin et al (1987), found that women seem to have higher retention rates in 4-year degree completion data; however, men tend to have higher retention rates when examining data of students who persist over time (e.g., five years and beyond).

As cited in the article "BCC Instructor Conducts Student Retention Study," (2005) Thornton focuses on at-risk student issues such as personality, distance form campus, transportation, and day care suggesting that at-risk students must be identified early and intervention strategies implemented.

Emotional

Significant variations in academic success levels remain. Szulecka, Springett, and DePauw (1997) have suggested that the major causes of attrition of first year college students are emotional rather than academic factors. Brooks and Dubois likewise found that emotional factors exerted a strong influence on how well students adjusted to their first year experience (1995). Leafgran (1989) suggests that students who are emotionally and socially healthy have a greater chance to succeed in college. Pritchard and Wilson (2003) found that student's emotional health was significantly related to GPA regardless of gender. This is particularly important given the fact that recent studies show a dramatic increase in the levels of stress experienced by college students over the last 30 years (Sax, 1997).

While self-confidence, self-control, achievement orientation, perfectionism, and other personality variables have been found to be closely linked to college adjustment and retention, other personality variables are more closely linked to attrition. For example, students who are more anxious are more likely to drop-out (Tobey, 1997). However, the jury is still out on introversion and extraversion. While some studies find that introverts have the highest retention rates (Spann, Newman, & Matthews, 1991), others suggest that extraverts tend to adjust better to college life (Searle & Ward, 1990) and perform higher academically (Eysenck & Cookson, 1969; Irfani, 1978).

The Pritchard and Wilson (2003) study on "Using Emotional and Social Factors to Predict Student Success," found that students who indicated their intent to drop out reported more fatigue and had lower self esteem than their peers. On the other hand, students who intended to stay in college used more positive coping skills and were more likely to accept when they could not change the stressor. Pritchard and Wilson therefore suggest that "the ability to deal successfully with the multitude of emotional stresses encountered in college life appeared to be an important factor in student retention" (p. 25). This is not new information. In 1970, Harvard Professor W.G. Perry identified the criticality of providing the optimum balance of challenge and security at each new learning stage in a series on interviews with Harvard students. Perry examined the relationship between task learning and larger context about them, and the phases of development from simplistic thinking to mature commitment. Perry's study found that if the threat of a new experience/learning is too overwhelming, students cope with the anxiety by avoiding the challenge (in Rickinson and Rutherford, 1995).

How To Improve Retention

According to Parker (1997), the critical factors that improve retention include positive faculty relations, community relations, leadership, organizational services, orientation programs, student support classes and services, recruitment planning, academic intervention services, campus climate, and award programs (Parker, 1997, para. 11). This is supported by Whitbourne (2002), who prioritized balancing socializing and studying, joining campus activities, seeking assistance and help, looking beyond financial issues to real problems social or academic acclimation, remaining an "undecided" major during the first year of college, and seeking universities that specifically focus on first generation and/or minority student affairs (Whitbourne, 2002).

In "New Approach to Curb Low-Retention Rates," Powell (2003) identifies proven student retention techniques such as the availability of tutors, midterm faculty evaluations, and an early warning system. In an effort to curb low retention rates Alabama State University recently implemented a writing across the curriculum program, and increased attention to student accountability measures such as class attendance and assignment completion.

A 1996 study of 163 community colleges across the United States with enrollments of more than 5,000 students examined strategies used to recruit, retain, and graduate minority students. The research indicated that student success is highest when retention efforts are coordinated by a centralized office or person, making it visible and giving it a sense of purpose (cited in Parker, 1997, para. 4).

A number of authors call for mentoring programs to improve the institutions retentive power. Mentor programs enable students to see successful students and staff, expose students to strategies for success, and provide the confidence and support that some students need to succeed. (Example: AUK's new PALS program, a student peer tutoring and advising program.)

Why They Work? Interaction And Connectedness

Attracting and recruiting incoming students is costly. Universities are working hard, therefore, to retain the student they have. One means of doing this is to ensure that students feel connected to the institution and share a sense of belonging to the university community.

In Astin's (1997) article, "What Matters Most in Colleges: Four Critical Years" and later in his (1993) article, "What Matters Most in College: Four Critical Years Revisited," he found that the retention of students is greatly affected by the level and quality of their interactions with peers, faculty, and staff. Nutt (2003) in his article "Academic Advising and Student Retention and Persistence" also concludes that retention can be highly affected by enhancing student interaction with campus personnel. The development of interpersonal relationships with peers is critically important for student success (Upcraft, 1982, 1985). Tinto (1987) found that "incongruence with one's student peers proves to be a particularly important element in voluntary departure" (p. 57).

Rendon (1995) found two critical factors in student's decisions to persist: (1) successfully making the transition to college aided by initial and extended orientation and advisement programs and (2) making positive connections with college personnel during their first term of enrollment. Noel (1985) stated:

"It is the people who come face to face with students on a regular basis who provide the positive growth experiences for students that enable them to identify their goals and talents and learn how to put them to use. The caring attitude of college personnel is viewed as the most potent retention force on campus." (p. 17)

Student involvement in campus organizations also affects student satisfaction (Cooper, Healy, and Simpson, 1994), drive to achieve, confidence in academic ability (House, 2000), academic performance (Hartnett, 1965), and decision to leave.

Astin's Student Involvement Theory (Astin, 1984) figures prominently in the retention literature, suggesting that as students increase their physical and emotional investment on their college campus (e.g., sports, clubs, campus activities, involvement with faculty and staff), their rate of retention increases. (Note: These resulting associative relationships may also explain the effectiveness of advising relationships and orientation programs.) Rickinson and Rutherford (1995) identify several other models that aid in explaining the linkages between social adjustment and retention, to include:

The Loss Model: separation anxiety can affect the ability to make a new attachment.

The Interruption Model: discontinuity in existing life-style and routines can raise anxiety.
The Control Model: transition from a familiar to a new environment results in a period of loss of control.
The Role-Change Model: anxiety of assuming a new role and adjusting self-image.
The Conflict Model: the security of home is balanced against the insecurity but also the challenge and interest of the new environment (Rickinson & Rutherford, 1995, para. 6).

Faculty
Some of the most important implications revolve around relationships with faculty. Astin (1993) suggests that next to peer groups, "the faculty represents the most significant aspect of the student's undergraduate development" (p. 410). Studies of transfer students and freshmen students confirmed the importance of faculty-student contact as an influential factor in student achievement, persistence, academic skill development, and personal development (Volkwein, King, & Terenzini, 1986; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1977).

Faculty aid in retention in numerous ways. Research demonstrates that greater faculty-student interaction promotes higher levels of student satisfaction with the college experience (Pace, 2001). A number of students state or suggest that faculty participation and faculty interaction is critical to student retention (Parker, 1999; Roach, 1999; and Tinto, 1989). Tinto (1987) emphasizes the need for a connection to the institution if a student is to be retained. Winston et al (1984) likewise identify proactive faculty outreach as a significant part of the student's decision to persist.

According to Lau (2003), the use of collaborative and cooperative learning strategies, computer technology in the classroom, computer laboratory experience, and teaching methods that use mixed group techniques to foster critical thinking and solve "real life," "real business" problems are critical to retention efforts. In addition, faculty input and class contact with students has a profound influence on student learning (Pascarrella and Terenzini, 1991). According to Lau (2003), faculty-student relationships and innovative teaching methods can significantly motivate and challenge students to learn and stay in school. Tinto (1987) found that students who are satisfied with the formal and informal academic and social systems in a college or university tend to stay in school, while those with negative experiences become disillusioned and withdraw from family, friends, and the institution.

Advising and Orientation

Other important implications revolve around relationships established with faculty and staff through advising and orientation programs. Gaff (1997) and others found that freshmen year programs produce higher academic achievement, increased student satisfaction, and increased student retention. In the educational discourse, however, it is the terms "advising" and "retention" that go hand-in-hand. In fact, Crockett (1978) referred to advising as the "cornerstone" of student retention. Cuseo (2003) describes academic advising as one of the major academic and social domains of the college experience that affects student decisions about staying or leaving. As Wyckoff (1999) states, "To establish a high degree of commitment to the academic advising process, university and college administrators must become cognizant not only of the educational value of advising but the role advising plays in the retention of students" (p. 3).

According to Habley (1981), "Academic Advising is the only structured activity on the campus in which all students have the opportunity for one-to-one interaction with a concerned representative of the university" (p. 45). Tinto (1987) suggests that advising is the very core of successful institutional efforts to educate and retain students. King (1993) revealed that inadequate academic advising emerged as the strongest negative factor in student retention, while a caring attitude of faculty and staff and high quality advising emerged among the strongest positive factors. Gordon (1985) put it this way, "If there is an active, involved, ongoing relationship between students and faculty advisors, a faculty advising system can be an important ingredient in the retention process" (p. 127). In fact, advising has become so important to student retention efforts that advising centers are not uncommon in residence halls, advisors are being centrally integrated into learning communities, and cross-disciplinary advisory boards for advising are being set up on campuses throughout the United States and abroad.

Financial Issues

According to Nutt (2003), financial concerns often affect student persistence, and it is vital that advisors build strong collaborations with the finance department on campus. As Nutt explains, "advisors need to be able to understand the policies and procedures that affect students financial issues as well as have a clear understanding of how to refer effectively" (Nutt, 2003. para. 4). The loss of students returning to campus for another year usually results in greater financial loss and a lower graduation rate for the

institution, and might also affect the way that stakeholders, legislators, parents, and students view the institution." (Lau, 2003, para 2). Student retention is also a concern in the United Kingdom where, according to Nash (1996), administrators of academic institutions now focus most of their efforts on decreasing student attrition, since the ability to retain students has become a critical factor in obtaining outside funding.

AUK is an academic culture in which the perception exists that "money is not an issue." However, for many of our best and brightest, it is. According to Lau (2003), numerous studies indicate that students are motivated to improve their grades and stay in school when they are recipients of financial assistance, aid, and scholarships. And prior performance, course commitment and motivation are key factors influencing retention, progression, and completion rates at the university (Abbott-Chapman et al, 1992). At the time in which student advising becomes ingrained in the Divisions level at AUK, rather than in the advising center, it is critical that faculty understand the scholarship, payment, and financial options and responsibilities available to students.

Results

This study triangulated a meta-analytical approach to the literature on college student retention with AUK student surveys and faculty interviews involving over 200 subjects. Numerous studies demonstrate that finance is the key reason why students do not enter or withdraw from their full time and part time higher education courses. Although exit data at the selected university identified "financial" as the primary reason that Spring 2006 admits chose not to enroll, further examination via AUK surveys of currently enrolled student indicates that poor faculty-student relations, lack of facilities, course load, and poor time management skills are key considerations in determining if a student will choose to continue at the university in the Fall 2007 and beyond, or not. In addition, although both high student involvement in academic life on campus and faculty participation in campus programs and events are proven ways to retain students, current enrollees reported a lack of sufficient academic and social activities on campus, a noticeable lack of faculty participation in campus events, and only a 60% overall student satisfaction rate with AUK. Perhaps most interestingly, academic and social programming needs predominate the student retention literature, with academic programming needs often given priority. At AUK, however, social programming needs played a significantly and surprisingly larger role. In fact,

some respondents indicated that it is not uncommon at AUK for students to come to the university primarily for social engagement and stimulation rather than academic engagement and stimulation, partially explaining high absenteeism in classes.

Recommendations

In visualizing recommendations, solutions and improvements, it was helpful to modify Richardson and Skinner's (1991) model, which includes three phases of institutional adaptation to diversity. The adaptation is summarized as follows (based on Kleeman's [1994] previous modification):

Stage One is reactive and concentrates on student recruitment, financial aid, admissions, and scheduling. It emphasizes reducing barriers to higher education. Many people, including faculty, are often unaware of Stage One changes taking place at their institutions. When they are aware, they frequently voice concerns over "quality." In Stage One, achievement and growth may conflict.

Stage Two is critical, because it emphasizes outreach, transition, mentoring and advising, and the environment. In Stage Two, effort is directed to helping students change so they may achieve their academic and personal goals.

Stage Three is an adaptive effort designed to improve student's achievement by changing the learning environment through student assessment, learning assistance, curriculum content, and improved teaching practices.

Arguably, AUK, as a young institution, is still in Stage One. In the next 2-5 years, AUK should be able to effectively transition into Stage Two or beyond.

Recommendations for increasing student retention rates and facilitating successful degree completion include the development of numerous practical and proven student-centered retention and effective learning strategies. They are as follows:

(Note: First, recognition of newly established programs or initiatives is overdue. These include the recent hiring of a Retention Specialist and the new "PALS" peer tutoring program.) Other recommendations include

1. A New University Student Orientation Program that focuses on students who are academically prepared, as well as students who are academically underprepared (where most of the focus generally resides). Also, the establishment of an Honors Program motivates academic high achievers who have a greater capacity for learning.

2. A University Retention Steering Committee. These have met with great success elsewhere. According to Nutt (2003), "these committees report to both the Vice Presidents of Academic and Student Affairs, establishing that campus-wide collaborations, with advising as the central focus, are necessary for establishing effective retention efforts (Nutt, 2003, para. 8).

3. The Establishment of an Institutional Research (IR) Office. An IR office is desperately needed to examine trends and make recommendations based on readily available census data, student evaluations, and other statistical data. This research provides two key examples for this need.

First, in Burgess and Samuels (1999) article on student retention, they found that sequential course instructor status seems to be a predictor of college student success. For both developmental and regular courses, college students that take the first course in a sequence from a part-time instructor, and the second course in the sequence from a full-time instructor are underprepared for the second course, less likely to complete the second course, and less likely to pass the second course with a "C" or better.

The increasing trend in higher education is the widespread use of part-time instructors. According to Burgess and Samuels (1999), many part time instructors teach developmental and remedial courses, especially in English, reading, and mathematics; therefore, the students in need of the most assistance are taught by those least involved in the university. In addition, part-time faculty is often asked to teach a substantial load without the pay, benefits, and support facilities of full-time faculty. As Burgess and Samuels explain:

"Maricopa's part-time faculty conditions of employment are characterized by the following: no tenure or job security, instant nonrenewal at the discretion of Department chairs (lack of due process), generally inadequate or nonexistent office space and facilities, and no remuneration for time spent on student mentoring and counseling. Can it be that part time instructors grade more easily and demand less from the students in order to avoid student complaints, which could jeopardize their continued employment?" (para. 31).

Second, Langbein and Snider (1999) found that when compared to mid-rated courses, enrollment in consistently poorly rated classes significantly reduces the probability of

retention. However, in addition, they found that enrollment in consistently top-rated courses also significantly reduces the probability of retention. In other words, the rising expectations of the best and the brightest may, at times, only be met by exiting the university. These are the student we desperately want to keep! These are not drop-outs or stop-outs as discussed earlier—these are "top-outs." They get bored, are not challenged, and leave.

4. A Re-examination of the Role of First Year and Divisional Advising at AUK. In a recent survey of 1,000 colleges and universities in the US, only 12% offered incentives or rewards that recognized outstanding advising of first-year students (Policy Center on the First Year of College, 2003). Research shows that only minor consideration is given to advising in faculty promotion and tenure decisions (Habley, 1988). In addition, over 2/3 of postsecondary institutions surveyed (1987) have no criteria for selecting advisors (Crockett, Habley, and Cowart, 1987). In fact, at AUK's last faculty awards night, those faculty members recognized were recognized for their publications, not their teaching or service contributions.

Based on his review of five national surveys of academic advising, it became fairly clear, fairly quickly that, as Habley (2000) states, "…training, evaluation, and recognition and reward have been, and continue to be, the weakest links in academic advising…These important institutional practices in support of quality advising are at best unsystematic and at worst nonexistent" (p. 40). This presents an excellent opportunity for AUK to reexamine its current practices.

5. AUK must recognize its inability to fully accomplish academic and career preparedness in the context of an advertised American model of Higher Education in a segregated learning environment. Mixed gender groups and cooperative partnerships using face-to-face problem-based learning methods to solve real world problems is not a reality in the gender segregated classroom, and creates insurmountable pedagogical and international accreditation problems, as recently evidenced. AUK's administrative position thus far has been clear to faculty, staff, and students: We are guests in this country. If this issue is to be addressed, or changed, it must come from voters. That answer does not seem to be satisfying anyone. The owners of this university are not guests of this country. Clear guidance, direction, and deliberate and immediate courses of action are needed. This is a perceptual issue, and one less about local law, and more about institutional longevity. Less about holdings, and more about humanity. Less about short terms investments in properties, and more about long term investments in people.

In the interim, new AUK faculty should have the opportunity, during new faculty orientation, to be exposed to the latest teaching techniques appropriate to the gender segregated classroom.

6. The Establishment of a Teaching and Learning Technology Center. AUK faculty are, due to intergenerational differences and the rapid face of technology, generations behind current students in command of technology. An instructional technology development center is needed to enhance multimedia and computer-based learning approaches, aid faculty in developing and utilizing the latest technologies in curriculum development and curricula, and foster greater integration of on line course management, to include platforms such as Web CT.

7. Other. AUK student and faculty recommendations via self-report data for retention included: mandatory fulfillment of prerequisites prior to course enrollment; mandatory advising prior to course registration; availability of 5-year course cycling plans via the web; a student union; adequate health, recreation, and sports facilities; a second-year experience; better, increased, and more innovative university advertising platforms; and increased enforcement of university standards that promote student responsibility for their own actions.

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Conclusion

In a recent edition of *Inside Higher Ed*, the author described the new, for-profit university. He compared it to the movie industry, where a few companies make movies, and lots of others simply distribute them to theaters, on television, and on DVDs. He described these universities as follows:

"A small core of knowledge engineers who wrap courses in to a degree to be distributed in cookie cutter institutions and delivered by working professionals, not academics. There is no tenured faculty, no academic processes; the sole focus is on bottom line economic results. There 21st century institutions are not burdened with esoteric pursuits of knowledge….they are market driven. [The] key survival mechanism is the ability to rapidly evolve to new environments and to position in the market. Since they do not carry tenured faculty, they can rapidly jettison disciplines of study that do not penetrate market. Since they do not have academic processes, they can rapidly bring to market programs that can capture market share….Not all have the core capacities to compete long term in the market. Some emerge quickly, and as quickly become extinct."

This is the thumbnail sketch of our primary market competitors. Or, perhaps, this is the thumbnail sketch of AUK's future. The present will determine our path, and it begins with retaining the best and brightest faculty and students.

Memory and Subjectivity among Kuwaiti Youths: Child Witnesses of the 1990 Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Conerly Casey and Juliet Dinkha

The 1990 Iraqi invasion and seven-month occupation of Kuwait led to dramatic changes in the health and mental health of Kuwaitis, with 20% higher rates of mortality and increased post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) among Kuwaitis who remained in Kuwait during the occupation (Public Health Impacts of Iraq's1990 Invasion and Occupation of Kuwait, Harvard School of Public Health, June 29, 2005). In the aftermath of the occupation, numerous studies of children, based on the diagnostic criteria for PTSD—exposure to a traumatic event and symptoms from each of three groups: intrusive recollections of the trauma event, avoidance of reminders of the event and emotional numbing, and hyperarousal— established strong correlations between the Iraqi invasion, PTSD and depression, with higher prevalence rates for children than for adults (Abdel-Khalek 1997; Abdullatif 1995; Al-Naser et al. 2000; Hadi and Llabre 1998; HSRPH 2005; KISR 2005; Llabre and Hadi 1997; Nader et al. 1993). Yet, as Kirmayer, Lemelson and Barad (2007: 7) remind us, "What distinguishes PTSD from other psychiatric disorders is the attribution of causality and the role that memory plays in its symptomatology". The diagnosis of PTSD represents one strand in complex memory processes that are biological and personal, but also social, cultural and political. The concept of trauma draws upon culturally variable idioms of distress, linked to social divides within Kuwait and access to resources, mental health and otherwise. Trauma, as a primary "wounding" may direct our attention away from the amplification of past traumas by subsequent events and interactions (Hinton 2007: 447). Moreover, adults and children adopt certain feelings, ideas and ways of acting and remembering through direct interaction, and by indirectly "attending to how persons around them are representing and constructing their world

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through language" (Capps and Ochs 1995: 10). Adults and children use cultural knowledge to make sense of and to narrate their own experiences of suffering. The effects of trauma on our Kuwaiti child witnesses of the 1990 Iraqi invasion reflect a convergence of veridical recall, socialization and enculturation practices of memory, emotion and subjectivity, and the transgenerational transmission of trauma through Kuwaiti parent-child interactions, reconstructions based on family members' accounts of trauma.

Using multiple methodologies—library research, media collections, participant-observations, semi-structured and person-centered interviews, and family and community studies—our research focuses on four key questions:
1) What are the relations of environmental contamination, PTSD and depression pre and post the 1990 Iraqi invasion?
2) When does *a* memory become *the* memory, affecting subjectivity, meaning and emotion?
3) Is the U.S. War on Iraq triggering traumatic memories of the 1990 occupation? 4) How do memory and subjectivity, meaning and emotion, shape Kuwaiti familial and social relations? Our combination of approaches allows us to gather social, cultural and political contexts and meanings of young Kuwaitis' ideologies, attitudes, emotions, and actions in reference to the 1990 invasion and occupation and the current U.S. War on Iraq. Through narrations of violence, the impact on socio- and psycho-cultural processes, we explore temporal and spatial convergences of violence, fear and depression with other ongoing events, ritual-religious calendars, the fetishization of certain forms of violence, and narrations of violence that have wider social, political, or religious consequences than the acts of violence themselves.

Child PTSD and Depression
Shortly after the 1990 Iraqi invasion, Nader et al. (1993) found many children who remained in Kuwait during the occupation to have multiple war-related exposures. More than 70 percent of the children in their study reported moderate to severe post-traumatic stress reactions. Witnessing death or injury and viewing explicit graphic images of mutilation on television had a measurable influence on the severity of children's trauma. Several years later, Al-Naser, al-Khulaifi, and Martino (2000) reported a prevalence of PTSD of 28.4% in sample of Kuwaiti citizens, with a higher prevalence of 45.6% in a subsample of students, whom the authors suggest have increased sensitivity to traumatic stress.

Hadi and Llabre (1998) assessed intelligence, posttraumatic stress and depression among Kuwaitis one year after occupation. They found a difference in levels of parental depression between those who stayed in Kuwait as compared to those who were out for all or part of the occupation. Though Hadi and Llabre (1998) found low levels of depression in children, they found depression correlated with levels of exposure to violence and levels of PTSD. Children who had a martyr or POW in the family (Abdullatif 1995) and boys (Llabre and Hadi 1997) reported higher levels of depression, with social support a protective buffer for girls.

Abdel-Khalek (1997), in a survey of fears associated with Iraqi aggression among Kuwaiti children and adolescents, ages 13-17 years, identified three significant factors that he named Iraqi Aggressor, War Machinery, and War Correlates and Effects. Abdel-Khalek concluded that the Iraqi aggression's adverse effects persisted 5.7 years after the trauma. In 2004, Abdel-Khalek (2004) reported higher scores for Kuwaitis on the Arabic Scale of Death Anxiety (ASDA) than their Egyptian or Syrian counterparts.

These psychological studies describe important experiences and concerns of suffers and survivors, and critical generational and gender dynamics of trauma in the aftermath of the 1990 Iraqi invasion and occupation. The studies, taken together, point to the ongoing traumatic effects of the invasion and occupation. Yet, as one strand of human experience, studies based on the diagnosis of PTSD or depression alone mask the reshaping of experience through diverse memory processes that impact social relations, Kuwaiti communal recovery, and a social, historical analysis that might lead to collective political responses. The question here is whether medicalizing and individualizing collective trauma supports communal recovery, a question that has important moral, political and legal ramifications.

Memory, PTSD and Child Witnesses

Contrary to popular ideas about memory, memory does not operate like a video camera, providing a continuous photographic copy of events and experiences (Schacter 2003). Instead, multiple learning and memory systems "extract details, meanings, and associations from the stream of experience according to specific needs, selective attention, and cognitive and perceptual salience or relevance" (Kirmayer, Lemelson and Barad 2007:8). Memories also change, undergoing repeated revision and transformation with each attempt at recollection. We

literally narrate ourselves, reshaping an awareness of our feelings and sense of identification with others through everyday life (Capps and Ochs 1995). This undermines claims that symptoms, such as flashbacks, are simply replays of indelible records, rather than reconstructions in complex memory processes. Symptoms, such as flashbacks, may reflect veridical recall, obsessional worry, vivid imagination or ruminations of "worst case scenarios" (Frankel 1994; Kirmayer, Lemelson and Barad 2007:8).

The diversity of these memory processes leads to ambiguity and debate about what is veridical recall and what is reconstructed, confabulated or fabricated memory, particularly when the stakes of research, beyond psychological health, incorporate moral and legal credibility and economic claims for compensation. While studies of PTSD and depression offer us useful foci for psychological treatment and the basis for economic compensation from perpetrators of traumas such as violence, they may also mask complex, relational experiences and the confluence of diverse social memory processes.

Nordstrom (2004:226) suggests that "part of the way violence is carried into the future is through creating hegemony of enduring violence across the length and breadth of the commonplace world, present and future. The normal, the innocuous, and the inescapable are infused with associations of lethal harm". Respondents in our study, child witnesses of the Iraqi invasion and occupation, vividly recalled the dangers of Iraqi check points on main roads, and the destruction of community centers, religious sites, public parks, schoolyards, and marketplaces, places where war was brought home. Male and female respondents recalled intimidation, control, and powerlessness at Iraqi soldier checkpoints, and sexually aggressive or inappropriate advances toward their mothers. Male and female respondents reported fear, anxiety, visual horror and a loss of control in response to media portrayals of tortured and mutilated bodies.

Young men, out of the home more often than their sisters, vividly described maimed and murdered bodies in communal areas close to their homes: A 24 year old described "torture houses", with "piles of dead bodies, a tortured man, still alive, led from the torture house to an ambulance". He recalled children playing football with the head of a murdered Iraqi after the liberation. A 22 year old recalled "men being executed in front of my own eyes". He said, "I felt helpless, not only because I was a child, but my family could not control anything…no

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one could protect me". He said, "My older brother took a soldier's decapitated head and kicked it to me. I was scared and still remember how I felt when I saw it". A 22 year old recalled "seeing a dead man hanging from a light post," and "walking by workout facilities and cafes with dead bodies". A 23 year old remembered "children making poisonous drinks as a game to kill Iraqi soldiers", to regain a sense of control, and to take revenge.

During the occupation places associated with safety, such as the home, were recast as lethal and inhumane *or* as refuges for Iraqi soldiers. Some Kuwaiti neighborhoods were unchanged in terms of family composition, while in others, neighbors moved away or houses were destroyed. Respondents had strikingly different experiences depending on their neighborhoods and whether or not the occupying Iraqis were Bathists, whom our child witnesses described as "aggressive" and "violent" or non-Bathists who were "like children". A 23 year old male described Bathist soldiers breaking into his family's home: "Iraqi soldiers broke down our door. My brother spilled water on the soldier, and he got angry; he yelled at my brother." Living in an area occupied by non-Bathists, a 24 year old male said: "Soldiers cried; they didn't want to be there. They were forced. They needed food. The soldiers played with children, and joked."

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Interestingly, all of our respondents described the occupation as a time of their best and worst memories with their families: A 23 year old female said: "It was perfect. No one had to be there. Everyone was there because they wanted to be there. We were never so close". Others described increased domestic violence, family conflicts, alcohol and drug abuse, and increased promiscuity.

In the aftermath of violence, 'basic trust', as Luhrmann (2000), Ewing (2000) and Robben (2000) suggest, may define and flame social, cultural and political identifications, critical to post-trauma healing and to the reconstruction of trust in oneself and in the familial, institutional and cultural practices that structure daily experience. The mourning and social channeling of collective trauma—the ways in which people collectively remember and forget trauma—are powerful aspects of group identification and recovery that impact the likelihood of future violence (Taussig 1987; Volkan 1998; White 2005).

The issue of identity, whether familial, ethnic, religious or national became a central feature in remembrances of 'trust' during the occupation. Kuwaitis recalled their

families obtaining fake identification, using other languages and dialects, and increased prejudice against Kuwaitis and Palestinians. Identity and the feeling of betrayal emerged through a majority of interviews. One respondent told us, "They wrote Kuwait is for Palestinians" on city walls. Another asked, "Why should there be trust? We trusted Palestinians. We gave them jobs. They made money. They were our brothers and look how they stabbed us in the back." A young woman of Palestinian family background and Kuwaiti citizenship described increased isolation and harassment, with Palestinians fired from jobs. Forty thousand Palestinians were exiled. Respondents also felt betrayed by Iraqis, particularly Saddam Hussein. One young woman said, "We always looked up to Saddam protecting us from Iran and then he invades us." There were accusations of relatives stealing from homes in which they took shelter, so that ultimately, our Kuwaiti respondents said they could trust only the members of their immediate families.

The 2003 U.S. War on Iraq triggered intrusive images of the 1990 Iraqi invasion and occupation, increased anxiety and fear that Kuwait would again be invaded. Ongoing media coverage of the war, walking through the Museum of War (The Kuwait House Museum), and loud noises, particularly sirens, were additional triggers. A 23 year old female said, "I felt paralyzing fear and stress when I heard sirens. Months later when Kuwait was no longer in danger, the government still kept testing sirens. I would wake up during the siren testing and feel fearful and short of breath."

While the majority of our respondents had never been diagnosed with PTSD or depression, they described periods of depression, isolation, emptiness, and emotional disconnectedness. They lacked a sense of loyalty or trust, describing instead paranoia, dependency on friends and family, anger and frustration, and the feeling of having no future in Kuwait.

Embodied Memory and the Social Environment
The contested idea that trauma involves "embodied memory" is framed differently in psychological and social, cultural research (Brewin 2003; Connerton 1989; van der Kolk 1994; Stoller 1995). According to Kirmayer, Lemelson and Barad (2007: 8-9), "The body (more specifically, circuits involving subcortical and cortical areas of the brain not accessible to consciousness) acquires associations as conditioned emotional responses or habits…but this does not yield declarative memory, and the origins of the learned association cannot be directly described unless

the event was encoded in parallel as declarative memory in the first place". They suggest that "learned dispositions" must be "represented and interpreted to construct a declarative memory". By contrast, Stoller (1995: 28-29), drawing on Connerton's distinctions between personal, cognitive and habit memories, suggests that "habit does not lend itself to the visual bias that is central to discursive analysis… In their insistence of the discursive, scholars transform the figurative into language and text. And yet our memories are never purely personal, purely cognitive, or purely textual". For Connerton and Stoller, separating personal, cognitive and habit memories from social memories is meaningless. A young man, aged 26, recalled, "I developed a twitch after frequent torture; my nerves were extremely damaged. My family got depressed because I became a drug addict during the war to escape the pain I was going through. I got the drugs from the Iraqi soldiers." A 23 year old young woman said, "I heard canons. It was always dark. My family and I felt isolated because it was unsafe for us to leave the house. Life was depressing and frightening and everyone felt anxious and tense. I still can't look at anything related to the war or P.O.W.S. without feeling extremely very sad." A 29 year old woman recalled, "There was black smoke everywhere, especially a few months into the occupation. It looked like night time all day long. The sea was very contaminated. I saw dirty and dead wildlife on the streets and ocean coasts (mostly birds). My family and I were very anxious the entire time because my uncle was in the Resistance (al-moqawama). Soldiers raided and searched the house to find him and execute him. I didn't know where he was. We were scared for his life because we never contacted him or saw him during the entire war. I developed a fear of bombs and loud noises. I still feel jittery when I hear a loud noise. I felt a serious lack of security and safety."

Child Witnesses: Concluding Remarks

Our preliminary findings suggest that young Kuwaiti adults, child witnesses of the 1990 Iraqi invasion, experience intrusive images of tortured and mutilated bodies triggered by the 2003 U.S. War on Iraq. These intrusive images are a confluence of veridical recall, obsessional worry, and vivid ruminations of "worst case scenarios". Young Kuwaitis tend toward obsessive anxious vigilance about the U.S. War on Iraq or complete disengagement; though few of our subjects were diagnosed with PTSD or depression, the majority report increased post-invasion depression and aggression, using drugs and alcohol to self-medicate. The young Kuwaitis in our study describe insecurity and confusion about human accountability—who to blame for

their traumatic experiences during the Iraqi invasion and occupation. Some blame Saddam Hussein and the Bathist Iraqi regime, while others blame the Kuwaiti Emir and Royal family, the Kuwaiti government, or parents who "fled from Kuwait", failing to provide adequate security and care. Our young Kuwaiti adults report increased mistrust, nationalism and ethnic chauvinism, no sense of future or future planning, and numbness and emptiness. Almost all of our study respondents have an "escape plan", meaning that they hold the passport or a current visa of another country to facilitate a quick departure from Kuwait.

The effects of trauma on our respondents reflect a convergence of veridical recall, socialization and enculturation processes during the occupation, and the transgenerational transmission of trauma through Kuwaiti familial interactions, reconstructions based on family members' and community reports of experience. Kuwaiti memories of the occupation were closely tied to social, familial relations and neighborhood. Temperament, biological factors, experience within families and neighborhoods, and prior experience with trauma might serve to protect some children from serious psychological consequences—or make them more vulnerable. For Kuwaiti young adults, it is the temporal and spatial dimensions of trauma in relation to self and other that become important in communal recovery from the trauma of the 1990 Iraqi invasion and occupation. Nostalgia of pre-invasion social cohesiveness and safety, give way to traumatic aftereffects—personal, cognitive and habitual—and the divides of history, power and social position. These traumatic aftereffects are entangled memory strands that foster ongoing insecurity, mistrust, nationalism and ethnic chauvinism, requiring psychological treatment, and relief that individuals may need, as well as attention to social and political responses that render trauma visible and account for the continuing destructive presence of other forms of violence.

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A Complexity-informed Basis for Social and Cultural Change in the Gulf

David Levick

It can be argued that social and cultural change in any society is driven by three factors: resources, power and identity. Because of the dynamic nature of the interrelationship between these three factors, the prosperity of all civilizations and societies peaks and wanes. The current profile of the Gulf States has risen in the 20th Century with Western dependence on oil and could wane when this dependence disappears. This can be explained through the process of globalization that links access and control of scarce and desired resources with power and identity (Woog and Dimitrov, 2004).

This first decade of the new millennium offers an opportunity for the Gulf States to take stock of their position and to be proactive in shaping and investing their current good fortune in a new basis of power for coming decades. The current and prestigious social and cultural dynamics of the Gulf States have been due to their access to and control of significant oil reserves upon which much of the world depends.

While it can be expected that this dependence will continue for several decades – especially as China rises as a world economic power – economic principles will see alternative sources of power become more viable, thus diminishing the control the Gulf States have over oil production. What, then, will source the prosperity and wealth of the Gulf States and allow them and their people to maintain their current identity and status? While still riding the wave of fossil-fuel prosperity, now is an opportune time for these nations to identify and gain control of access to the desires resources of the future and thus maintain their powerbase among the nations of the world and to maintain or even enhance their current identity.

Given current global debate and trends, the resources to be strongly desired by the world's population in the future are likely to be those of water and renewable energy sources. These two resources will act as 'attractors' or oases around which nations of the world will cluster for access. Those who control such sources of energy and water – or perhaps the technology to harness them – will achieve the power to develop or maintain identities of high status and privilege.

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Understanding of this phenomena of complex systems – moving from one set of 'attractors' to others, over time – empowers the conscious observer to move to the new set of attractors before others, and to capitalize on prime positioning, particularly if that observer is able to control access by others. Such is the position of the Gulf States: nations of the world have had their fill at the oases of oil production and their caravans are setting out to other destinations. If the Gulf States are to maintain their current identity and lifestyle, they too need to move on to be the early colonizers of future oases, centered on technology that delivers potable water and renewable energy. This paper will elaborate on this social movement from a Complexity Science perspective, charting a pathway of conscious development that Gulf States might consider for their future.

With increased globalization and interaction among the various people and cultures of the world, there might be a tendency for the Gulf States to look to the seemingly successful knowledge systems of the West as a way to rationalize steps to a prosperous future. These knowledge systems tend to be informed by conventional, Cartesian science that emphasizes 'control' of dynamics to ensure we can make predictions, with some certainty, and travel in a direct line to an already conceived destination – which is satisfactory for short-term development and social movement. However, in the present, increasingly globalized and less predictable climate of human interaction, greater confidence to move forward is more likely to come from Complexity Science's emphasis both on 'navigation' through the unforeseen future dynamics and on the integrity of the vessel we are navigating. This suggests moving with the dynamics to be encountered, rather than seeking to control or eliminate their influence; moving our Boom in a series of strategic tacks – as the various economic and social winds allow – towards the desired attractor of the future. This Complexity Science approach might better resonate with Arabic cultural values of negotiation and re-negotiation, as environmental and social conditions and networks change, and thus be a more comfortable knowledge system upon which the Gulf States can rely to chart the social and cultural change necessary to maintain their prosperity in the coming century.

When Wasta and Liberal Arts Conflict: A Case Study of a Private University

Mark J. Olson, Ph.D.

Abstract

Rapid globalization and events after 9/11 have increased the demand for local Western liberal education. This paper examines the hurdles surrounding its adoption and adaptation in Arabian Gulf settings. The hurdles stem from differing cultural assumptions concerning knowledge precepts, identity emphasis and means of problem resolution. Findings from different sources converge to support the familiar thesis that particular practices are more likely to be adopted if they are compatible with the society's dominant social values. In this context, positive management of cultural practices such as intercessory wasta (personal connections to obtain special benefits or consideration) becomes indispensable to establishing and maintaining western liberal education systems in the Gulf.

1.0 Introduction

Various versions of modernization theory, often couched in terms of traditional-modern dichotomies, suggest that innovations are more likely to be adopted if they are compatible with the dominant local cultural practices. Similarly, contingency approaches suggest that organizations establish congruence with their environment. However, both approaches minimize the accommodating or interactive aspects of the host culture and environment. We are interested in knowing how western liberal education is being accommodated by traditional authority structures in the Gulf.

The issue being addressed is the extent to which the introduction of western liberal education has resulted in adaptation to its environment. This paper briefly reviews the literature on higher education in the Gulf to identify factors leading to the demand for western liberal education. After which, issues are raised concerning the transferability of western liberal education to the Gulf setting. The role of intercessory wasta the practice of using intermediaries to obtain a better grade or another concession without consideration to merit, is explored in this accommodation process. After discussing the findings, the paper goes on to offer intra-organizational and extra-organizational suggestions including for the positive management of wasta.

2.0 Context

The setting for this study is a private university recently established in Kuwait in cooperation with a U.S. university. Although a number of students have attended other schools, many admitted students are unprepared for

college work and have inadequate preparation in English. Limited access to remedial, academic help for weaker students and a shortage of student advisors exacerbate the problem. Students frequently live with their parents or other family member and commute from their family's homes where a relatively high standard of living is enjoyed. Students appear to have ample time to focus on studying and to be free from financial worries. However, faculty members complain about lax student attitudes towards attendance, their studies and that plagiarism, cheating on exams and grade negotiations are rife.

Until now, there have been few incentives for academic excellence; e.g. securing a well-paying job after graduation is customarily more associated with *wasta*, a practice that uses personal or influential connections of a family member or associate. However, traditional avenues of employment such as the government are tapering off. When pressed, students, especially males, often concede that they worry less about securing a good job than obtaining a degree to improve their social status or enhance their marriage prospects. In sum, studying often does not appear to occupy an important role in the students' daily lives and familial obligations are often cited for not studying.

3.0 Literature Review:
3.1 Factors Leading To Western Liberal Education Demand
Currently, the Gulf region is experiencing tumultuous growth in secondary and post secondary private schools and universities. Private universities represent about 27% of the 149 university affiliated with the Association of Arab Universities. Many of the current and future start-ups of private universities are envisioned for the Gulf. The demand for imported Western liberal education has increased in the Gulf because of several contributing factors. First, from the 1970's onwards, the region saw the demise of the Egyptian influenced system and a shift to the credit point system prominent in the American education system (Mazawi, 2004). Secondly, the quality assurances for training and research are seen as higher in US universities than elsewhere. Thirdly, even before 9/11, the relative numbers of Arab students studying in the United States were on the decline resulting in a cumulative 30% drop from 1999 to 2002 (Derhally, 2003). Taken together, these factors have increased the demand for local western liberal education as Middle Eastern students find it harder to pursue studies in the West.

A less examined, but increasingly important reason for the privatization of higher education in the Gulf is that the region's established public institutions of higher education are finding themselves unable to accommodate their burgeoning, young populations, (especially expatriates) under the mounting shortages of professional educators and limited public resources dedicated to higher education. The brunt of future investment associated with higher education will likely be borne by the private sector owing to its flexibility in coping with the changing demographics, shifting budget priorities of Gulf governments, private market needs, and because of the potential for growing financial returns. For example, one Kuwaiti education company boasting 27,000 students at all levels, reputedly earned about $35 million in fiscal year 2004.

Finally, educators have been imported from other countries to the Gulf owing to historical shortages of local teaching professionals. Various nationalities including Egyptians, British, Indians, and others have preceded U.S. citizens as administrators and teachers. With the increasing participation and presence of the U.S. in the Gulf, comes increased impetus and means for synchronizing education in the region with the political and economic system over which the U.S. currently holds hegemonic presence.

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One American consultant in the United Arab Emirates noted that a new university ,"is designed to reflect the typical design of colleges and universities in the US…to facilitate transfers to US institutions and entrance to US graduate programs."(Mazawi, 2004)

3.2 Transferability of Western Liberal Education
The quest for educational change, from a Gulf Arab perspective, might be summarized as how to best modernize Gulf education without disrupting or changing its traditional social structures. Implicit in this view is that elements in western liberal education can be appropriated without having to resort to a wholesale transfer. Education transfer, to use an analogy, becomes a smorgasbord of sorts where the desired elements are selected and less desirable ones are left off the plate. The answer to the implicit question as to whether cultural elements act as a facilitating or restraining agent to modernization seems to stand on end. Wolfgang Zapf (2004) in his examination of modernization process in the context of the Middle East suggests that since there is no unified Islamic front, it can be expected that there will be different kinds and rates of adoption of technology (and by inference, education). However, this observation

glosses over the filtering effects of cultural variables. For example, one study of technological transfer to the Middle East suggests that culture variables tend to act as a filter of sorts in information technology transfer (Straub et.al, 2003).

While unexamined here, the theoretical underpinning harkens back to an old debate between modernization and dependency proponents: Can rational practices based on the idealized meritocracy replace practices based on traditional notions of kinship and affiliation? In this context, can liberal western style education be adapted to the Gulf without having to resort to an "all or nothing" adoption approach? If traditional societies take a smorgasbord approach to the transfer of western liberal education and the resulting arrangement works, it is truly like having ones cake and eating it, too.

3.3 The Compatibility of Liberal Western Education's Assumptions and Outcomes

Western liberal education is a relative newcomer to Arab Gulf settings although its roots can be traced back to Aristotle's writings about education. According to the American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U),

A truly liberal education is one that prepares us to live responsible, productive, and creative lives in a dramatically changing world. It is an education that fosters a well grounded intellectual resilience, a disposition toward lifelong learning, and an acceptance of responsibility for the ethical consequences of our ideas and actions… [It] requires that we understand the foundation of knowledge and inquiry about nature, culture, and society…What matters in liberal education is substantial content, rigorous methodology, and an active engagement with the societal, ethical, and practical implications of our learning". (AAC&U, 1998)

This brings us to the fore of our inquiry about the compatibility of western liberal education ideals with the culture and traditions of the Arabian Gulf setting. Conservative settings are not necessarily inhospitable to the cherished ideals of western liberal education such as tolerance and free thinking, but several cultural tensions challenge the viability of liberal Western-style education institutions in the Gulf. These include:

• Knowledge precepts concerning acceptable knowledge versus knowledge for knowledge's sake.

• The relative emphasis placed on collective versus individual identity.
• The extent of reliance on mechanical versus organic means of problem resolution and its corresponding relationship to organizational development within educational settings.

3.4 Knowledge Precepts

The philosophy behind Western-style liberal education and knowledge acquisition can be summed up as knowledge for knowledge's sake. By contrast, knowledge acquisition in Islamic societies stems from the principle that knowledge be acceptable, i.e. praiseworthy, permissible and not blameworthy. J.M. Halsted (2004) believes that Islamic education and western educational philosophies are fundamentally incompatible. While the Prophetic reports (Hadith collections) indicate that knowledge without any real use in human life is useless, the Quran seems to suggest that any knowledge that contributes to one's personal development is considered valuable. Utility, in that sense, is left up to the individual and the society to decide upon.

There appears to be a growing body of opinion that suggests that it is not the Quran, but its diverse cultural interpretations that are responsible for the emergence of oppositional thinking between Islamic and western educational values (Bagheri and Khosrawi, 2006). In the absence of any resolution to this underlying knowledge dilemma, Gulf students, perhaps, like other Muslims confronting conflictive western values, appear to have developed dual frames of reference and communication, one local-traditional and the other, global-modern (Findlow, 2001). Suffice it to say that instead of a synthesis of Arab cultural and religious heritage with growing Westernization of lifestyles, two separate accounts are kept, much like keeping two sets of accounting books; each used for differing circumstances and needs.

3.5 Individual versus Collective Identity

Another factor that Western-style education institutions challenge is the difference in relative emphasis on *individual identity versus collective identity*. It is supposed that individual identity is encouraged along with critical thinking in western intellectual life. In contrast, the literature suggests that traditional Islamic education is largely teacher and text-oriented and by extension, emphasizes collective identity and rote learning skills over individual identity and critical analysis skills. This emphasis comes out of the *madressa (Islamic school) tradition for learning about Islam and the* Quran, a method where knowledge is transmitted by rote

memorization and repetition. This approach emphasizes acquired content while critical analysis incorporating the learner's life experience is minimized. These dual frames of reference are mirrored in four learning modes that Shahin (2005) identifies as diffuse or foreclosed for traditional orientations and exploratory or achieved for modern orientations.

A lesser examined aspect of this *collective versus individual identity* dichotomy relates to the need to be accepted as part of the collective group or risk isolation from one's fellow students and how this challenges academic integrity. For example, students who engage in cheating and plagiarism or bargaining over grades see these as acts of collective cooperation and helping out one another. The circumstances surrounding these acts are mitigated because the perpetrator has a felt moral obligation to the collective. The alternative, as noted, is to be isolated and outcast from the group.

Taken from this socially constructed perspective, as Kendall notes in her article on Kuwaiti students, personalized relations justify cheating and treating grades as negotiable items - even though, this challenges western views of academic propriety:

In intimate social formations, particularly in families, people make allowances for each other's personalities and predilections, adjusting their behaviors and discernments to the perceived requirements of the moment. Under such conditions, impartiality is impossible; under such conditions, partiality is demanded. By contrast, where people have few genuine moral obligations, where their interactions are casual or commercial, where they are ignorant of the factors playing upon others, they have little basis for recognizing mitigating circumstances and hence for exercising discretion. Under such conditions appeals to impersonal rules and abstract standards are indicative not so much of peoples' ethical sophistication and advance as they are indicative of their estrangement. (Kendall, 1991:101)

3.6 Means for Problem Resolution

Most visitors to the Gulf region are likely to hear about or experience wasta. The term refers to mediation or intercession often to obtain services or some end through personal connections. A distinction is made between intermediary wasta and intercessory wasta. The former has as its goal mediation to resolve inter-personal or inter-group differences. In contrast, intercessory wasta has as its aim a benefit for example, obtaining a driving license, reduction of a penalty, getting a job, etc.

In the context of education, wasta can refer to a connection for the purpose of negotiating and inflating grades, using influential outsiders and insiders to hire staff members and instructors, admitting unqualified or under-achieving students, pressuring faculty members in various ways so that some students receive special consideration and bending of the rules in favor of certain outcomes, among other things. "Intercessory wasta exemplifies the collective action problem" where action furthering "individual interest harms the collective interest" (Cunningham and Sarayrah, 1994: 9). In this case, the education and re-tooling of a national workforce to participate in the global economy are being put at a disadvantage because wasta drives out competence based education and its emphasis on critical thinking skills deriving from western liberal education.

4.0 Research Questions

The above literature review suggests three general themes revolving around knowledge, identity, and means of problem resolution. Specifically, these themes are: a) the philosophical compatibility of western liberal arts with Islamic precepts concerning knowledge; b) the inherent bias towards individualist and critical forms of learning found in western liberal education versus the collectivistic, rote forms of learning found in Islamic cultures; and c) depersonalized forms of problem resolution within bureaucratic (organic) structures in contrast to the personalized forms of problem resolution within traditional non-bureaucratic (mechanistic) structures.

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In turn, these themes surrounding the establishment of Western-style education in the Arabian Gulf give rise to the following issues:

• How much curriculum adaptation or modification can be accepted before liberal education becomes devoid of its premises and content?
• To what extent is successful diffusion of Western-style education in a local traditional, conservative setting possible?
• Who is adapting to whom? Is liberal education adapting to its environment or vice versa?

This paper focuses on the third issue because it partially subsumes the other two issues and in examining the issues surrounding adaptation we can direct our attention to practical applications for the classroom and the education system. In particular, the hypothesis addressed by this study is: Intercessory wasta is being used to accommodate western liberal education to traditional authority structures in Gulf.

5.0 Methodology

This study relied on the following research tools to guide the study:

a. Student questionnaire (in the appendix)
b. Documents (university publications, pamphlets, meeting notes and articles)
c. Participant observation of faculty, administrative personnel, and students
d. Articles about the university found in local and US newspapers.

6.0 Results

A convenience sample of 100 students, approximately 10% of the total student population, was surveyed in 8 classes. The sample had a nearly equal numbers of females (n=52) and males (n=46). There were more transfer students (51%) than first time attendees (42%) in the survey. The higher number of transfer students also contributes to a higher average student age of 21.7 years, with a range from 19 to 28 years of age at a time when the school was only 3 years old. The most frequently cited motive for attending the school was to be closer to their parents' homes (27%), followed by those who are enrolled seeking a quality education (25%). A third category was created combining those students reporting enrollment because of low GPAs (11%), and those awaiting transfer to another school (9%) since the likely common denominator to both is a low GPA at the time of matriculation. The mean average for current GPA reported was 2.8 with a range from 1.3 to 4.0. Over half of the reported GPAs (61%) were above C+ with 7% reporting GPAs below 2.0.

Nearly half of the students in the sample (49%) likely lived and studied abroad for 1 to 5 years. The country of residence abroad most cited was the U.S. (7%) in the comments. Next, in order of frequency came Middle Eastern followed by European, African and Asian countries. One student reported living in 4 countries. Among transfer students, the largest share (30%) had been in only one other school. Another 12% had been in two other schools. The most schools attended by a transfer student were 8. The majority sampled (81%) indicated that their education was financed by their parents although around 22% of the students reported working and 13 % paid their own tuition and fees.

Circumstantial information suggests that extended time in school and delayed completion of college degrees may reflect a larger local trend. In casual conversations

with students, a number had spent significant amounts of time in undergraduate programs outside of Kuwait, such as Bahrain, nearly completing their majors only to return to Kuwait for various reasons. Given the limited transferability of coursework, many have few options other than to start over again, repeating earlier course work.

One third of the students sampled reported carrying a load of 15 credit hours (33%). This is followed by those reporting loads of 12 credit hours (28%), and 17 to 21 credits hours (11%). While the average reported credit load (13.7 credit hours) seems reasonable, the average total credit completion rate is less than expected. Assuming an *unchanging* average credit load of 13.7 from the first semester onwards (and ignoring any validity issues for the moment), the average student would complete 54.8 in 4 semesters. However, the average credit completion rate (34 credits) is 62% of this projected figure (54.8). Lacking any hard data, the course drop rates and withdrawal activity merit further investigation, especially for their impacts on the education process.

Survey questions focused on obtaining student opinions and rankings of various aspects of the university such as administration/registration, professors, fellow students, activities, classrooms, and facilities. The students were asked to identify problems within the university as well as suggest solutions to address these problems. Overall, sampled students ranked the school as above average (42%), followed by average (37%) and below average at nearly one-fifth of the sample (18%). Among students surveyed, three factors were ranked above average in the university; these include its professors (51%), fellow students (45%), and Information Technology (44%).

Turning attention to written comments about rankings of professors and students, students (n=14) identified their fellow students as the thing that they liked best about the university. In their comments; they identified their friendships and their peers' helpfulness. In contrast, a few students (n=4) identified the negative qualities about their classmates' attitudes, i.e. their high school-like behavior, the lack of student body diversity and student proclivities to gossip. The professors' friendliness and understanding were cited in some comments (n= 7), with one student enthusiastically noting that "professors give great curves" and that classes are "easy". Friendliness and helpfulness ratings notwithstanding, they may be equated, at some level, with instructor willingness to give students concessions in grading and student willingness to collaborate with each

other in the pursuit of higher grades. As one student put it in a conversation, referring to her cool relations with her fellow female classmates, "They don't like me because I don't help them cheat."

By contrast, the four items most frequently ranked below average include: administration/registration (62%), sports (56%), extra-curricular activities (49%) and student advising (46%). The main feedback concerns registration activities and its personnel. (Low rankings for sports, extracurricular activities and student advising reflect their absence; this point is revisited under student recommendations.) Some students felt that certain students receive preferential treatment owing to *wasta* that is used on their behalf. Among the identified forms of preferential treatment attributed to *wasta* were: registration after the add/drop period has closed, access to classes when registration has closed, choice of instructor, removal of attendance warnings, matriculation with low GPAs and grade changes. It is important to clarify that whether this situation actually exists, the *perception* is that it does. In one student's assessment:

I think *wasta* does exist…, but truthfully I haven't seen it first hand, but it is obvious with some of the students and the (privileges) they have, especially with the registration department.

The presence of *wasta,* defined in the survey as getting illegal or illicit favors through connections, is ranked as being high or very high by 46% among those surveyed. It is noteworthy that over twice as many students identified *wasta* issues with registration (35%) as compared to faculty (15%) in the survey comments. Some comments about faculty mention instructors exchanging grades for services or being influenced by *wasta.* One student aptly summarized the concern in the following:

Wasta exists everywhere not only at (this university), but the question (is) why is it at (this university) …and it provides an education. All students should be equal… only their grades and hard (work) should determine what they should get…

At the end, survey respondents were asked: *If you were appointed to improve anything you want at (this university) what would you do?* Responses were categorized by subject. The main suggestions for administration and registration, courses, policies, faculty and students that emerged are:

• Improving registration procedures and upgrade their staff qualifications.

• Offering more courses with greater section availability.
• Implementing grade policies ensuring fairness.
• Integrating classes for males and females.
• Employing more and better qualified faculty.
• Demonstrating greater concern and fairness toward student educational needs.

Given the students' perception that wasta exists as an unofficial practice and that it influences grade assignments, students are reinforced into viewing grades as negotiable commodities instead of benchmarks for achievement. As the student profile emerging from the survey suggests, there are more incentives to negotiate grades if the student has extensive time in school, a faltering GPA, a low course completion rate and there is limited oversight of student progress and needs by counselors and advisors.

By the same token, it is also easier for student counselors and instructors to become remiss in their obligations as standard bearers for quality work in learning. Even inexperienced ones soon come to realize that they will be besieged by students (if not their wasta intercessors), seeking to negotiate grades if their charges are not passing at acceptable levels. It becomes expedient to devise grading schemes that permit the largest number to pass or overlook plagiarized content in papers. As one student notes about grading: "If the professor is mostly afraid of the position of the student's background he will let him pass and even with good grade. Not all professors do this, but there are existing professors who really use 'wasta'." *(Spelling and grammatical errors kept for emphasis.)*

This study and the literature seem to suggest that wasta thrives where accountability is lacking; lines of authority are unclear; and there is no organizational learning. Among first impressions of newcomers to this university is that there are no institutionalized procedures (partly because by-laws and written rules are inaccessible); decision-making and planning processes are not transparent; and communication is inadequate. In sum, wasta is symptomatic of an organization whose existing rules are being un-enforced and structures that are being by-passed.

Wasta is, as one student put it, the "back door" to getting things done. It continues because whatever formal alternatives are not functioning for the student, faculty or the university. What goes un-remarked is that while intercessory wasta may solve the individual problems of today for a few, it comes at the price of organizational gains at this private Gulf University and others for the many, tomorrow.

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7.0 Discussion

The survival of liberal education institutions in conservative societies will depend largely on the flexibility of the various parties involved to find some common middle ground. Potential solutions to the problems associated with establishing liberal education can be categorized along intra-organizational and extra-organizational lines. In both instances, decision-makers will need to be insulated, especially at higher levels, from the negative practices associated with wasta (e.g. favoritism, cronyism, etc.). Similarly, professionalism and transparency in practices will need to be strengthened.

At the intra-organizational level, the task is to create a learning organization that can respond effectively and in a timely manner to challenges. Adoption of the following measures should be given serious consideration:

(i) Employing more early warning mechanisms to advise students of their situation and transform relations with wasta intercessors that become guarantors of performance instead of purveyors of influence.
(ii) Promoting critical thinking both in the classroom and in the boardroom. Critical thinking challenges the irrationalities in hiring and promotion of professionals, admission of students, and other facets of university operations that arise under current wasta practices.
(iii) Improving teaching methods and encouraging innovation in the classroom.
(iv) Fostering loyalty to the organization by providing benefits and long term employment guarantees based on performance outcomes (e.g. quality teaching, publications, and contributions to the university's mission).
(v) Democratizing the decision-making process for internal operation of private universities through the insertion of faculty and administrative representation on university governance boards. This includes consulting faculty members about academic standards and the hiring or firing in their departments. Additionally, students need to be consulted on issues pertaining to academic curricula.
(vi) Examining means to encourage diversity within the student population in Gulf universities.

At the extra-organizational level, attention needs to be given to creating more backward and forwards linkages that are involved in the quality assurance process. Where appropriate, the means to attain this end could involve:

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(i) Creation of private university councils at the regional not just country levels.
(ii) Development of new national curricula standards for universities and high schools.
(iii) Establishment of national entrance and exit exams for universities and high schools.
(iv) Review and stricter enforcement of teacher and administrator credential standards.
(v) Increased feedback and cooperation with regional and local employers through councils, practicums and other means to ensure that local education is meeting labor market needs including program specialization among different schools in the region to remove unneeded duplication of programs.

The above proposed suggestions aside for a moment, the touchstone to any proposed solution resides in rendering an organizational structure that enables private universities to both function effectively and compete efficiently. Transforming intercessory wasta is key to promoting both academic quality and competitiveness. Taking steps to democratize the institution will help address organizational learning needs and pre-empt some of the worst of the potential organizational ills that could beset western style liberal educational institutions in the future. This process begins with improving communication among all concerned and involving faculty in the major decisions, at a minimum.

In the longer run, observers believe that higher academic standards will enable Gulf universities to attract better qualified professional faculty, administration and better motivated students with higher academic standards and achievements. Conversely, lowering the academic bar will cause these universities to be magnets for poorer performing student affecting a change in the institutions, themselves, where they function like diploma mills cranking out degrees with limited employment prospects.

As this paper has attempted to demonstrate, the promotion of quality education and the maintenance of intercessory wasta under current arrangements are intrinsically contradictory and each carries a steep price tag. While there are still prices to pay, metaphorically speaking, it might just be possible to employ wasta in the service of western liberal education's aims if adequate attention is paid to the context that wasta operates in. If the wasta intercessor becomes the guarantor of student performance outcomes early on and organizational learning is fostered in the context of a system of backward and forward linkages

for quality assurance, an organizational structure might be created that would accommodate western liberal arts education in a traditional setting.

8.0 Discussion Questions:

Having briefly examined some potential solutions, various questions remain:

1. Is the current course being taken by newly established private Gulf universities leading to desirable outcomes? If not, is the course reversible? To what extent are the above proposals for improving the current situation plausible?
2. Can private universities with their current structures face up to the serious academic challenges that lie ahead without addressing wasta? Do the solutions lie simply in reversing the priority of the objectives of maximizing financial gains and academic quality?
3. Convention dictates that higher academic standards enable a university to attract better qualified professional faculty and administration as well as students with higher academic standards who are eager to learn. Can private Gulf universities maintain quality education and still attract customers? Is it possible to have both?
   Alternately, will enrollment quotas be met at the expense of academic standards?
4. Can liberal western-style education be adapted in the Arabian Gulf and circumvent an all or nothing adoption premise?

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Rethinking Entrepreneurship: Integration in a Liberal Education Context

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Abstract

This paper describes a fundable, long-term strategy which incorporates the study and practice of entrepreneurship into the student experience at a high-quality liberal education undergraduate university. Parts of the program are already delivered by a business department and made available to students in other programs through well-developed linkages with other disciplines. The program is based on entrepreneurship defined as the willingness to pursue new product concepts, ideas and processes, and to obtain the human, material and financial resources necessary to implement a plan for achieving for-profit and non-profit objectives. The context for the entrepreneurial activity may be the creation of a start-up organization or the pursuit of growth for existing small, medium or large organizations across a variety of industries and non-profit organizations. Thus, entrepreneurship is not just an end result, but an orientation (or attitude) that is part of how an individual recognizes and approaches the development of ideas in any type of organizational setting. This conceptualization and operationalization requires a dedicated, resource-based focus on entrepreneurship. More specifically, the recasting requires leadership through contributions to curriculum development, the scholarship of teaching entrepreneurship (i.e., pedagogy of experiential entrepreneurship), and service to the larger community in collaboration with business and government bodies. A long-term, capacity-building, sustainable program that is situated within an existing business department is envisioned.

Rethinking Entrepreneurship: Integration in a Liberal Education Context

This paper describes a fundable, long-term strategy which incorporates the study and practice of entrepreneurship into the student experience at a high-quality liberal education undergraduate university. The program would be delivered by a business department and made available to students in other programs through well-developed linkages with other disciplines. The approach is in line with the opportunities afforded by the university's setting, which builds on the track record of the Commerce Department in cultivating entrepreneurship, and which augments resources that presently exist in the department.

What is Entrepreneurship?

The underlying concept of entrepreneurship is a departure from the conventional association of entrepreneurship solely with small business, and also a departure from the notion that entrepreneurship be taught in one to three isolated courses in the business curriculum.

Entrepreneurship is the willingness to pursue new product concepts, ideas and processes, and to obtain the human, material and financial resources necessary to implement a plan for achieving for-profit and non-profit objectives. The context for the entrepreneurial activity may be the creation of a start-up organization or the pursuit of growth for existing small, medium, or large organizations across a variety of industries and non-profit organizations. Thus, entrepreneurship is viewed not just as an end result, but as an orientation (or attitude) that is part of how an individual recognizes and approaches the development of ideas in any type of organizational setting. A bank employee who, for example, designs a new investment package for a high net worth customer can be just as entrepreneurial as a young graduate who opens an outdoor store in an under-serviced market. Both recognize opportunities and gather resources to package their ideas in a competitive setting. Thus, an entrepreneurial orientation encompasses not only *knowledge* (e.g., how to structure financing, how to bring a product to market, how to analyze the competition …), but entrepreneurial *skills* (e.g., how to present ideas, how to deal with funding agencies …) and entrepreneurial *attitudes and behaviors* (e.g., confidence, risk-taking, adapting to conditions, action-oriented …). This multi-faceted view recognizes the broad scope of an entrepreneurial orientation in action, rather than limit it to "bums in [course] seats".

Towards an Experiential Entrepreneurship Model

The pedagogical approach that provides the educational foundation for the Entrepreneurship Model integrates Kolb's (1984) experiential learning model and Mitchell and James' (1989) perspective of the opportunity created through a dynamic interactive relationship between an individual and the environment. Joplin's (1995) suggestion that interaction with one's environment requires planned reflective activities enhanced the philosophy and approach used.

Experiential pedagogy is a participatory method of learning which involves a variety of a person's mental capabilities. Scholars, such as Corsun, Inman and Muller (1995) and Kolb, Rubin and McIntyre (1974), quote an ancient Confucius statement, "I hear and I forget; I see and I remember; I do and I understand," to convey the foundation of this pedagogy.

What is experiential Learning?

The concept of experiential learning was developed by David Kolb (1971). Kolb believed learning is a process whereby knowledge is formed through the transformation of experience (Vince, 1998). Kolb introduced a learning cycle, which is one of the most well known illustrations in management education. It is important in expressing the nature of experiential learning, and has become a significant subject in the experiential business environment. Many different perspectives argue whether Kolb's model matched the reality of how well people actually learn through experience.

Alon and Cannon (2000) defined experiential learning simply as, "learning by doing". O'Banion (1997) stated that the experiential approach provided discovery and involvement for students as they collaborate in the learning process and assume responsibility for the decisions they make. According to Kolb (1984), experiential learning is a process in which knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Hoover (1974) stated that, "Experiential learning exists when a personally responsible participant(s) cognitively, affectively, and behaviorally processes knowledge, skills, and/or attitudes in a learning situation characterized by a high level of active involvement." The Association for Experiential Education defines experiential education as, "a philosophy and methodology in which educators purposefully engage with learners in direct experience and focus reflection in order to increase knowledge, develop skills and clarify values." Specht and Sandlin (1991) explained that "experiential learning focuses on 'doing' in addition to the 'hearing' and 'seeing' that occur in a traditional lecture class." They also believe that experiential learning involves a structured activity wherein material and principles which are encountered are incorporated and applied to new and dynamic situations.

There is widespread support of the benefits of experiential pedagogy. Toncar and Cudmore (2000) found that experiential learning activities increased the level of student motivation and also long-term retention. Wynd (1989) stated that "teaching methods that actively engage students in the learning process enhance student learning and development". Gaidis and Andrews (1990) suggested students learn better due to the active involvement with concrete experiences.

Bridging the gap. According to Finney (2004) teaching undergraduate business students is challenging as they have little or no business experience which would allow them to link theory with real-world practice. Experiential learning allows business educators to bridge this gap. A review of literature in this area suggests that business educators are incorporating this pedagogy actively and have been achieving positive results. One of the reasons for the increased interest in experiential learning in business education is due to the fact that the pedagogy allows for development of student's "real world" skills (Alon & Canon, 2000).

Experiential pedagogy has been applied across various business disciplines. Finney (2004), Bobbit (2000), Alon and Cannon (2000), and Gremler et al. (2000) described several successful applications in the field of marketing. Falkenberg, Russell and Ricker (2000) reported on the application of the experiential approach in a project management course. Hogan (1992) reported on the application in an organizational behavior course. Gruca (2000) described an experiential application which integrated the disciplines of marketing, finance, and technology.

According to Finney (2004) there is an increased level of awareness and support for the development of experiential-based courses in business. According to Finney, the results obtained thus far have been encouraging.

Experiential learning in practice. An experiential learning environment differs from a traditional classroom environment by placing students in situations that allow them to experience the challenges and processes of practical life. Goal-orientation, teamwork, decision-making, observation, thinking, and action-taking are major areas that are developed in an experiential learning environment. Experiential learning integrates theoretical knowledge with practical acumen as students are required to work in teams and demonstrate leadership skills. Community organizations, government departments, and private corporations now recognize that experiential learning regimens have a significant, positive impact on the development of learners.

Experiential learning has become popular in many countries around the world, including Canada. Experiential learning has been used in work settings, military training, professional certification, independent study, and entrepreneurial situations. For instance, in the workplace, companies are using experiential learning in the training of employees, who are made to actively experience, explore, and develop target skills and behaviors.

This type of training leads to enhanced productivity within the organization.

Although experiential learning in entrepreneurship may take place in numerous academic settings, very few courses and programs have been documented and evaluated. An article by Shawn P. Daly documented, "Student-operated Internet business: True experiential learning in entrepreneurship and retail-management," where students carried out their own business plans, product development and marketing operations. It also includes feedback from students and observations and recommendations concerning the success of the student-operated business. (Daly, 2001). Another example is the University of Calgary's MBA program that documented a recent MBA course offered to students who "create and grow their own expertise or lead and sustain growth and development in an existing enterprise" (Nikiforuk, 1997). Documentation of experiential learning courses like these provides valuable information and opportunity for schools and instructors to use as a guideline for their course initiatives. The feedback and suggestions that schools offer from their previous experience provide constructive insight and guidance on how to provide students with the greatest learning experience.

Another example close to the topic of this paper is the Entrepreneurship and New Venture Creation (ENVC) course at Mount Allison University for students who are seeking to gain hands-on experience, while learning the complexity of running a student-operated business. Information from all aspects of the course is compiled, and suggestions for improvement in particular areas, such as the student evaluation process, are provided. The dynamics of this experiential learning approach have been successful as students build on their skills, such as teamwork, leadership and problem-solving skills. Documentation of the student's feedback from their personal experience with the ENVC course at Mount Allison also suggests improvements for the course in following years.

The entrepreneurial venture of learning by experience clearly has benefits in ways that students understand the complexity of running their own organization. They employ a wider perspective within the business world, and learn the importance of networking within their community. The everyday classroom learning is important, but does not provide the same type of skills that students developed from these experiences. Experiential learning

in entrepreneurship is successful in many educational institutes that would agree to the importance of students engaging in such practices (Daly, 2001).

In summary, Kolb (1978 & 1985) created the Learning Styles Inventory (LSI)) because he was not satisfied with the traditional methods of teaching management professionals. His work helped people understand diverse learning processes and acknowledge that each person learns in a different way. People felt the need for this type of learning methodology because they understood the significance of integrated knowledge and experience that could be applied to real-life situations. Experiential learning has been found to be friendly to the brain, mind, body, heart, and soul (Toncar & Cudmore, 2000; Wynd, 1989; Gaidis & Andrews, 1990).

Experiential pedagogy is a perfect match for the entrepreneurship model of interest in this paper. The review of the literature supports the Experiential Entrepreneurship Model shown in Figure 1. Activities in the curriculum delivered through experiential learning approaches lead to the integration of entrepreneurial skills, knowledge, attitudes and behaviors. Course feedback and peer evaluation provide opportunities for summative and formative evaluation. Recognition of success is evident in student awards, and success in business plan competitions, in business and in co-curricular activities, as well as in teaching awards, faculty engagement in the attendant experiential pedagogy, research, funding, and the ability to attract entrepreneurial speakers.

The University Context
The mission statement of the university reads as follows: *Mount Allison University is committed to the creation and dissemination of knowledge in a community of higher learning, centered on [2250] undergraduate students, in an intimate and harmonious environment. Our teaching, research and creative enterprise are combined with extracurricular activities, in a liberal education tradition, that emphasizes development of the whole person. This integrated approach involves collaborative efforts among all members of the University community and leads to superior scholarship, cultural understanding and appreciation, personal and social maturation, leadership development and informed citizenship.* (Academic Calendar, 2006-7, p. 1)

Bachelor degrees are offered in Arts, Commerce, Fine Arts, Music, and Science. The University "shapes leaders who are critical thinkers, problem solvers and creative participants in society" (Academic Calendar, 2006-7, p. 1).

The mission of the University and its setting in a small town (pop. 5000) in the southeastern corner of the province of New Brunswick offer several advantages for those interested in the development of entrepreneurial capability among students. First, the relatively open curriculum fosters multiple ways of thinking. Any student, for example, has access to courses in all disciplines and interdisciplinary programs of the three faculties of Arts, Science, and Social Sciences. Thus, students in Commerce (located in the Faculty of Social Sciences) intermingle in Commerce courses with students who are doing a major in areas as diverse as Anthropology, Music, and Biology. Students in other degree programs may do a Major or Minor in Commerce. Secondly, the relatively small size of the student body encourages interaction among students within and outside the classroom. Third, with about 95 percent of courses scheduled between 8:30 am and 5:30 pm, students have ample time to meet for courses projects, as well as engage in extracurricular and co-curricular activities. Fourth, the reputation of the University attracts many national and international, high-energy, multi-talented students who are able to make a home for themselves in the residential atmosphere. Last, but not least, the town, which has thriving business and arts sectors is supportive of the University.

Some examples of how the advantages of the university setting support the entrepreneurial model are as follows:
• Students have access to professors for consultation.
• Students are able to work in teams. Face-to-face interaction is encouraged.
• Students have the time-space to handle complex projects, such as starting a business.
• Students can engage in projects that span disciplines, such as start biotechnology companies.
• Students can access the resources (e.g., registration, licenses, etc.) needed to set up a business.

The Entrepreneurial Footprint in the Commerce Department

Entrepreneurship happens through people. Mount Allison has long been recognized as a premier university which brings together faculty and full-time, undergraduate students from across the world. These bright, highly respected people come together in a small, residential, interactive atmosphere. Not surprisingly, big things "happen" at Mount Allison, and entrepreneurial activity is no exception.

In 1995-1996, the Commerce Department introduced a course called Entrepreneurship and New Venture Management, followed by the introduction of Small Business Management in 1997-1998. These courses were taught (often in rotation) by a professor who subsequently became the first Director of the Dobson Centre. (The Dobson Foundation funds a number of centers dealing with entrepreneurship across the country.) His interests were in micro-enterprise, specifically home-based businesses; there were research collaborations with a member of the Rural and Small Towns Program.

Over time, collaborations between the Dobson Centre and the Commerce Department were increased in focus and even stability. Introduction to Entrepreneurship (added in 2001-2002), was taught by the Director, who also collaborated with Commerce professors on the Business Plan Competition and on various aspects of the operation of the Dobson Centre (e.g., invitations to speaker events, case competition, micro-lending projects…). From the perspective of the Commerce Department the profile of the Dobson Centre was certainly higher than it had ever been; there were shared successes and teaching collaborations.

Within the Commerce Department, there has been a surge in interest in entrepreneurship over the past five years, due to the addition of new faculty members, the presence of capable students, and the emergence of university and community collaborations. Some examples of Experiential Entrepreneurship that have already been realized are listed in the Appendix. Obvious examples are specific courses, such as Entrepreneurship and New Venture Creation, and the experiential pedagogy that provides the underpinning for their delivery. External competitions provided venues to hone presentation skills and reality checks on business plans. More unusual is the opportunity for students to extend their learning within the context of Independent Study and Special Topics courses. (The course outlines for these courses must be approved by the Department.) Functional courses, especially in the marketing area, also contain components, such as assignments and projects, which contribute to the development of an entrepreneurial orientation. Curricular activities that span two or more courses, such as field trips that highlight businesses that are new or grew from a small start-up, also provide capacity for entrepreneurship. In the case of the field trip to Hewlett-Packard in Boston, students raised a substantial proportion of the funding required. Occasions for guest speakers are also opportunities to illustrate entrepreneurship in action, as are events sponsored by student associations and projects supported through student leadership development programs.

In short, Mount Allison students have a number of diverse opportunities to gain exposure to entrepreneurship knowledge in the classroom, as well as opportunities to develop skills and behaviors through actual business ventures and case competitions. In a very real sense the development of these entrepreneurial activities is entrepreneurial in itself, in that faculty saw opportunities, students and collaborators rose to the challenge, and exciting and productive ventures emerged. The capacity for this activity developed naturally (incubated, if you will) within the hopper of the Commerce Department with the addition of new faculty, capable students, and interested community and university partners.

Going to the Next Level of Growth

The Commerce Department has already demonstrated the capacity to foster interest and productivity in entrepreneurial activity. The present capacity level will likely continue, but it is probably near capping due to competing academic interests, university processes, the small number of faculty involved and limited resources. Nevertheless, it is natural to look to the Commerce Department to play a leadership role in cultivating an entrepreneurial orientation within the department, across other disciplines, and within the larger community.

The next level of growth will need a dedicated, resource-based focus on entrepreneurship. This recasting will require some restructuring of the Commerce program, focused commitment of faculty members, directed energy, funding beyond "normal" operations, and communication about this activity within and outside the University with business and government partners. The goal is to advance the reputation of Mount Allison University in entrepreneurship with a respected, sustainable approach. The Commerce Department can provide leadership through contributions to curriculum development, the scholarship of teaching entrepreneurship (i.e., pedagogy of entrepreneurship), and service to the larger community in collaboration with business and government bodies. Leadership will be based on the strengths and the track record of faculty members, the Department's interest in experiential learning, the support of alumni, and the on-going opportunity to engage motivated, full-time undergraduate students.

To go to the next level of growth (to expand capacity), the Department proposes that the following to be implemented in two phases:

Phase I:

- Direct entrepreneurship at Mount Allison University from within the Commerce Department. Include the development of innovative pedagogy and applied research in the mandate. Pursue a niche in experiential education in the entrepreneurship area, e.g., Financing innovation and innovation in the performing and fine arts sectors. (These two areas of interest exist already in the Department.)
- o Mechanisms: Appoint a Director of the Dobson Program in Entrepreneurship with the mandate to direct and monitor entrepreneurial education. The Director will oversee the program and work with the Program Manager to implement the program components.
- o Appoint a [Named] Chair of Entrepreneurship with the mandate to foster and contribute to pedagogical development and research in the area of entrepreneurship.
- o Hire a full-time Program Manager to handle the details of program implementation, including working with students on the components of the program.

- Develop existing courses in entrepreneurship, such as Comm 2361 Introduction to Entrepreneurship and Comm 3361 Entrepreneurship and New Venture Creation, and new courses, such as Financing of Innovation, Special Topics courses and capstone courses.
- o Mechanisms: Curriculum development within the program.
- o Build sustainable tutoring infrastructure for Comm 1001 Introduction to Business to support entrepreneurial components in this highly subscribed course.

- Develop teaching linkages with other departments at the University in the arts, science, Music and Fine Arts, and with the McCain Fellow during 2006-2007.
- o Mechanisms: Develop course modules on various aspects of entrepreneurship which can be adapted across departments and programs. These interdisciplinary modules may be student-led and co-developed with faculty from other disciplines.

- Continue to provide stipendiary support for courses in entrepreneurship.

- Continue with micro-lending project.
- o Mechanisms: As established by the Dobson Centre.

- Continue with the Nicol Business Plan Competition.

- Set up a web site.

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- Develop outreach with students through ACE (Advancing Canadian Entrepreneurship) to augment in-kind support from the University.

- Establish a speaker and reading series, named *The Entrepreneurial Mind*, which highlights successful entrepreneurs and innovation across a variety of fields.

- Establish a Student Award for Entrepreneurship.

Phase II:
- Establish an Entrepreneur-in-Residence program.

- Develop an internship for summer and international opportunities.

- Seminar Series (outreach).

- Conference on Entrepreneurship (national & international audience). Bring young entrepreneurs from across the world together.

Summary

The implementation of the Experiential Entrepreneurship Model (EEM) requires a long-term strategy which will incorporate the study and practice of entrepreneurship into the student experience at Mount Allison University. Due to the nature of University work, the Commerce Department is interested in a long-term, capacity-building, sustainable program that is situated within the Department. The structure and intent of the EEM assumes that this entrepreneurship program will be sustained by adequate resources well after the five-year implementation phase.

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APPENDIX

Examples of Experiential Entrepreneurship Courses:
- Introduction to Entrepreneurship (with support of Dobson Centre)
- Small Business Management
- Entrepreneurship and New Venture Creation
- Independent Study. In 2004-2005, two other students (one in Biology and One in Commerce) were involved in setting up a biotechnology venture through this course. Another project was conducted by a Mount Allison International Exchange student who had done an internship with FAST -- a 5-year-old, award-winning Norwegian software company which conducts business in Europe, the US and Japan.
- Special Topics in Business. In 2005, students from the Entrepreneurship and New Venture Creation course continued with their project under this course.
- New course: Venture Capital and Finance of Innovation.

Components of courses:
- Fundamentals of Marketing: Students created and developed marketing plans for new products and services.
- Services and Non-profit Marketing: Students worked with a start-up service company.
- Marketing Research: Students did market positioning studies for various new businesses. All teams had actual clients, who received reports and saw presentations.
- Current Challenges in Marketing: Field trips included visits to a variety of arts organizations, including a Board of Directors meeting with Live Bait Theatre.

Cross-course activities:
- Field Trip to Boston 2006: This was a very successful field trip to Hewlitt-Packard with 50 students. The visit included a day with the US Country manager, David Booth, and executives from the marketing and IT areas. The students were enrolled in Human Resource Management and Global Context of Business/Business Policy.
- Field Trip to Prince Edward Island 2005: This very successful field trip with 49 students included a visit to Diagnostic Chemicals, Diversified Metals Engineering, Padinox, and PEI Preserves, successful Maritime businesses which started small. The students were enrolled in International Marketing, Human Resource Management, and Business Policy.

Speakers:
- Michael Wilson, CEO of Atlantic Industries Limited, was a guest speaker in the Global Context of Business course. He received an Entrepreneur of the Year award from Ernst & Young in 2005. This privately-owned engineering company operates globally.
- Paul Gilbert, VP of Marketing, Aeroplan, was the guest speaker for Commerce Awards Night 2005.
- Mr. Estey (a MTA alumnus) from ACOA was the guest speaker for Commerce Awards Night 2004. The Dobson Centre was also featured on the program.
- Bruce McCubbin, Moosehead Breweries, "Developing Entrepreneurship," March 2005.

Co-curricular activities:
- ACE (Advancing Canadian Entrepreneurship Inc.), a cross-campus organization.
- Commerce Society.

Figure 1. Experiential Entrepreneurship Model

Activities in the Curriculum

Courses
Stand alone
Across functional areas
Across disciplines

Projects

Co-Curricular Activities

Speakers

Knowledge

Skills

Attitudes
&
Behavior

Assessment
Course feedback
Peer evaluation

Recognition
Student Awards
Success in business plan competitions
Student success in business
Co-curricular success

Faculty
Teaching Awards
Conference presentations
Journal Articles

Funding
CGA
Dobson

Speakers

You Go Girl!
Watching Oprah in Kuwait

Shaheed Mohammed and Mary Queen

Abstract

This study examines motivations and perceptions among Kuwait viewers of the Oprah Winfrey Show. Using focus groups as the primary investigative tool, the study probes the processes by which viewers from a context far different than the target audience of the show adapt the content to their own needs and lifestyles. Working from an interpretivist approach, the authors attempt to present explanations of the processes and devices that reconcile the Oprah universe and the Kuwait reality in viewers' minds. Analysis is presented from rhetorical and traditional communications perspectives.

Watching Oprah in Kuwait

Few media enterprises have been as successful as Oprah Winfrey's talk show and its derivatives. The influence of the program and the personality around which it revolves is clear in the United States and in many western countries. The extent of this influence may be estimated from television ratings data as well as various other indicators such as the power of Oprah's book club and the popularity of related characters such as Dr. Phil. The present paper investigates the spread of that influence into a vastly different social and cultural environment.

Literature Review
The Oprah phenomenon.

The Oprah Winfrey show is broadcast in 122 countries has won 35 Emmy awards, and has run for 20 seasons (Woing-Ulrich, 2006). The financial success of Oprah Winfrey's media empire is measured in dollars and its various media vehicles are tracked in Nielsen numbers and circulation figures. Academics have also noticed the power of the Oprah factor, for example, Moy, Xenos and Hess (2005) investigated inter alia, political candidates' appearances on Oprah and found that for audience members, watching the show was associated with increased civic participation.

Gersch (1999) investigated the Oprah Winfrey show with a focus on its relationship to class and mobility, using the show as an example of a talk show in which:
"…The host and guests usually serve as role models, implicitly--and sometimes explicitly--holding out the promise of class mobility. In this context, moving up the social ladder is not tied to increased income but rather, once again, to morality and social values." (p. 276).

Gersch (1999) also pointed out that Oprah becomes something of a personal friend to her viewers. This is known as parasocial interaction, a point to which we will return presently.

Peck (1994) analyzed the role of Oprah Winfrey's talk show (and Oprah herself) in addressing issues of race in the United States concluding in part that "…The liberal, therapeutic and religious discourses in the series contain utopian sentiments in their quest to find meaningful bridges across social differences." (p. 119). According to Peck (1994) Winfrey herself has been described as "a comforting, nonthreatening bridge between black and white cultures." (p. 91).

Popular interpretations of Oprah's influence can be more extreme, often even taking on religious tones. Walker (2004) writing in the New York Times described the effects of products and services being "anointed" by Oprah. Wong-Ulrich (2006) noted the impact of what she termed the Oprah "blessing," that can mean the difference between spectacular commercial success and dismal failure. One estimate even suggested that Oprah Winfrey influences 20 to 25 percent of all purchases in the United States (Silverstein and Butman, 2006). One website that hosts online petitions listed 2184 signatures recommending Oprah for the Nobel Peace Prize (www.ipetitions.com, 2007).

Not all estimations of the show's effects are positive, of course, as Abt and Seesholtz (1994) include the Oprah Winfrey show in their indictment of the talk show culture in general:
"Phil, Sally and Oprah always know best. They take the roles of caring parents, understanding friend, knowing therapist. They may not have professional credentials to give advice, but they do so freely. Of course, they probably make considerably more than therapists who still bother to get professional training credentials and licenses." p. 187.

The plethora of concerns and commentaries about Oprah Winfrey and her talk show as well as the increasing reach of the global television market deem it unsurprising that the impact of the show should spread beyond the shores of the United States. What may be surprising, however, is the extent to which Oprah has taken root in other cultures – particularly in the present case, a culture that has often been portrayed as being not only vastly different but also as actively hostile to Western influence.

Kuwait – satellite television, culture

Kuwait is a small independent oil rich nation-state in the Middle East. It is bounded by the Arabian Gulf to the East, Saudia Arabia to its South and West and Iraq in the North. The government is a traditional monarchy though an elected parliament has been introduced in recent years.

Kuwaiti media comprises a mix of government owned and operated enterprises existing alongside private media outlets. Television is available through terrestrial broadcasts from Kuwait TV and privately owned Al-Rai television. However, the majority of people in Kuwait receive their television content from free-to-air and/or subscription satellite services. Kuwaiti audiences view the Oprah Winfrey show on one or more free-to-air stations available on satellite feeds in the area.

The Kuwait segment

Much debate arose among Kuwaiti viewers when a segment on Oprah Winfrey's talk show in 2004 featured a woman from Kuwait ostensibly describing the life of Kuwaiti women as part of a special feature. For a small and relatively obscure nation, the simple mention of Kuwait on the Oprah Winfrey show was enough to draw some attention. Indeed, the arrival of an Oprah camera crew in the summer of 2004 spurred rumors that Oprah was going to visit Kuwait (it later turned out that the crew visited to shoot cover shots for the segment). Questions and statements on the final segment (aired in October, 2004) regarding democracy and women's voting rights in Kuwait caused further controversy, as did the fact that the woman interviewed just happened to be a member of the ruling family (a niece of the Emir).

The Kuwait segment was far reaching in its effects not only in Kuwait but also abroad. Extreme right wing US commentator Debbie Schlussel (2005) took on the segment, writing:

"Then there's Kuwait. Oprah says it's the only democracy in the Middle East, even though (at the time this was shot) women don't get to vote (they now do--but the vote, for both genders, is meaningless). Huh? Kuwait is an Islamic caliphate. It is ruled by an Emir and a royal family (the Al-Sabahs), not to mention religious clerics." ¶ 5

This segment is a focal point for all discussions about Oprah in Kuwait among audiences and investigators as it presented a tangible point of intersection for Kuwait culture and the Oprah Winfrey Show.

Intercultural Communication and Rhetorical Considerations

The impact of foreign media has been a major concern among media scholars for decades. McPhail (1981) wrote about "electronic colonialism" while Herbert Schiller (1976) wrote of "communication and cultural domination." These and numerous studies reveal concerns about detrimental roles of foreign media in the cultural and social milieu of developing societies. Long before Oprah was available via satellite in Kuwait, communication scholars were interested in the impact of foreign content and the extent to which content originating in culturally dominant countries posed threats not only to cultural maintenance but also to social and economic development.

While the political economy of cross-border media has received much attention, there has also been much debate about the cultural dimension of this exchange. The impact of foreign media portrayals has been widely examined (Tan, Tan & Gibson, 2003) with an enduring concern for the extent to which foreign media can be said to influence receiving audiences and their respective cultures.

Research Questions

The nature of the present investigation was primarily investigatory. Little previous data existed on the specific topic of interest – audience reception of the Oprah Winfrey Show in Kuwait. Few studies existed on media reception of foreign television by audiences in the states of the Arabian Gulf area. This situation necessitated an open approach and precluded hypothesis testing. We therefore posed a number of open ended research questions.

We were interested in what attracts audiences to the Oprah Winfrey show in a country so far removed from US market. We therefore posed research question 1 as:

RQ1: What are the reasons that Kuwaiti viewers give for watching the Oprah Winfrey show?
We were also concerned with the viewers' perceptions of Oprah Winfrey and the program and how they reconcile the cultural differences between themselves and the show's host and content. Thus we posed research question 2 as:

RQ2a: How do Kuwaiti viewers perceive cultural differences between themselves and the content of the Oprah Winfrey show?

RQ2b: How do Kuwaiti viewers reconcile cultural differences between themselves and the content of the Oprah Winfrey show?

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Method

The primary method of data gathering in the present study was the focus group discussion. Focus groups are widely used in the social sciences to gather qualitative data, particularly where the salient issues being investigated are not yet fully defined (Krueger and Casey, 2000). The focus group discussion provides information in the form of the text of the discussion (what is said by participants) as well as non-verbal cues (how things are said by participants) and even silence or avoidance of certain topics (Schensul and LeCompte, 1999).

A pilot focus group discussion with self – selected participants from a private liberal arts college in Kuwait was conducted in March of 2007. Data and insights from the first focus group were collected and analyzed to guide preparation of question guides and protocols for the main FGD session which took place in April of 2007.

The main focus group discussion was recorded on audio tape and moderated by one of the authors. Though English proficiency is a pre-requisite for entry and progress at the school, and the English ability of all participants was quite high, an Arabic speaking confederate was present to assist in the event of language difficulties. This was thought to be necessary particularly with regard to emotionally or otherwise sensitive or delicate issues which were likely to arise during the discussions.

Participants were recruited through a combination of advertisements and class invitations with the information that they would be asked to talk about the Oprah Winfrey Show. Class credit was offered as an inducement and refreshments were served at the sessions in keeping with common practice and local custom.

The resulting texts of the focus groups were analyzed by both authors independently and main themes determined. The separate analyses of primary themes were then compared to establish the mutually agreed items and inclusion decisions on other items were made by negotiation.

Results/Discussion

Participants in the focus group consisted mainly of regular Oprah Winfrey viewers, though some participants expressed reservations about the show and its host. All had viewed the show at some point in time. The reasons for watching the Oprah Winfrey show were not unrelated to participants' perceptions of Oprah herself. Some participants expressed, for example, the view that Oprah

was a very powerful personality who had a reputation for influencing major decisions in US society and related this to their reasons for watching.

The Kuwait segment was mentioned in the discussion with some debate among participants about both the accuracy and impact of that segment. Several participants questioned the choice of a member of the ruling family to represent the country.

Parasocial interaction was evident in the discourse of the focus group. Several participants expressed not only their positive personal views of the host, but also the notion that they felt an affinity for her. One participant took care to mention that "I don't know her personally but…" suggesting an awareness that the impression of parasocial interaction might be gleaned from her comments.

On the issue of reconciliation of differences, participants showed a tendency to seek out the commonalities between themselves and the host. One participant explained that she identifies with Oprah because Oprah tells stories about her battle with her weight and she can identify with that battle. In seeking the commonalities, participants also revealed that they were aware of the differences – noting that in Oprah's interview with a Muslim person she asked whether Islam teaches belief in God. Some participants suggested that this kind of ignorance could not be blamed on the show but rather took the blame themselves. One participant noted that if Oprah is ignorant about Muslims, Arabs, and Islam, it becomes the task of these people to communicate with the Oprah Winfrey Show and ask them to focus on these groups and issues.

This final point raises numerous issues about the process of rationalizing the obvious cultural differences between the content and the audience of Oprah in Kuwait. We are drawn to Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance in which people are able to hold contradictory ideas about something by a process of adjusting their expectations. Yet, there are other possible explanations, including the possibility that the paradigm of media effects and the concept of cultural imperialism need to be reviewed. In terms of media theory, there is tremendous support on the one hand for the uses and gratifications approach that suggests an active audience, taking only what it needs from the media. On the other hand, the fact that our participants make adjustments and allowances for Oprah, even taking the blame for her ignorance at times, suggests something of a cultural and social impact that underlies their choices.

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How Far Is A Small Truth From A Huge Lie? On Making Corruption An Honor

Ralph Palliam

Abstract

How often have lies been converted into half truths? Undoubtedly corruption is a great cause of annoyance and misfortune. If good governance is the hallmark of progress, corruption is its bane. The recent spate of corporate scandals worldwide has raised serious concerns surrounding governance standards. The credibility of chief executive officers, the accounting profession and the chief financial officers is in serious doubt as stakeholders question their ethical obligations and professional standards. A universally accepted fact is that accounting standards are required to establish benchmarks for certain accounting complexities and also to ensure that there are checks and balances in their implementation The sudden collapse of major corporations reveals the extent to which the accounting profession was actively involved in manipulating financial results and financial positions within the confines of generally accepted accounting practices. It has become clear that performance and progress statements that do not accurately capture the reality of an entity affect numerous stakeholders. With specific reference to financial intermediation, surplus spending units (providers of funds) and deficit spending units (borrowers of funds) were enticed into misallocating scarce financial resources. On the other hand long serving and committed company employees were duped into providing their skills to entities that had a limited future. Moreover, there is an element of distrust that pervades modern commerce and modern commerce has yet to recover from the stigma of deceit. The question that the affected public is asking: What lies ahead?

Introduction

One of the pre-occupation of academics and organizations committed to the pursuit of ethical and moral conduct of business is the communication of a language of business that is consistent with widely acceptable policies and virtuous practices. A major precursor to the enhanced professional recognition of accountants is the belief that accountants have chosen to act in a manner beneficial to the community in which and for which they function. For accountants to maintain or enhance their professional identity, the broader community must perceive the accounting function has made choices that are aligned with the social obligations expected of it. Allegations that accountants are systemically violating this public trust, plus

increasing government regulation of accounting issues, may ultimately result in the demise of the accounting profession as we know it today. To maintain this trust, the public accounting professional boards have issued codes of professional conduct as a form of guidance to their membership; and also tries to ensure that those individuals wishing to become professional accountants undertake study that acquaints them with their respective codes. Whilst such policies deal adequately with the perception of ethical behavior, it is still an open question whether the policies deal with the reality of ethical behavior.

Public companies and their auditors are under assault. Investor confidence has been eroded following a host of accounting and financial reporting improprieties. The capital markets depend on reliable and accurate financial information to foster growth and investment. Many familiar companies are still under investigation due to alleged accounting and financial reporting failures. Academics are actively encouraging students to reaffirm their commitment to ethical and moral conduct; as it is imperative they begin working to restore confidence in the financial reporting system. However, it must also be underscored that practices that one society condemns as corrupt are considered harmless or even appropriate in another cultural context. A problem exists with a clear definition of corruption.

Focus group discussions with academics and the accounting professionals around the Middle East suggest that for accountants to satisfy professional obligations of integrity and objectivity of judgment, it would appear that some form of self-directed ethical reasoning based on values is necessary. If accountants, in their discharge of their duties, do not have self-directed principled reasoning capabilities, the consequences are that they will be less resistant to client pressures or socialization strategies. Moreover, these professional in the Middle East argue that since the accounting function encompasses a multitude of activities, practices, and concepts with accounting professionals acting in numerous capacities in a corporation, it would still be the center that would satisfy the CEOs quest to manipulate financial results and position. In theory accountants in the Middle East are now up to the job of providing a reasonably accurate rendering of a business's financial performance. Accuracy, however, is not always the aim of those who manage a corporation. Many who stand to gain from cooperating with management, be they board members or outside accountants, analysts or investment bankers, may have an

interest in continuing to manipulate the accounting system to produce a misleading, distorted, or downright fictional portrayal of a business's health and prospects.

The extent to which management would use the profit impact of a supply chain function in furthering the dysfunctional objective of CEO's: to manipulate earnings is considered in this study. The message is clear: CEOs still want value and in the supply chain function's quest to add value they may undermine the revenue aspects of some transactions.

Following upon series of contacts between accountants, auditors and corporations, in-depth focus group discussions were held on the causes of earnings manipulation, and its negative effects on financial, economic, social and cultural development of corporations in the Middle East. Moreover, what new games would accountants start to play to support earnings manipulation and earnings management? Reflecting upon the possibilities for strengthening the intolerance against corruption, it is essential to assess the effectiveness of international efforts to support the rule of law. Despite a proliferation of work in rule of law and anti-corruption in recent years, evaluations of the effectiveness of these activities are few. Recognizing this gap in knowledge, the accounting profession in the Middle East has begun taking stock of the effectiveness of rule of law promotion generally, and anti-corruption specifically. Business entrepreneurs in the Middle East are arguing that corruption can increase economic efficiency particularly when one sees very restrictive regulations, bureaucratic laws and confiscatory measures. Corruption can reduce costs and thus increase efficiency.

Accounting and peer pressure

The collapse of major U.S. corporations illustrates the dangers of corporate 'unaccountability', and the interrelationships that exist between big business, government and the professions whose job it is to hold them to account. However, it has also raised a number of specific issues that hold lessons for the implementation and enforcement of anti-bribery legislation. At a time when 30 countries are re-assessing their national measures for deterring bribery and corruption, so as to ensure compliance with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Anti-bribery Convention, then it is important to take the opportunity to review and learn from any lessons that were experienced in the U.S.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is a unique forum where the governments of 30 market democracies work together to address the economic, social and governance challenges of globalization as well as to exploit its opportunities. The Organization provides a setting where governments can compare policy experiences, seek answers to common problems, and identify good practice and co-ordinate domestic and international policies. It is a forum where peer pressure can act as a powerful incentive to improve policy and which produces internationally-agreed instruments, decisions and recommendations in areas where multilateral agreement is necessary for individual countries to make progress in a globalised economy. Non-members are invited to subscribe to these agreements and treaties.

Evidence from around the world suggests that Multinational Companies (MNCs), operating in a range of sectors, engage in bribery and corruption not only as a result of solicitation - but also as a choice strategy. The World Bank presents research, carried out in the transitional states, and concludes that 'bribery pays' when used either to secure large-scale procurement contracts, or to buy influence. The existence of powerful economic incentives, makes bribery all the more difficult to address and underlines the need for rigorous enforcement of anti-bribery legislation. Concerns with corruption, over and above the moral and ethical discourse, include:

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- *Impact on development and the poor*: bribery and corruption inhibit development as it is the poor who pay for the costs of bribes, either through higher prices, or lower quality services. Bribery also creates a democratic deficit as key decisions affecting citizens are made away from the public arena for reasons outside the public interest;

- *Impact on markets:* bribery and corruption distorts competition

- *Integrity of public services*: today's privatisation and liberalisation policies are increasing the opportunities and incentives for bribery and corruption undermining

public confidence in the integrity of public services;
- *Impact on workers and whistleblowers*: whistle-blowers provide a mechanism for increasing the chance of detecting bribery and thus potentially provide a powerful tool for deterring corruption. Whistleblowers need to be properly protected both by national legislation and at a company level, through the establishment of appropriate disclosure channels.

Since 1977, the U.S. Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA) made it a criminal offence for USA companies – as well as those foreign companies whose securities are listed in the United States – to pay bribes to *foreign* government officials. Moreover, the FCPA was adopted following an SEC investigation in which over 400 USA companies admitted making questionable or illegal payments in excess of £300 million to foreign government officials, politicians and political parties in an attempt to restore public confidence in the integrity of U.S. business conduct. Other OECD countries, however, did not have equivalent legislation. This raised concerns that the FCPA had created an *un-level* playing field, as companies falling outside the scope of the FCPA could secure commercial advantage, through the payment of bribes, in a way that those subject to the FCPA could not. This need to 'level the playing field' provided the motivation for the OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions, which came into force in 1999 - over 20 years after the FCPA. Signatories, include all 30 OECD members, as well as 5 non-members. The Convention requires signatories to enact national legislation that criminalizes the act of bribing a foreign public official. The FCPA represents 20 years experience of implementing and enforcing anti-bribery legislation. It also provided the basic legislative framework for the OECD Convention. As such, it potentially offers valuable lessons for the implementation of the OECD Convention. The FCPA consists of two basic parts:

- *Anti-bribery provisions*: which prohibit American companies, citizens and residents from making illicit payments to foreign officials to procure a commercial benefit;

- *Accounting provisions:* which requires public companies to make and keep books and records that accurately reflect the transactions of the corporation and put in place strict accounting controls aimed at uncovering and deterring corruption. These were designed to

operate in tandem with the anti-bribery provisions. Violation of either the FCPA's anti-bribery or accounting provisions carries potential criminal and civil penalties. The FCPA is jointly enforced by the US Department of Justice and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). Overall, however, there is means to assess the effectiveness of the FCPA in deterring international bribery. Whilst to some extent the prosecution of cases can be assumed to send the signal to companies that it is 'no longer business as usual', it is impossible to know *the frequency or level of bribes that have been paid despite the FCPA*. Indeed, disappointingly perhaps, research on the behavior of OECD MNCs in the transitional states found that USA companies were no less likely to engage in the payment of procurement kickbacks than MNCs of other OECD countries.

Corruption

If the cost of a corrupt act is lower than the cost of a proper act under an illegitimate and bureaucratic regime then corruption is going to be pervasive. However, corruption is the cause of annoyance and misfortune despite it having an efficiency enhancing value in restrictive economies. If everything that virtuous is the hallmark of progress, corruption is its bane. Practices that one society condemns as corrupt are considered harmless or even appropriate in another cultural context. However, corrupt acts are, in every definition, improper or illegitimate. The problem for social science consists of giving the term "improper" specific content and finally by what standard would we know if a particular interaction is corrupt? Forms of corruption would include: bribery, extortion, fraud and collusion. Corruption could be individual, systemic and cultural. Individual corruption would entail the benefits of corruption being enjoyed by a small group of individuals. Systemic corruption on the other hand is institutionalized corruption. When individual corruption and systemic corruption become pervasive – corruption becomes a culture. Systemic corruption ought to be a serious item that merits priority status in the global agenda. Generally, corruption is a "zero-sum game" where through bribery, extortion, collusion or fraud someone wins at the expense of others and thus it must be curbed for the effective functioning of a global village. To be controlled effectively, systemic corruption will require a system's approach strategy that simultaneously encompasses givers and takers. Only with the momentum that could be achieved by a global commitment, (similar to the commitment for sustainable development), will it be possible to make a difference on the subject.

Though corruption poses fundamental challenges to both democratic governance and market economies, accounting researchers have not addressed corruption in a comparative context. In the light of the above discussion, an audit of an MNCs in the Middle East revealed the following journal entries. The MNC is a major supplier of structural steel building material to XYZ Limited Liability Company located in the Middle East. The accountant that made the entry recalled being told that a loan was granted to XYZ LLC and no other documentation was presented. Why was this loan given? The response could be a truth.

Exhibit One (Loan to a customer XYZ LLC recorded)

Loan to XYZ LLC (General Ledger Account)
Dr $500,000
Cash $500,000
Loan granted to XYZ LLC at 21% interest
rate per annum.

Upon perusing the journal entry, it became apparent that trust is a valuable asset and the MNC purchased this.

Exhibits Two and Three show an innocent sales transaction, however, to a company that was given a loan a few months earlier. This poses no problem as major car manufacturers support their dealers by providing them with loans.

Exhibit Two (Sales to a Customer XYZ LLC recorded)

Sales early in quarter one of the first year amounted to $2,837,000 and recorded as a credit sale in the debtors' journal as follows:

XYZ LLC (Debtors' Ledger Account)
Dr $2,837,000
Sales $2,837,000
Structural and processed steel sold on credit

Exhibit Three (Record of Sales to XYZ LLC)

The following sales figures were reflected and documentations were provided. Moreover, when credit sales takes place – reasonable assurance of collection must be assured – and goods must have changed ownership.

Year 1	Quarter 1	$2,837,000 (As reflected above)
	Quarter 2	$1,938,000
	Quarter 3	$1,843,000
	Quarter 4	$1,945,000
Year 2	Quarter 1	$1,655,000
	Quarter 2	$1,452,000
	Quarter 3	$1,345,000
	Quarter 4	$1,223,000

Payments of various amounts were received from XYZ LLLC every quarter over a period of two years. This was a result of structural steel building materials that were dispatched to XYZ LLC. At the end of quarter one of the first year, a payment was received to the value of $2,837,000. The entries were made as follows (Exhibit Four):

Exhibit Four (Record of Cash Received from XYZ LLC)

Journal Entry as recorded in the Cash Payments Journal:
Cash   Dr $2,837,000
XYZ LLC (Debtors' Ledger) $2,758,856
Loan to XYZ LLC (General Ledger) $51,894
Interest received $26,250
Cash received from XYZ LLC in respect of goods
Invoiced and part redemption of loan – first quarter.

An examination of Exhibit Four shows that the accountant amortized the loan over a period of eight quarters. This was done at times when the cash payment was received from XYZ LLC. The interest rate of 21% per year (5.25 per quarter was applied systematically and methodically recorded as interest received consistent with accepted practices. No write off of accounts receivable were made, however, a provision for doubtful debts was maintained at 7.5% of accounts receivables.

In the middle of Quarter Four of the second year a further $500,000 loan was made to XYZ LLC. Moreover, a luxury sport utility vehicle purchased in year one by the MNC and included in its asset register was given to XYZ LLC. Several non material payments were made by the MNC to XYZ LLC as site visit expenditure.

The changing role of accountants
Accountants must come to realize that as long as sales revenue is going to impact upon earnings, management will do everything to tell small truths in the wake of huge lies. In this regard it is vitally important for accountants and auditors to ensure that the firms are run efficiently, its public records kept accurately, and its taxes paid properly and on time.

They perform these vital functions by offering an increasingly wide array of business and accounting services, including public, management, and government accounting, as well as internal auditing, to their clients and at the same time protecting the interest of stakeholders. Beyond carrying out the fundamental tasks of the occupation, preparing, analyzing, and verifying financial documents in order to provide information to clients, many accountants now are required to possess a wide range of knowledge and skills to deal with a growing public that have become skeptical of accountants. Accountants and auditors are broadening the services they offer to include budget analysis, financial and investment planning, information technology consulting, and limited legal services not only to major corporations but also to individual taxpayers and investors. Some public accountants specialize in forensic accounting—investigating and interpreting white-collar crimes such as securities fraud and embezzlement, bankruptcies and contract disputes, and other complex and possibly criminal financial transactions, including money laundering by organized criminals. Forensic accountants combine their knowledge of accounting and finance with law and investigative techniques in order to determine whether an activity is illegal. Many forensic accountants work closely with law enforcement personnel and lawyers during investigations and often appear as expert witnesses during trials of CEO's that have told half truths. In response to recent accounting scandals, new Federal legislation restricts the non-auditing services that public accountants can provide to clients. If an accounting firm audits a client's financial statements, that same firm cannot provide advice on human resources, technology, investment banking, or legal matters, although accountants may still advise on tax issues, such as establishing a tax shelter. Accountants may still advise other clients in these areas or may provide advice within their own firm. Despite assiduous efforts in anti-corruption campaigns, many accountants are plagued with rampant corruption problems; and in a number of countries, the progress towards corruption reduction has not yet stagnated over the last decade. The impact that accounting practices have on the level of bribery has not yet been measured but it can be said that better accounting practices can help reduce both the incidence of bribery activities and the amount of bribe payments, but conforming to high quality accounting standard alone will not necessarily enhance the quality of accounting practices and thus will not automatically bring down the level of bribery.

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A Cross-Cultural Model of Innovation: An Exploratory Study

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Abstract

Innovation is recognized as a key factor in the success of organizations, and as an important driver of overall economic development. I this paper, we review advances in innovation literature in multinational enterprises (MNEs). We extend research in this area by proposing that innovation is also a function of the underlying processes that take place within each organizational unit that constitute the multinational network. Using a grounded theory approach, we offer a process model of innovation across different cultural settings. In this model, trust and organizational commitment are proposed as critical factors that determine the nature and degree of cooperative and conflictual exchange processes that underlie innovation within MNE units. By looking at the interpersonal processes that facilitate innovation across cultures, our theory contributes to an area of innovation research that is still lacking; namely a consideration of the multilevel nature of innovation processes, and the delimitation of the role of culture in affecting these processes in MNEs.

The head of Strategic Planning for a major oil company once said *"The great leap of faith in HR these days seems to be that excellent individuals make excellent organizations. The reality is that our employees aren't any smarter or hard working than our competitors'. It's only the way we combine people and align them that gives us competitive advantage"* (Snell, 1999).

In their study of interorganizational networks an innovation within multinationals, Tsai and Ghoshal (1998) found that product innovation at the organizational network level was a function of the type of relationships that exist between various units of the organization. In particular, these authors showed that trust and shared vision was important drivers of the nature of exchange between these units, which in turn fostered innovation. Their research focused on the network ties that link various subsidiaries of the multinational network, and investigated the role such networks play in driving product innovation at the organizational level.

We build on this work and complement it by looking at the processes within these organizational units that drive innovation. We argue that given that many multinationals adopt a multidomestic or a transnational organizational strategy, organizational units have a key role in initiating

and fostering innovation within their local boundaries (Birkinshaw, 1997). A number of researchers have shown that subsidiaries play a vital role in overall network effectiveness and success. Often, entire innovation functions, such as RandD are localized within certain units. In their study of the role of subsidiaries in creating firm-level advantage, Birkinshaw, Hood, and Jonsson (1998) showed that internal subsidiary resources drive the contributory role of the subsidiary, that subsidiary culture and autonomy were important factor in its role as creator of firm-level advantage; hence, emphasizing the independent role of various divisions within multinationals in generating value. Furthermore, we acknowledge the role of trust and shared vision within the organizational unit as important antecedents for innovation. Consequently, we look at how trust and commitment to the organization drive the innovation process. Here we use O'Reilly and Chatman's (1986) view of commitment as the embodiment of a shared vision within the organization. We also maintain that at the unit level exchange can be in two forms: cooperation and conflict. These two modes of exchange have been advanced as key processes within organizations underlying many organizational-level outcomes (Barnard, 1938; Wall and Callister, 1995). In our paper, we present cooperation and conflict as underlying processes that drive innovation. Throughout this paper, we use the term organizational units as a more inclusive way to describe the various units that constitute the organizational network of the multinational corporation. Such units could represent subsidiaries, franchises, sales offices, RandD units, or service teams located within a given cultural and institutional setting.

This manuscript is organized as follows: First we offer a brief review of innovation and its value to organizations. Second, we discuss cooperation and conflict as forms of exchange in organizations. Third, we outline how trust and commitment affect cooperation and conflict. We then discuss the role of the cultural context in shaping the process of innovation. We conclude by discussing the theoretical and practical implications of our model.

Innovation in organization

For many years, organization scholars and practitioners alike have been researching ways to better understand innovation and identify its components and antecedents (Damanpour, 1991, Janssen, Van de Vliert, West, 2004; Kodama, 2005; Pearce and Ensley, 2004). Due to its practical and research importance, this subject area has received a great deal of attention as witnessed by the numerous popular books and articles written about it (Anderson,

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Carsten, De Dreu, and Nijstad, 2004; Damanpout, 1991; Wolfe, 1994). Despite extensive work in the area however, considerable debate still surround the central concept of innovation, its dimensions, and its drivers.

A growing amount of research has focused on organizational attributes that differentiate between innovative and less innovative firms. A number of attributes have been examined including structure, managerial characteristics, available resources, administrative intensity, and internal/external communication (see Damanpour (1991) for a review), although no set of explanatory variables has emerged (Wolfe, 1994). This may be because research in this tradition typically centers on whether or not organizations innovate (e.g., adoption decisions), rather than on how they innovate. We focus on the nature and degree of cooperative and/or conflictual exchange processes in organizations and theorize about how these impact innovation processes and outcomes.

Researchers have distinguished among several types of innovation based on certain characteristics or attributes. Examples include radical vs. incremental (Dewar and Dutton, 1986), sustaining vs. disruptive (Christensen, 1997), competence enhancing vs. competence destroying (Tushman and Anderson, 1986), product vs. process (Utterback and Abernathy, 1975), and technical vs. administrative (Damanpour and Evan, 1984). Much of the research on innovation type is concerned with the industry-level phenomena, such as environmental change (Tushman and Anderson, 1986) and innovation diffusion (Rogers, 2003; Teece, 1980), rather than its firm unit-level determinants, which are our concern, although some has also focused on innovation-performance links and innovation adoption at the firm level (Damanpour et al., 1989). Here, we adopt the view taken by a number of researchers and argue that innovation should encompass the two elements of initiation and implementation (Damanpour, 1991). Initiation refers to the original stage of idea generation. However, such ideas are of little value if they are not adopted by organizations. Consequently in discussing innovation, one must keep in mind that innovation has multiple dimensions, and that processes within organizations may affect these dimensions differently (Zmud, 1982).

Innovation requires perspectives gained from observation and activity in many business domains. Ideas for innovation may arise from environmental sources, such as new technologies, competitive pressures, or customer

requests. Innovation also may be influenced by internal sources, through the work of a firm's research and development personnel or advances in throughput and efficiency methodologies. Innovation may further be influenced by factors that arise from the intersection of internal and external forces. For example, firms may access information from external sources then utilize it to alter their internal characteristics and activities. From an organizational perspective, we should expect that firms with different internal processes and characteristics related to cooperation, trust, conflict, and commitment, will address innovation in different ways. Our propositions and theoretical model develop these ideas further.

A closer examination of the innovation literature has shown that despite great advances in this stream of research, two area warrant further investigation. First, most research has focused on a single level of analysis where innovation has mainly been considered at the individual, team or organizational level. As such there is a greater need to look at multilevel models of innovation (Anderson, De Dreu, and Nijsrad, 2004). Furthermore, little research exists to date that examines how innovation processes are affected by the cultural context (Miron, Erez, and Naveh, 2004). A number of cross-cultural researchers have argued that the cultural setting, especially as manifested by the cultural value of individualism-collectivism, has significant effects on interpersonal interactions in organizations (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995). For example, individuals' willingness to form collectives and their willingness to engage in cooperative efforts has been shown to be affected by their collectivist tendencies (Chen, Meindel, and Hunt, 1998; Triandis, 1989). Culture determines the context in which interpersonal interactions take place and thus affects the nature and level of cooperation and conflict in organizations. We address these two issues and build on previous research on trust and commitment in order to develop a cross-culture, multilevel model of innovation in organizational units within the multinational network. We therefore recognize the role of the cultural context in affecting interpersonal processes in organizations including innovation (Miron, Erez, and Naveh, 2004; Erez and Earley, 1993). The model we proposed is depicted in Figure 1.

Cooperation in Organizational Units

Cooperation has long been considered an essential component of successful teamwork and efficient organizational functioning (Ghoshal and Bartlett, 1994; Lester, Meglino and Korsgaard, 2002; Smith, Carroll, and Ashford, 1995). As early as the 1930's, organizations

were conceived as associations of cooperative efforts, and cooperation has been defined as the "*willingness of persons to contribute efforts to cooperative systems*" (Barnard, 1938:83). Numerous researchers have studied various facets of cooperation in organizations including extra-role behavior, stewardship, and information exchange, and have further underscored the vital role that cooperation plays in achieving organizational goals (Smith, Organ, and Near, 1983; Smith, Carroll, and Ashford, 1995). In recognition of this important fact, many organizations have adopted certain structures and processes such as teams in order to foster interpersonal cooperation (Jones and George, 1998).

Additionally, many argue that cooperation may foster creativity by promoting open and voluntary exchange of information and knowledge in organizations. Bartlett and Ghoshal (1993), for example, advance cooperation as an important determinant of collective learning in MNEs, which in turn is argued as an essential aspect of quality management. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) propose that extensive exchange in organizations facilitates the creation of intellectual capital and affects the speed and efficiency of knowledge creation and sharing. Based on a review of the literature, Smith, Carroll, and Ashford (1995) found substantial support for the relationship between cooperation and the organizations ability to meet new technological and competitive challenges in their environment. Consequently, it is argued that by fostering extensive exchange of ideas and knowledge, cooperation promotes the initiation of new ideas and is thus associated with the initiation of innovation..

Furthermore, social networks and social capital researchers have argued that networks of cooperative relationships that develop within groups and organizations provide foundations for stable and prosperous collectives (Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1990; Lester et al., 2002). Interpersonal cooperative relationships reinforce norms of reciprocity, and further the development of enduring and stable structures (Blau, 1964). In support of this argument, Leena and Van Buren (1999) contend that stability of organizations lies in the extensive network of social ties that foster spontaneous cooperative efforts. These networks then provide the channels for enduring exchange of all types, and become the means for providing support to achieve common goals. Since innovation adoption requires strong relational ties that make it possible to accept and adopt new ideas initiated by members within this network, we argue that cooperation is also associated with the adoption phase of innovation.

The above discussion can be formally stated as follows: *Proposition 1: Cooperation is positively associated with innovation in organizational units.*

Conflict in Organizational Units

Conflict has been defined as a process in which one party perceives that its interests are being opposed or negatively affected by another party (Shelton and Darling, 2004; Wall and Callister, 1995). Conflict is an important phenomenon in organizations with significant effects on a range of outcomes including stability, effectiveness and well-being. Pondy (1967), for example, argues that conflict disturbs the equilibrium of organizations, and that the reaction of organizations to disequilibrium is the mechanism by which conflict affects their stability and their adaptability to change. There is a general consensus in the literature that conflict is a multidimensional construct that can be task or relationship based (Amason, 1996; Jehn, 1995). Task conflict refers to disagreements about the content of the tasks being performed, including differences in viewpoints ideas and opinions, whereas relationship conflict refers to interpersonal incompatibilities, which typically includes tension, animosity and annoyance among the parties involved (Jehn, 1995). Whether conflict is functional or dysfunctional to the organization depends on the type of conflict in question. For example, Jehn (1995) has found that the moderate levels of task conflict have positive consequences for the organization, but relationship conflict was associated with negative effective reaction of employees. Amason (1996), in support of Jehn's argument, finds that task conflict is positively related to decision quality in top management teams, while relationship conflict is negatively associated with the quality of the decisions. The effects of relationship conflict on behavior have been widely documented and researched. Power struggles, blocking others' goals and avoidance are but a few of the negative effects identified in the literature. Of particular interest in this paper is the finding that relationship conflict reduces spontaneous interactions and minimizes interpersonal communication (Wall and Callister, 1995). In organizations, relational conflict is associated with a rise in anger, hostility and animosity. This, in turn, creates unstable environments where hidden agendas get in the way of cooperative efforts (Wall and Callister, 1995; Pondy, 1967). In such environments, people are less likely to engage in any endeavor that is above and beyond what is contractually mandated, and as such as less likely to propose new ideas and ways of running things. Simultaneously, in environments where relational conflict is high, it is less

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likely that when a new idea initiated that it will be adopted. In fact, such process may be cause for more conflict where relational issues may be masked by an eagerness to challenge and question every aspect of the new idea (Thatcher, Jehn, and Zanutto, 2003). Consequently, the following two propositions:

Proposition 2:
Relationship conflict is negatively associated with cooperation.
Proposition 3:
Relationship conflict is negatively associated with innovation.

In contrast, task conflict can have positive effects on both teams and organizations (Jehn, 1995, 1997; Amason, 1996). Task conflict encourages group members to challenge existing assumptions, and acts as a guarantor against groupthink (Janis, 1972). As a result, more diverse ideas and proposals are put on the table, and a more comprehensive evaluation of these ideas takes place in the presence of task-conflict. In recognition of this fact, many organizations attempt to improve decision-making processes and interpersonal interactions by employing techniques such as devil's advocacy and dialectical inquiry in order to induce certain levels of task conflict (Schweiger, Sandberg, and Ragan, 1986). Where initial ideas are challenged, new and improved proposals may generated and a more thorough assessment takes place. In such context, it is likely that more ideas will be initiated. Therefore,

Proposition 4: Task conflict is positively associated with innovation.

Having addressed the links between cooperation, conflict and innovation, we proceed with addressing the antecedents of conflict and cooperation processes and outline the important role of the cultural context in affecting these relationships. Specifically, we focus on trust and commitment as antecedents of cooperation and conflict and use individualism-collectivism as the embodiment of the cultural context.

Trust in organizational units

Trust has long been recognized in the organization literature as an important determinant of cooperation among individuals, groups, and organizations. This link between trust and various forms of cooperative behaviors has been advanced and tested by a number of researchers. For example, Deutsch (1962) has shown that trust is fundamental to cooperative relationships, while Jones and George (1998) argue that in the presence of trust, shared values underlying trust provide individuals with the

assurance that knowledge and information will be used for the greater good. In addition, McAllister (1995) has found that trust affects the level of citizenship behavior in organizations as well as the quality of employee/supervisor relationships.

Trust is recognized in the organization literature as a multidimensional phenomenon and various definitions and conceptualizations of the construct exist. For example, Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, and Camerer (1998) define trust in psychological terms as a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behavior of another. Others define trust it in terms of positive expectations of the role behavior of others (Lewis and Weigert, 1985; Fukayama, 1995). The various dimensions of trust identified result out of the various ways in which it is conceptualized. For example, Lewis and Weigert (1985) suggest that trust includes cognitive and emotional dimensions and that both are functionally necessary for the continuous of harmonious social relations. Cognition-based trust originates out of knowledge about the role performance and trustworthiness of others. In this case, confident positive expectations arise from the reputation of exchange partner (experience, competence, reliability, etc.). Relational-based trust, on the other hand, is the result of the trustor's attachment to, and feeling of closeness toward, the trustee. Here, emotions enter into the relationship and foster strong social bonds between the parties. Consequently, such bonds become the basis for long-term cooperative relationships.

Jones and George (1998), who distinguish conditional and unconditional trust, suggest that the nature of cooperation between individuals depend on the type of trust that exists between them. Conditional trust is based on calculative expectations whereas unconditional trust is base on shared values and a high level of affectivity. Jones and George further argue that cooperation driven by conditional trust will be sustained only as long as expectations are realized while unconditional trust will guide people to form strong bonds that foster long-term interpersonal cooperation and teamwork.

In summary, there is a consensus in the literature that trust is a multifaceted construct, and that different dimensions relate differently to cooperation among individuals. Trust can develop on the basis of cognition or affect (McAllister, 1995). Cognition-based trust originates out of knowledge about the role performance and trustworthiness of

others. In this case, confident positive expectations arise from others' reputation (experience, competence, reliability, etc.). Affect-based trust, on the other hand, is the result of the trustor's attachment to, and feeling of closeness toward, the trustee. Here, emotions enter into the relationship and foster strong social bonds between exchange partners. Consequently, such bonds become the basis for long-term cooperation.

The Cultural Side of Trust

As stated earlier cultural values affect the context in which interpersonal processes take place in organizations (Erez and Earley, 1993). In particular, the cultural dimension of individualism-collectivism has been shown to affect the dynamics of cooperation (Triandis, 1995; Chen, Meindel, and Hunt, 1998). Below we review pertinent research on this cultural value and advance ways in which it affects the relationship between trust and cooperation.

A general consensus that can be drawn from studies on individualism-collectivism is that, compared to individualists, collectivists have higher tendencies to subordinate individual goals for the goals of the collective, are more likely to develop a stronger sense of group identity, and are more likely to opt for working in groups (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995; Kagitcibasi, 1994, 1997). Cross-cultural researchers distinguish between individualism-collectivism at the societal level and its corresponding construct at the individual level. Triandis (1989), for example, proposed ideocentrism and allocentrism as the individual level counterparts of the country-level construct as a way to emphasize the distinction between the two. Of all cultural dimensions identified in cross-cultural research, individualism-collectivism seems to be the most extensively studied, and has been shown to be a valid predictor of an array of phenomena at multiple levels of analysis (Earley, 1994; Wagner, 1995, Hofstede, 1980, 1991).

One of the most extensive works on individualism-collectivism was undertaken by Triandis (1995) who, based on a comprehensive literature review, proposed four dimensions of individualism-collectivism. The first dimension related to the conception of the self. Here, it was argued that individualists define self as autonomous from groups, while collectivists see themselves as part of a collective. The second dimension related to goal relationships, and spoke to the tendency of collectivists to subordinate individual goals for those of the group, and the tendency of individualists to place higher priority

on individual goals. The third dimension concerned the relative importance of attitudes and norms. Here, Triandis (1995) argued that social norms, duties, and obligations drive the behavior of collectivists, while individual attitudes and preferences drive the behaviors of individualists. The fourth and final dimension proposed related to the emphasis placed on relationships. The argument here was that collectivists place a high emphasis on relationships and harmony, while individualists place more emphasis on tasks and tend to view relationships as a means to achieve specific goals.

The higher emphasis on relationships in collectivist environments solidifies norms of reciprocity and allows for the development of positive affect and mutual liking (Chen, Meindel, and Hunt, 1998). As such, affect becomes a more important predictor of cooperation than rational expectations regarding the role performance of others. On the other hand, the stress on task and individual goals among individualists leads to higher emphasis on knowledge and competence of exchange partners as to their ability to reciprocate the exchange or assist in achieving the task at hand. That is, in this case, cooperation will be achieved when positive expectations arise out of the reputation and competence of exchange partners in facilitating the attainment of individual goals. This point is further supported by Hofstede's extensive cross-cultural research, which affirms that interpersonal relationships prevail over task in collectivist societies, while tasks generally prevail over relationships in individualist societies. Furthermore, the cost-benefit approach that drives behavior in individualistic settings necessitates greater reliance on objective information regarding the potential positives and negative consequences of any undertaking (Kagitcibasi, 1997). Consequently,

Proposition 5: The relationship between trust and cooperation is moderated by individualism-collectivism such that affective trust will be more strongly associated with cooperation in collectivist setting, whereas cognitive trust will be more strongly associated with cooperation in individualist settings.

Distrust or the lack of others has been advanced as a factor that contributes to conflict (Wall and Callister, 1995). However, we argue that this relationship is culturally bound. Specifically, individualists are more task than relationship oriented and place higher emphasis on individual achievements and qualifications than the nature of the relationships with others. While interacting with others, individualists are more likely to experience task conflict

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when they have low cognitive trust of others as opposed to affective trust. In other words, since individualists tend to approach tasks with greater objectivity, the determinants of interactions are much more cognitive-based. On the other hand, since collectivists tend to place a higher value on relationships, the lack of cognitive trust is less likely to lead task conflict. However, lack affective trust may have a much more impact on task conflict since the negative relationships may take priority of competence and qualifications of others. As such, we propose the following:

Proposition 6: The relationship between trust and task conflict is moderated by individualism-collectivism such that affective trust will be more strongly associated with task conflict in collectivist setting, whereas cognitive trust will be more strongly associated with task conflict in individualist settings.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment refers to a person's attachment to and identification with his or her organization, and has been shown to affect an array of individual and organizational level outcomes such as turnover, organizational citizenship behavior, and performance (Mathieu and Zajac, 1990; Organ and Ryan, 1995; Angle and Lawson, 1994). Ghoshal and Bartlett (1994) argue that high trust in organizations may not be enough as time constraints and other obstacles may get in the way of extensive mutual cooperation. Therefore, successful cooperation that is beneficial to the organization also requires discipline and a shared vision. This discipline and shared vision are the embodiment of organizational commitment (Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998). In fact, as O'Reilly and Chatman (1986) contend, aspects of organizational commitment represent the internalization of organizational goals and objectives, which develop into a shared vision among employees. This shared vision, in turn, acts as an inducement for increased cooperative efforts among employees in organizations (Mowdy, Porter, and Steers, 1982).

O'Reilly and Chatman (1986) advance a three-component model of organizational commitment where compliance, identification, and internalization are offered as distinct bases for commitment. Compliance refers to a calculative type of commitment where a person's commitment is based on his/her desire to obtain certain rewards and avoid specific punishment. Identification, on the other hand, is associated with a satisfying relationship with the organization. Finally, internalization refers to commitment based on value congruence between employees and organizations. That is an individual commit to the organization because it has values and goals that are similar his/hers.

Mayer and Schoorman (1992) argue that it is difficult to differentiate between the last two bases of commitment in O'Reilly and Chatman's model described above. These authors have tested a two-dimensional model of organizational commitment and found support for a more parsimonious conceptualization of the construct. Specifically, two aspects of commitment, continuance and value can be distinguished and can be related to a battery of organizational outcomes such as cooperation, performance, satisfaction, and turnover.

In this study, we adopt Mayer and Schoorman's (1992) model of commitment since, as argued by these authors, for all practical purposes it is difficult to distinguish between identification and internalization bases of commitment. Both of them refer to the belief in and acceptance of the goals and values of the organization, and can be described as the value component of organizational commitment. The desire to remain in the organization based on compliance and calculative self-centered reasoning describes the continuance aspect of commitment.

The Cultural Side of Organizational Commitment

The impact of cultural values on organizational commitment has been addressed by few cross-cultural researchers (Boyacigiller and Adler, 1991; Randall, 1993). For example, in his extensive cross-cultural study, Hofstede (1980) suggests that employees in collectivist cultures would have greater moral or affective attachment to their organizations, while employees in individualist cultures would have greater calculative involvement. Kalleberg and Reve (1992) also found commitment to be associated with interdependence and successful teamwork for Japanese employees, but not for US employees. Consequently, it is expected that for collectivists, value commitment which is based on identification with, and feeling of closeness to the organization to be especially important in fostering cooperative behaviors. On the other hand, employees with high continuance commitment tend to emphasize self-interest and adopt a cost-benefit approach. This rationality has been advanced as a characteristic of individualism by many cross-cultural researchers. In other words, individualists interact with others utilizing rational principles and analyze the advantages and disadvantages of maintaining and fostering relationships (Leung and Bond, 1984; Triandis, 1995). Therefore, individualist will cooperate as long as being a member of the organization entails more rewards than costs. As described by Hofstede (1991), the relationship between employees and

organizations in individualist societies tend to be primarily conceived as a calculative relationship between buyers and sellers on the "labor market". Therefore, we propose the following:

Proposition 7: Individualism-collectivism will moderate the relationship between commitment and cooperation such that continuance commitment will be more strongly related to cooperation in individualist settings, whereas value commitment will be more strongly related to cooperation in collectivist settings.

The relationship between commitment and conflict in organization has rarely been addressed. However, in an early experiment conducted by Sherif (1958) it was found that superordinate goals are highly effective in reducing tension and conflict. Superordinate goals that are highly appealing and compelling goals guide members to minimize disagreements and work cooperatively toward a common purpose. As discussed earlier, value commitment entails the identification with and internalization of the organization's values and goals. Therefore, where high value commitment is present, it is expected that members will minimize interpersonal tensions and animosity and emphasize their common commitment to organizational objectives. In addition, commitment based on value congruence is positively related to homogeneity of organizational members (Schneider, Goldstein, and Smith, 1995). This, in turn, will reduce task conflict as members start to possess similar viewpoints and adopt similar approaches to problem solving and become less likely to question policies and ideas (Mowdy et al., 1982; Janis, 1972). Furthermore, according to similarity-attraction paradigm, increased homogeneity and similarity leads increased attraction among members, and thus reduced relation-based animosity and misunderstandings (Byrne, 1971). Consequently,

Proposition 8: Value commitment is negatively associated with both task and relational conflict.

One of the aspects of individualism-collectivism identified by Triandis (1995) is the fact that collectivists place a high emphasis on relationships and harmony, while individualists place more emphasis on tasks and tend to view relationships as a means to achieve specific goals. As such, even in the presence of high goal or value congruence, individualists may exhibit a higher willingness to question ideas and policies if such policies are counter to self-interest. The added emphasis on harmony for collectivists may reinforce the need to avoid task-related conflict. Accordingly,

Proposition 9: Individualism-collectivism moderates the relationship between value commitment and task conflict such that this relationship is stronger in collectivist settings.

In summary, this paper proposes a cross-cultural model of innovation where innovation is looked at as the initiation and adoption of a new idea. In this model, the effects of trust and commitment on innovation are mediated by the interpersonal processes of cooperation and conflict. The cultural dimension of individualism-collectivism shapes the context in which these processes take place by influencing the nature and level of cooperation and conflict in organizations. The model proposed is based on literature review. The next step in validating this model is through extensive interviews with innovative organizational units. The data from these reviews is then used in refining the heoretically-driven model.

The propositions lend themselves to empirical testing since reliable instruments are available for operationalizing many of the constructs advanced. For example, McAllister (1995) has developed and validated a trust questionnaire that distinguishes between the affective and cognitive bases of trust, while Mayer and Schoorman (1992) have offered instruments that tap the multiple dimensions of organizational commitment addressed in this paper. In addition task and relationship conflict can be measured by the instruments developed by Jehn (1995).

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The conceptual model we propose is not about new constructs or phenomena; rather, it is about underlying processes that determine how and when organizational units can be successful across individualist and collectivist settings. Innovation within organizations remains one of the most important phenomenons in organizations with significant managerial consequences (Janssen, Van de Vliert, West, 2004; Kodama, 2005). A case in point is the hundreds of thousands of manufacturing jobs that are lost in the United States as a result of a decrease in the country's share of world innovation. In an environment characterized by rapid technological change and growing global competition, organizations, and especially MNEs, are taping into all and every possible source of competitive advantage. The thrust of this paper is that understanding the underlying processes of innovation in different cultural environment is a must if multinational corporations want to be successful in creating a context where innovation is fostered within the many organizational units.

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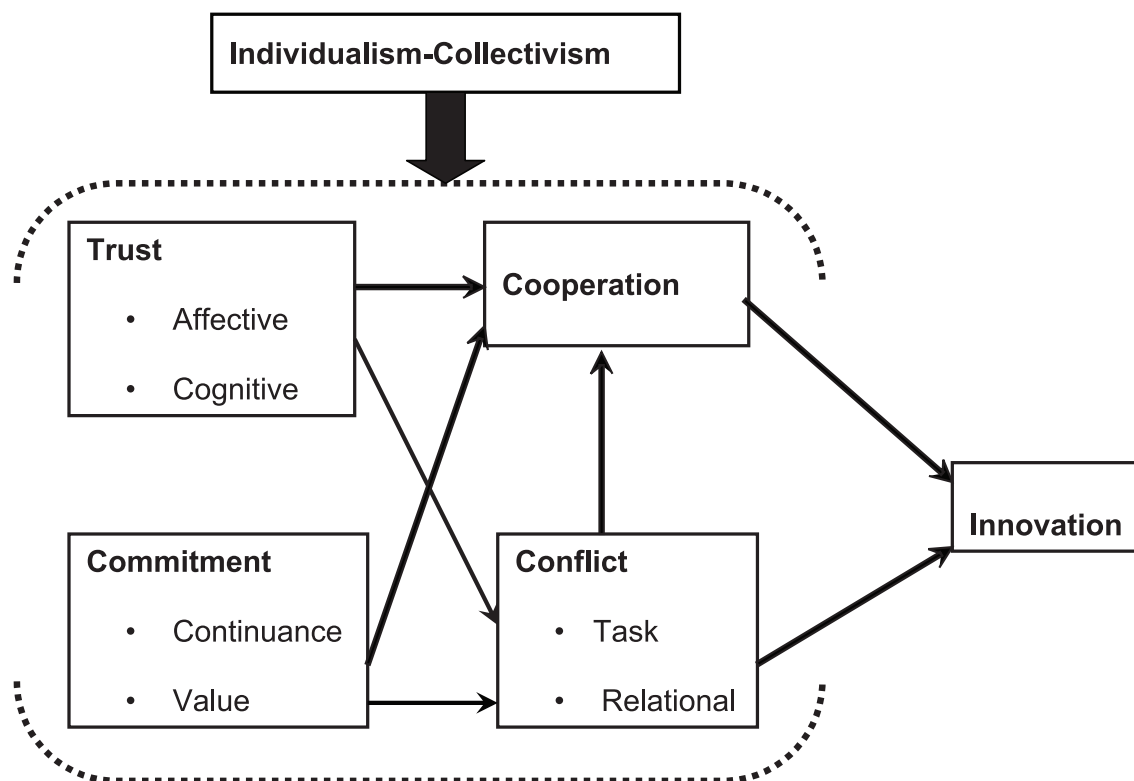
Figure 1. A CROSS-CULTURAL MODEL OF INNOVATION

The Green Transportation: Does Color Make a Difference in Mobility, Sustainability and Environmental Management

Philbert Suresh

The environmental impact of transport and key role that transport should play in the achievements of targets to reduce global warming, to reduce dependence on non-renewable energy sources and to minimize local pollution bad adverse social impacts. Compared to the past, the environmental agenda is much wider and includes global emissions (principally carbon dioxide), an extended list of local emissions including small particles which cause breathing difficulties), the consumption of non-renewable resources (fuel), the use of land, and the impact on the local ecology and eco systems.

The author will also present a case of Fujairah port and environmental practices between adjoining waters with port of Khorfakkan and its social implications to governments and people in the region. A focus to action learning methodologies was developed as early as 2002 when the author was involved teaching Total Quality Management, Logistics and Business Environment at the University of Sharjah and Manipal Academy of Higher Education in Dubai Knowledge Village. A productive and effective relationship was also established with Hon. Minister of Transport, David Collenette in Canada who supported the development of sustainable development curriculum for Trade and Transportation through Higher Colleges of Technology, Dubai between 1996 and 1998.

Field of Research: Sustainable Transportation, Reverse Logistics and Supply Chain Management, Environmental Hazards, Ethical Leadership and Social Equity

1. Introduction

The transportation system is vital to the lives of all people and to the rapidly transforming economy. We all rely on transport to move the goods we need, get to work, take a holiday and connect with our families and friends. But by its very nature, the transportation system has a variety of environmental impacts on our air, land and water, and on our health.

Continued growth in automobile use, as well as in trucking and aviation, has for example resulted in more emissions of harmful substances and smog, translating into a greater negative impact on human health and the environment. More and more, people are relying on the transportation system to perform its vital role in ways that do not harm human health or the environment. With increasing evidence of climate change and the health effects of air pollutants, the importance of reducing these impacts is growing. Sustainable development is a concept which promotes a balance of the economic and social benefits of transportation with the need to protect the environment. In its 1987 report, *Our Common Future* (also called the Brundtland Report), the World Commission on Environment and Development defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." The progressive thinkers and policy-makers have adopted this definition that is getting renewed every year now.

Definition of Sustainable Transportation

The Centre for Sustainable Transportation, a Canadian organization, defines sustainable transportation as a transportation system that:

- allows the basic access needs of individuals and societies to be met safely and in a manner consistent with human and ecosystem health, and with equity within and between generations;

- is affordable, operates efficiently, offers choice of transport mode, and supports a vibrant economy; and

- limits emissions and waste within the planet's ability to absorb them, minimizes consumption of non-renewable resources, reuses and recycles its components, and minimizes the use of land and the production of noise.

Source: The Centre for Sustainable Transportation, Definition and Vision of Sustainable Transportation, September 1997

The Transportation Association of Canada (TAC) proposes that a truly sustainable urban transportation system would have the following characteristics:
In the natural environment:

- limit emissions and waste (that pollute air, soil and water) within the urban area's ability to absorb/recycle/cleanse;

- provide power to vehicles from renewable or inexhaustible energy sources. This implies solar power in the long run; and

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- recycle natural resources used in vehicles and infrastructure (such as steel, plastic, etc.).

In society:

- provide equity of access for people and their goods, in this generation and in all future generations;

- enhance human health;

- help support the highest quality of life compatible with available wealth;

- facilitate urban development at the human scale;

- limit noise intrusion below levels accepted by communities; and

- be safe for people and their property.

In the economy:

- be financially affordable in each generation;

- be designed and operated to maximize economic efficiency and minimize economic costs; and

- help support a strong, vibrant and diverse economy.

Source: Transportation Association of Canada, Sustainable Urban Transportation Initiatives in Canada, to the APEC Forum on Urban Transportation, Seoul, Korea, November 20-22, 1996

Moving the Economy (MTE) is an evolving and expanding partnership dedicated to promoting, attracting investment to, and creating jobs in the sustainable transportation sector in the Toronto Region and beyond. MTE defines sustainable transportation as:

- moving people and goods in cleaner, greener, healthier, safer, more equitable ways; and

- where appropriate, moving people and goods less.

This short description embraces a wide range of options, including:

- telecommunications to reduce or replace travel, or make it more efficient (i.e. tele-working, tele-banking, tele-shopping, electronic signage, route optimization systems and more);

- cleaner and more efficient systems for moving people, or for moving fewer goods, less;

- land use planning and green development to bring people and their needs closer together and to make cities more vibrant and walkable;

- sustainable personal transportation modes, including transit, walking, cycling, rollerblading and scooters;

- new approaches to automobile travel, including car pooling, car sharing, and cleaner, lighter vehicles and fuels; and

- all the policies, practices, legislation, and financial incentives and disincentives that allow and promote these options.

Source: Moving the Economy, September 2000

The Environment Directorate of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has defined environmentally sustainable transportation as:
"Transportation that does not endanger public health or ecosystems and that meets needs for access consistent with (a) use of renewable resources at below their rates of regeneration, and (b) use of non-renewable resources below the rates of development of renewable substitutes."

Source: OECD EST Project Brochure, Project on Environmentally Sustainable Transportation, 1997

Sustainability...
Treating the world as if we intended to stay.
Gray, 1996

Applying the concept of sustainable development to transportation is what Transport Canada's sustainable development strategy is all about. Although there is no single, commonly held definition of sustainable transportation, for the department the concept means that the transportation system and transportation activity in general, must be sustainable on three counts — economic, environmental and social. Practically, this means ensuring that decisions are no longer made with the environment as an afterthought.

Figure - Sustainable Development and Transportation
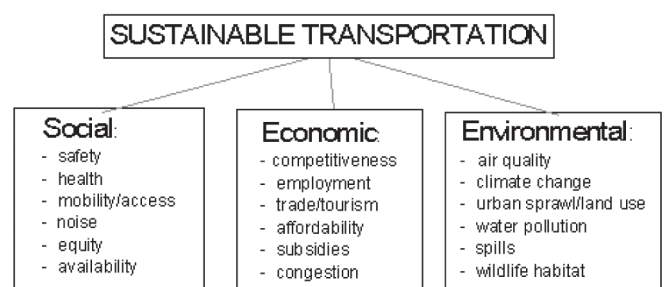
Sustainable development principles

Let us scrutinize the principles adopted by Transport Canada that recognize sustainable development as among the highest of departmental priorities, and define how the department will apply the concept of sustainable development to the transportation sector. Transport Canada is committed to applying these principles to its policies, programs and operations so that decisions will better reflect the goal of sustainable transportation.

SOCIAL PRINCIPLES

Safety and Health: Transportation systems should first be designed and operated in a way that protects the safety of all people. In addition to Transport Canada's commitment to prevent accidents, the department will strive to reduce the negative health impacts of transportation.

Access and Choice: Transportation systems should provide people with reasonable access to other people, places, goods and services. The department will promote a more diverse transportation system, including access to innovative alternatives (i.e. information technologies).

Quality of Life: Transportation is a key ingredient in the quality of life of Canadians. The department recognizes that transportation policies have a direct effect on people and that it must consider the characteristics of different communities and regions across the country.

ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES

Efficiency: Transport Canada will use policies, programs and innovative approaches to support the productivity and competitiveness of Canada's transportation system and its contribution to the national economy. The department will explore ways of promoting efficient travel behavior and sustainable transportation options.

Cost Internalization: The department recognizes the merit of "full cost pricing," whereby the costs of transportation reflect, to the extent possible, their full economic, social and environmental impacts. The department will assess barriers to sustainable transportation practices to better understand the full impact of its decisions.

Affordability: Transportation systems should be affordable. The department will promote sustained strategic investment in transportation through new partnerships, innovative financing and a clear identification of priorities. In seeking cost-effective solutions, it will promote options that include demand management and that foster an appropriate mix of modal alternatives.

ENVIRONMENTAL PRINCIPLES

Pollution Prevention: Transport Canada will work to ensure that transportation needs are met in a way that avoids or minimizes the creation of pollutants and waste, and that reduces the overall risk to human health and the environment.

Protection and Conservation: The department will apply sound environmental protection and conservation practices. It will support transportation systems that make efficient use of land and natural resources, preserve vital habitats and maintain biodiversity.

Environmental Stewardship: The department will continually refine its environmental management system so that its internal operations support sustainable development. As both custodian and landlord, it will consider the potential environmental impacts of new initiatives, and will apply risk management and due diligence practices consistently to its real property assets.

MANAGEMENT PRINCIPLES

Leadership and Integration: Transport Canada recognizes sustainable development as among the highest of departmental priorities and accepts its responsibility to become a leader in sustainable transportation. The department will set priorities and responsibilities, allocate resources, and apply tools to integrate sustainable development into its policies, programs and operations.

Precautionary Principle: Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage to the environment, the department will not use a lack of full scientific certainty as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation.

Consultation and Public Participation: The department will inform and engage employees, stakeholders and communities in its decision-making process as appropriate, and encourage them to participate in achieving the goal of sustainable transportation.

Accountability: The department will annually measure and report its progress in achieving its sustainable development objectives and targets. To this end, it will develop and refine sustainable transportation indicators.

Table Kuwait Fact Profile on Transportation Infrastructure

Location:
Middle East, bordering the Persian Gulf, between Iraq and Saudi Arabia

Total land area:
17,820km2

Climate:
Dry desert; intensely hot summers; short, cool winters

Airports:
7

Heliports:
5

Roadways:
5749km (total)

Population:
2,418,393 (includes 1,291,354 non-nationals)

Labour force:
1.136 million (non-Kuwaitis represent about 80% of the labour force)

Languages:
Arabic (official), English widely spoken

Source: CIA World Factbook

Transportation is a major employer. In 1999, over 800,000 Canadians worked full-time in the sector, accounting for about 7 per cent of total employment. Transportation also contributes significantly to Canada's economic output. In 1999, transportation demand accounted for roughly 13 per cent of the country's Gross Domestic Product.

Transportation is especially important given Canada's large size and dependence on international trade. For example, with the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), trade between Canada and the United States has grown considerably, with the two countries exchanging nearly $1.5 billion per day in goods and services relying in large part on our transportation sector.

Transportation also contributes to the Canadian economy through its essential role in the tourism industry. In 1998, tourism spending reached $47.1 billion, 70 per cent of which was spent by Canadians themselves and 30 per cent by visitors. Transportation accounted for $18.5 billion, or 39 per cent of all tourism expenditures. Air travel accounted for 57 per cent of this, followed by road travel at 35 per cent, with the balance going to rail, bus, taxis and other modes.

Current trends in transportation
Overall, transportation activity continues to increase in Canada. As our economy and population grow, so too does the demand for transportation. Canada's economy grew at a rate of about 2.9 per cent per year between 1995 and 2000, and is forecast to grow at a rate of 2.3 per cent per year between 2000 and 2010. Over the same fifteen-year period, the population of Canada is expected to increase from 29.6 to 33.8 million. This increase, along with a rise in the number of Canadians travelling, is leading to ever-increasing levels of passenger transportation activity, particularly on the road and in the air (Figure 4.1).

Due to increases in the size and use of the road vehicle fleet (the number of road vehicles in Canada), the use of on-road diesel fuel and on-road gasoline has grown by 74 per cent and 44 per cent respectively, between 1990 and 2000. At the same time, fewer Canadians are using the less polluting modes of travel, such as urban transit, trains and buses.

Figure Projected Road and Air Passenger Transportation Activity
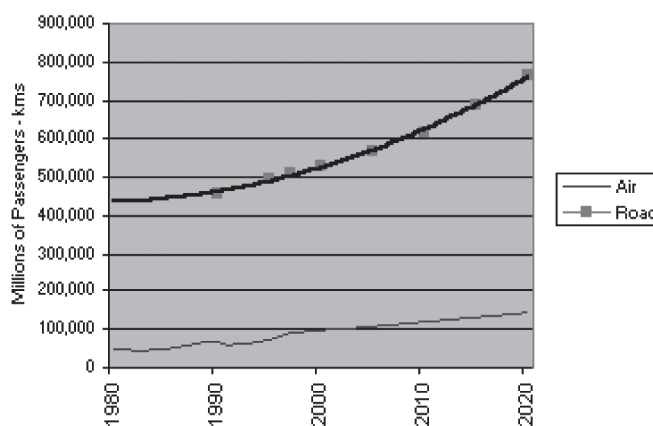
Source: Marbek Resource Consultants, *Issue Scan for Transport Canada's Sustainable Development Strategy 2000*, May 4, 2000

Similarly, growth in domestic and international trade, and changes in freight transport (such as the shift to just-in-time delivery and higher value goods) are leading to significant increases in freight transport. Overall, freight movement is expected to increase by 60 per cent between 1990 and 2020, with the greatest growth in the air and trucking sectors (Figure 4.2).

Figure Projected Freight Transport Activity
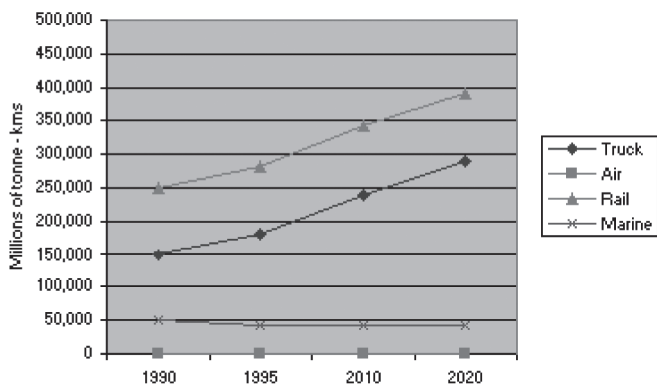
Source: Delcan Corp. with AK Socio-Technical Consultants, *Assessment of Freight Forecasts and Greenhouse Gas Emissions, June 1999*

**Figure Projected Air Freight Transport Activity**
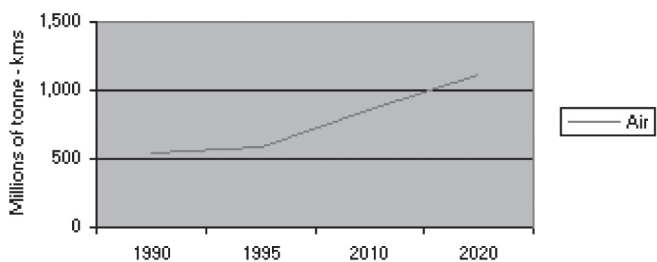
Source: Delcan Corp. with AK Socio-Technical Consultants, *Assessment of Freight Forecasts and Greenhouse Gas Emissions, June 1999*

Transportation energy use is expected to rise by over 50 per cent from 1990 to 2020, with major increases in the demand for gasoline, diesel and aviation fuels (Figure 4.3). This would lead to increased reliance on oil imports, as well as oil sands and heavy oil, and to an increase in associated environmental impacts.

Unfortunately, the modes showing the greatest growth - private automobiles, trucking and aviation - have the greatest impact on the environment, primarily due to air emissions and land use. For example, in 1997, urban automobile use accounted for 215 grams of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions per passenger-kilometer, and domestic aviation accounted for 150 grams. In contrast, urban transit and intercity bus travel accounted for 77 and 26 grams of GHGs per passenger-km, respectively.

Figure Transportation Fuel Demand
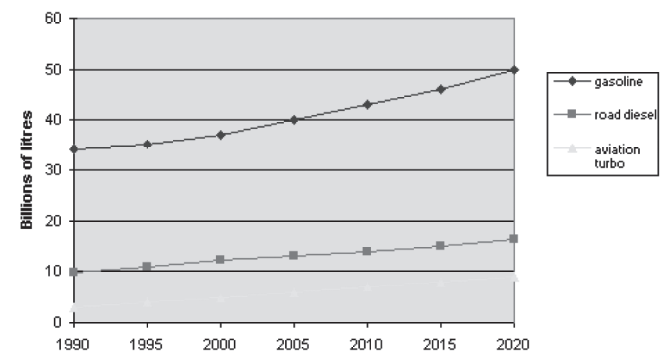
Source: Natural Resources Canada, *Canada's Emissions Outlook: An Update*, December 1999

Environmental impacts of transportation

Although transportation provides many economic and social benefits, the movement of people and goods has significant environmental consequences. These include increased use of non-renewable resources (materials and energy), undesirable pollution (emissions, spills and leaks) and loss of agricultural land and wildlife habitat. These environmental impacts can generate social and economic costs, such as higher health care expenses and the costs of cleaning up pollution. Table 4.2 summarizes the stresses associated with transportation and their resulting environmental and social impacts.

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Table Transportation and Associated Stresses

Stress	Contributes to
Exhaust emissions Nitrogen oxides, volatile organic compounds, carbon dioxide, toxics and others	Urban air pollution and smog events, climate change and acid rain, health effects
Spills and leaks Fuel, oil and other material leakage, spills, and solid and hazardous waste by-products	Contamination of land, surface water and groundwater, release of chlorofluorocarbon and depletion of stratospheric ozone
Energy use Consumption of large amounts of fossil fuel	Depletion of non-renewable natural resources
Land use Extensive land requirements (especially road transport), rights of way through sensitive areas	Conversion of agricultural land, disruption of habitat, congestion, and disruption of community
Other Accidents, noise and congestion	Human stress, injuries and fatalities

Original Source: Environment Canada, *National Environmental Indicator Series*, 1998

Since Transport Canada's first sustainable development strategy, awareness of certain environmental issues related to transportation has increased among both government and the public - notably in the areas of climate change and smog. Canadians are developing a better understanding of these issues and their correlation with transportation activity.

Exhaust emissions, for instance, release nitrogen oxides (NO_x), volatile organic compounds (VOCs), carbon dioxide (CO_2) and particulate matter into the air. These emissions contribute not only to climate change and acid rain, but also to urban air pollution and smog. In 1995, transportation accounted for 52 per cent of all NO_x emissions in Canada, 40 per cent of CO_2, 20 per cent of VOCs, and 5 per cent of particulate matter - the major contributors to urban smog.

The increasing consumption of large amounts of fossil fuels depletes non-renewable natural resources and increases greenhouse gas emissions. Most scientists believe that these emissions are contributing to global climate change, which, it is predicted, will cause greater fluctuations in weather conditions and crop production patterns, and water shortages.

Transport Canada has pledged to phase out the production and importation of ozone-depleting substances. In 1998 the department possessed 983 pieces of equipment

containing ozone-depleting substances. By 1999 it had just 453.

Transportation is the single largest contributor of greenhouse gas emissions in Canada, accounting for approximately 25 per cent of Canada's total greenhouse gas emissions in 1997 (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Accordingly, the transportation sector will play a key role in efforts to achieve Canada's greenhouse gas emissions target under the Kyoto Protocol (6 per cent below 1990 levels, averaged from 2008 to 2012) - a target which represents just a first step in addressing climate change.

Canada's Greenhouse Gas Emissions, by Sector
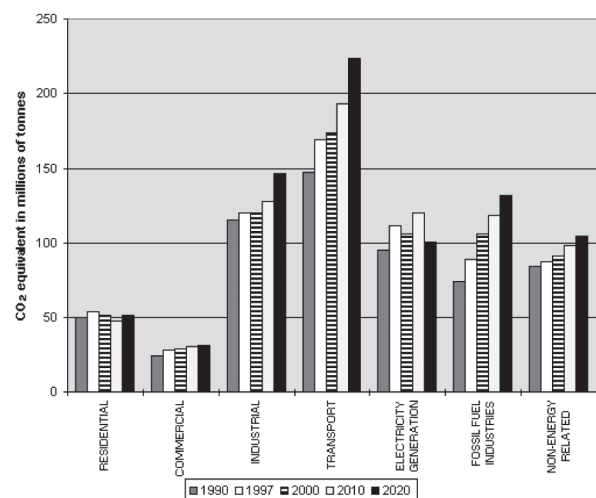
Source: Transport Canada, *Transportation and Climate Change: Options for Action*, November 1999.

Figure 4.5
Transportation Greenhouse Gas Emissions
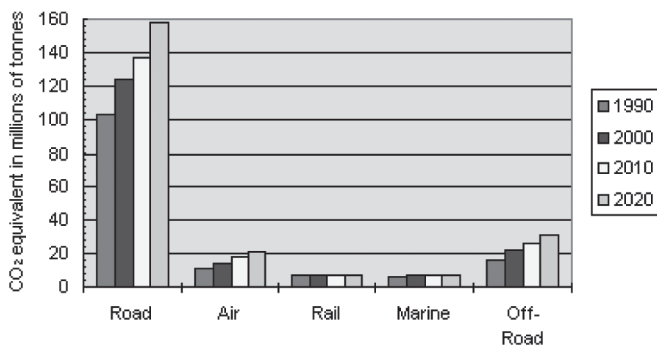
Source: Natural Resources Canada, *Canada's Emissions Outlook: An Update.* December 1999

Land use, especially for roads and highways, and rights of way through sensitive areas, consumes or alters valuable agricultural land, green spaces and wildlife habitat. Suburban sprawl, which consumes land and creates inefficient travel patterns and congestion, is leading to increased costs and a lower quality of life for many Canadians.

In addition, spills and leaks of fuels, oils, and solid and hazardous waste by-products, can contaminate land, surface water and groundwater. They can also pollute lakes, rivers and harbors. Spills and illegal discharges of oil and oily waste by ships travelling along Canada's coast contaminate beaches and fishing areas, and result in death and sickness for a variety of wildlife, especially sea birds. The percentage of oiled birds collected on Newfoundland beaches shows the scope and variability of the problem (Figure 4.6).

Figure Oiled Seabirds Collected on Newfoundland Beaches
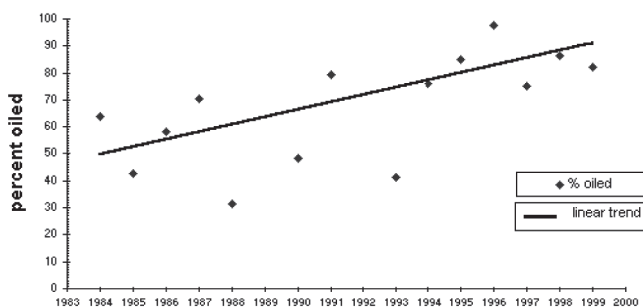
Source: Wiese, F.K. and P.C. Ryan. 1999. Trends of chronic oil pollution in Southeast Newfoundland assessed through beached-bird surveys 1984-1997. Bird Trends 7: 36-40.

Health impacts
Transportation also affects Canadians' well-being, in terms of both their safety and overall health. Motor vehicle accidents account for nearly half the accidental deaths in Canada each year, while smog contributes to a wide range of health effects, including impaired lung function, respiratory infection, asthma attacks and premature death. In 1997, there were 2,927 fatalities from motor vehicle traffic collisions. A study in 2000 by Toronto Public Health estimated that each year as many as 1000 Toronto residents die prematurely and another 5500 are admitted to hospital due to air pollution in the region.

In addition, the release of chlorofluorocarbons, such as from vehicle air conditioning units, is depleting the upper ozone layer. This is resulting in overexposure to ultraviolet radiation from the sun, and health concerns such as increased incidences of skin cancer and cataracts.

Transport Canada participates in the Ottawa-Carleton Commuter Challenge, an annual week-long campaign that promotes walking, cycling, transit and carpooling. In the 2000 Commuter Challenge, 43% of Transport Canada's employees at headquarters participated in the event, saving 25.7 tons of air pollution.

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Making the most of opportunities
Given the significant impacts of transportation on the environment and health of Canadians, substantial steps are required to truly respond. In trying to reduce the environmental impacts of transportation, there are three broad approaches one can take:

• First, since negative impacts (particularly air emissions) are largely determined by the overall level of transportation, total transportation activity could be reduced. This would require difficult changes in Canadians' transportation habits and patterns, which could be accomplished by raising transportation costs, particularly for less sustainable modes, or by controlling infrastructure expansion, such as road construction.

• Second, the overall transportation system could be made to be more efficient. This would involve working to reduce congestion, integrating different modes of transportation, or shifting people and freight to less polluting and energy-intensive modes.

• Third, each mode of transport could be made less polluting by developing new technologies such as more fuel-efficient vehicles or cleaner fuels. It could also involve changing the way some things are done, such as reducing engine idling or increasing efforts to prevent spills and leaks.

In promoting sustainable transportation, Transport Canada recognizes the need to maintain a careful balance of social, economic and environmental objectives. This task is made more difficult by the incomplete state of information on transportation activities, the impacts and associated costs of these activities, and the costs and implications of potential policy measures. Further, Transport Canada must work in partnership with provincial/territorial and municipal governments. However, the willingness of individual Canadians to change their travel behavior will ultimately determine the extent to which the environmental impacts of transportation can be reduced.

2. Strategies in Sustainable Transportation

Transport Canada has done much work in analyzing the broad issues around sustainable development and implementing the department's first sustainable development strategy over the past several years. As a result, the department has identified, with the help of stakeholder input, seven strategic challenges for sustainable transportation, and defined specific commitments for action. The 29 commitments identify work that the department is committing to do to promote sustainable development within its own mandate. They focus on areas where the department believes it can make a real difference toward achieving sustainable transportation. Figure 5.1 outlines the linkages of the key issues and how they relate to the challenges and commitments.

The order in which the strategic challenges are listed below does not indicate their priority. Rather, it illustrates the necessary steps along the journey to sustainable transportation.

1. Improving education and awareness of sustainable transportation
2. Developing tools for better decisions
3. Promoting adoption of sustainable transportation technology
4. Improving environmental management for Transport Canada operations and lands
5. Reducing air emissions
6. Reducing pollution of water
7. Promoting efficient transportation

First and foremost among the challenges is the need to improve understanding of the key sustainable transportation issues and challenges, both within Transport Canada and among Canadians (**Challenge 1**). Next, effective tools (**Challenge 2**) and new, more sustainable technologies (**Challenge 3**) are needed to enable Transport Canada and others to make more informed decisions.

As a next step, Transport Canada needs to demonstrate leadership in improving environmental management of its own operations and on its own lands (**Challenge 4**). The department must then work with other governments and Canadians to reduce pollution from transportation, particularly in the areas of air emissions (**Challenge 5**) and water pollution (**Challenge 6**). Finally, by improving the overall efficiency of the transportation system (**Challenge 7**), negative environmental impacts can be reduced while still meeting the social and economic needs of Canadians.

This chapter provides an overview of the broad sustainable transportation challenges, as well as the commitments Transport Canada is making within its mandate in response to these challenges. An insert contained in this strategy, entitled Transport Canada's Sustainable Development Action Plan 2001-2003, details each commitment and its corresponding targets and performance measures.

3. Case study of Port of Fujairah and Port of Khorfakkan – Living together restlessly as bad neighbors for environmental practices

Environment has no boundaries and the sharing the waters between Port of Fujairah and Port of Khorfakkan in UAE was a never ending issue although the locations of the ports are in close proximity. One of the fact finding trip in 2000 to these port operations undertaken by the author and students in Trade and Transportation program showed a difference in approaches to the environment management of the port and ships docking at the berths where the emphasis was one of fast turnaround for commercial reasons and unable to enforce international shipping regulations.

Ports are the most important gateway for trade in maritime countries and thus make a vital contribution to national economies, and directly or indirectly to employment at all levels. The port of Fujairah was an important for bunkering and especially in times of war and regional conflict, it played a key role in the country. On the other hand, the port of Khorfakkan developed fast as a remote container

facility for the emirate of Sharjah and maritime trade in the national economy Ports nowadays face the most challenging task since the government have started logistics parks on the same model as that of Dubai Logistics City (www.dubailogisticscity.net) and because they are required to respond to the needs of their clients for more efficient facilities without compromising navigational safety as well as to comply with strict environmental legislation.Port development and operational activities have the potential to impact on environmental and human resources.

Although being different in size and scale, ports in Fujairah and Khorfakkan all face emerging environmental problems related, among other things, to ship discharge (bilge, ballast, and sewage), oil spills (bunkering), heavy traffic, and noise. One severe impact is the presence of metals and persistent organic compounds in the water and in the sediments: especially lead, mercury, cadmium and organotins are found in concentrations of concern. Also oil pollution is chronic in all port areas. The chronic pollution results in accumulation of pollutants in the biota, mainly in benthos (such as oysters, mussels, clams, etc.). Some of these are popular local sea products. High concentrations of pollutants in these organisms might point to a danger to human health. Another major environmental issue for the ports in Fujairah and Khorfakkan is the risk of large oil spills from accidents. The ports lack the necessary equipment, know-how and training to protect the coast in case of an accident, while the volumes of oil that are transported are increasing.

4. Findings

Continual improvement is key to the success of any sustainable development strategy. To do this, the department must review and evaluate its progress to determine whether its strategy is on track, whether activities are achieving the intended results, and where corrective action is needed. Accordingly, Transport Canada will assess and measure its performance in three ways:

First, did the department do what it said it would do? Transport Canada will measure progress in implementing the 29 commitments in this strategy.

Second, are these actions addressing the 7 challenges identified in the strategy? The department will monitor progress against selected indicators for each of the seven challenges.

Third, is Canada making progress on sustainable transportation? This is a longer-term effort; through commitment 2.3 the department is developing a series of indicators to monitor Canada's progress on sustainable transportation.

Transport Canada's Sustainable Development Action Plan 2001-2003 (insert) lists the indicators selected for Transport Canada's challenges and commitments.

Figure 6.1
Spheres of Influence Model
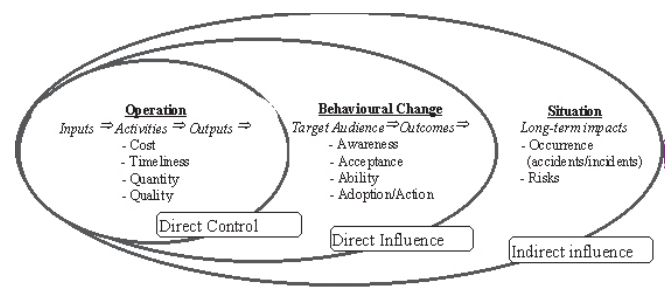
In the fall of 1999, Transport Canada conducted a series of internal performance measurement workshops to define performance indicators for the Sustainable Development Strategy 2001 - 2003. Representatives from across the department participated in the six workshops, which resulted in a draft set of indicators based on the department's measurement framework.

Conclusions and future research

An integral part of any sustainable development strategy is a well thought out plan to systematically carry out that strategy, clearly demonstrate its positive impacts, and encourage ongoing improvement — in essence, to move effectively from words to work.

Transport Canada's experience with its first sustainable development strategy demonstrated that the department needs to improve its system for managing sustainable development and implementing its commitments. (See Appendix D for a summary of the sustainable development strategy review).

According to World Bank study on transport, the following recommendations are noteworthy for future direction of research:

• Ensure that the focus of the Bank's transport operations goes beyond intercity highways and gives more attention to issues of growing urgency, including air pollution, traffic congestion, safety, affordability, and trade.

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- Prepare a Bank Group transport strategy with an emphasis on greater attention to air and water pollution, greater synergies across relevant sectors, enhancing knowledge sharing, continued support for private sector participation, increasing attention to governance and corruption issues, and redeploying staff and budget resources accordingly.

- Build up the sector's monitoring and evaluation efforts and align them with the new

With the institutional partnership of University of Missouri, St Louis, GUST (Gulf University of Science and Technology) has awarded a summer fellowship to the author to study intermodal transportation and sustainable development for Kuwait and its impact on other GCC states in the summer of 2007

The ISO 14001 model for management systems

One of the most widely recognized standards for environmental management is the ISO 14001 model, which addresses organizational structure, planning activities, responsibilities, practices, procedures, processes and resources for environmental policy. portrays the major components of the ISO management system.

70 **A Continuous Improvement Model for Sustainable Development**
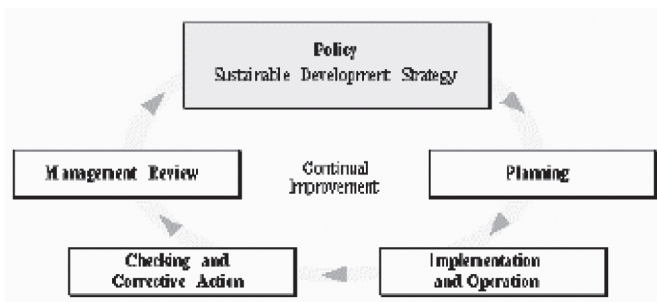
Transport Canada will improve its ability to monitor progress in implementing its sustainable development commitments and targets, based on the ISO 14001 model as follows:

Policy

- Transport Canada recognizes that the support of the department's senior management is critical. The department will ensure that those senior managers responsible for implementing specific actions in this strategy include these commitments in their annual accountability accords.

Planning

- Transport Canada will extend the mandate of its internal Sustainable Development Strategy Committee beyond the year 2000. The Committee will meet regularly to oversee and coordinate implementation of the strategy, to ensure the department's sustainable development principles are applied to new policy and program initiatives and operations, and to foster better coordination of sustainable development activities across Transport Canada.

Implementation and Operation

- Transport Canada will conduct training in sustainable development to help key managers and staff increase their knowledge of sustainable development. A pilot course will be implemented by 2001/2002, and, if successful, a full course will be implemented by 2002/2003.

- The department will integrate sustainable development principles into existing training courses, including Transport Canada's orientation course and other courses dealing with safety and management training, by 2002/2003.

- The department will increase efforts to help all employees understand the importance of sustainable development, by including sustainable development articles in departmental newsletters in 2001/2002.

Checking and Corrective Action

- Transport Canada will develop a database to monitor the status of strategy commitments, targets and deliverables by 2001/2002.

- An annual report on implementation of the strategy will be presented to Transport Canada's senior management committee.

- A status report on all sustainable development commitments, targets and indicators will be included in the department's annual Departmental Performance Report.

Management Review

- Transport Canada will conduct a review of its sustainable development strategy every three years — the next taking place in 2002/2003.

- Transport Canada will extend the mandate of its external National Advisory Group beyond 2000. The Group will meet annually to provide strategic direction on the department's sustainable development priorities, review progress of strategy implementation, and make recommendations pertaining to review findings.

A model action plan for Transport Canada's 2001-03 Sustainable Development Strategy

- Challenge 1: Improving Education and Awareness of Sustainable Transportation
- Challenge 2: Developing Tools for Better Decisions
- Challenge 3: Promoting Adoption of Sustainable Transportation Technology
- Challenge 4: Improving Environmental Management for Operations and Lands
- Challenge 5: Reducing Air Emissions
- Challenge 6: Reducing Pollution of Water
- Challenge 7: Promoting Efficient Transportation

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Internet Sources

International Union for Conservation of Nature
www.iucn.org

This global coalition of experts distributes extensive information on conservation-related matters around the world. Tourism specialists might find IUCN's Sustainable Use group helpful, at www.iucn.org/themes/ssc/susg/index.html

United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), Tourism Caucus

www.igc.org/csdngo/tourism/tour_index.htm

The Caucus advises the CSD on tourism policy. Its site gives links to U.N. dialogues on tourism, concept papers, and a discussion mailing list. Open to the public, but mainly for members of pertinent organizations.

U.N. Environmental Program (UNEP) Sustainable Tourism Site

www.uneptie.org/pc/tourism/sust-tourism/home.htm

Well-organized information includes definitions of sustainable tourism and ecotourism, description of

tourism impacts, and steps being taken internationally toward sustainable tourism development.

U.N. International Year of Ecotourism-2002 (IYE)

www.unepie.org/pc/tourism/ecotourism/iye.htm

This United Nations site explains the IYE. Other useful sites on it include www.world-tourism.org/sustainable/IYE-Main-Menu.htm, which presents events, news, and other information. You can find reports presented at the World Ecotourism Summit (held in Quebec City, May 2002) and the resulting Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism, at www.ecotourism2002.org.

UNESCO World Heritage Center

www.unesco.org/whc/nwhc/pages/sites/s_f9.htm

Provides a list of UNESCO cultural and natural World Heritage Sites and describes services that the center offers to member states. Discusses management of protected areas and sustainable tourism in general.

World Tourism Organization (WTO)

www.world-tourism.org/frameset/frame_sustainable.html

This intergovernmental body works for promotion and development of tourism. The site provides recent tourism statistics and includes a sustainable tourism section with definitions, information on relevant events, and lists of WTO's activities and publications.

World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC)

www.wttc.org/stratdev

WTTC represents the travel industry. Members are mainly larger companies. The site includes information on sustainable tourism and various WTTC initiatives and services.

The World Bank Group: International Finance Corporation (IFC)

www.ifc.org/enviro/EPU/STourism/stourism.htm

Part of the World Bank, IFC finances private-sector projects in the developing world, including those in sustainable tourism. Through the Global Environment Facility, IFC also funds some small ecotourism projects as part of the biodiversity protection initiative.

http://www.world-tourism.org/frameset/frame_sustainable.html
http://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/sustainable/
http://www.dot.gov/execorder/13274/news/index.htm
http://web.worldbank.org - Logistics and Statistics

Glossary

Advanced Technology Vehicles (ATVs): Vehicles with available, or soon to be available, technologies able to improve fuel efficiency, reduce air emissions and contribute to the development of cleaner, sustainable transportation systems. Examples of advanced technologies include new powertrains and accessories (gasoline and diesel direct injection engines), new body construction and innovations (use of lightweight and/or recyclable materials, small size/dimensions), lightweight metals and composites, and advanced emission control devices and fuels.

Biodiversity: The variety of different species, the genetic variability of each species, and the variety of different ecosystems that they form.

Canada-wide Environmental Standards Sub-Agreement: a framework for federal, provincial, and territorial Environment Ministers to work together to address key environmental protection and health risk reduction issues that require common environmental standards across the country. Transport Canada participated in the development of the first Canada-wide Standards on particulate matter and ozone, which will assist with meeting air quality standards.

Climate Change: A warming of the Earth's atmosphere caused by increases in the atmosphere of certain gases that absorb the radiation emitted by the Earth, thereby retarding the loss of energy from the system to space.

Cost Internalization: (see Full-Cost Accounting)

Eco-efficiency: A concept developed for business, eco-efficiency is reached by the delivery of competitively priced goods and services that satisfy human needs and bring quality of life, while progressively reducing ecological impacts and resource intensity throughout the life cycle to a level in line with the Earth's estimated carrying capacity.

Ecosystem: An integrated and stable association of living and non-living resources functioning within a defined physical location.

Environmental Assessment (EA): A planning tool which systematically identifies and assesses the environmental effects of proposed projects before they occur, with the aim of taking the potential effects into account in project decision-making before irrevocable decisions are made.

Environmental Management Systems (EMS): A systematic approach for organizations to bring environmental considerations into decision making and day-to-day operations. It also establishes a system for tracking, evaluating and communicating environmental performance. An EMS helps ensure that major environmental risks and liabilities are identified, minimized and managed. The ISO 14001 standard, Environmental Management Systems, is the standard within the ISO 14000 series that specifies the requirements of an environmental management system. *See also ISO 14000*

Equity: The fair distribution of the costs and benefits of human activity between people. Its two components are inter-generational equity and current equity among people or groups of people.

Full-Cost Accounting (Cost Internalization): An accounting method that determines total value or final price by internalizing non-market values such as environmental and social costs and benefits.

Greenhouse Gases (GHGs): Gases in the atmosphere that trap the sun's energy and thereby contribute to rising surface temperatures. The main greenhouse gas that contributes to climate change is carbon dioxide, a byproduct of burning fossil fuels.

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Indicators: A statistic, tracked over time, that provides trends in the condition of a phenomenon, beyond the properties of just the statistic itself. It points to, or provides the means to assess, progress toward an objective.

Intelligent Transportation Systems (ITS): The application, in an integrated manner, of advanced information processing (computers), communications, sensor and control technologies and management strategies, to improve the functioning of the transportation system.

Intermodal freight transportation: The use of two or more modes to move a shipment from origin to destination. An intermodal movement includes all aspects of the supply chain involved in the movement and transfer of goods under a single freight bill.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO): Formed under the 1944 Convention on International Civil Aviation, with aims and objectives "to develop the principles and techniques of international air navigation and to foster the planning and development of international air transport." The Convention established certain principles and arrangements in order that international civil aviation

and evaluation of the effectiveness of that strategy. Risk management may include direct remedial actions or other strategies that reduce the probability, intensity, frequency or duration of the exposure to contamination.

Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA): The systematic and comprehensive process of evaluating the environmental effects of a proposed policy, plan or program and its alternatives. SEA is a key tool for incorporating sustainable development considerations into government decisions.

Sustainable Development: Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Sustainable Development Strategy: In accordance with the *Auditor General Act,* the strategy that each Minister responsible for a department is required to submit to Parliament every three years, beginning in 1997. It outlines the department's concrete goals and action plans for integrating sustainable development into its policies, programs and operations.

Sustainable Development Strategy Committee: Comprised of managers from each group and region of Transport Canada, the Committee was re-established in 2000 to oversee the development of the department's second sustainable development strategy and to provide a forum for sharing information and practices concerning sustainable development across the department.

United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (UNCSD): The Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) was created in December 1992 to ensure effective follow-up of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and to monitor and report on implementation of the 1992 Earth Summit agreements at the local, national, regional and international levels. The CSD is a functional commission of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), with 53 members. UNCSD9 is the ninth meeting of the CSD and will take place in spring 2001 in New York. One of the key themes to be discussed at this session is sustainable transportation.

28. Tables – 1 Environmental Management – Study of Canada

Significant Environmental Aspect	Status in January 2000	Objective	Target	Proposed Performance Indicators
1) Air Emissions	Transport Canada's GHG baseline is approximately 70 million kilograms of CO_2 equivalent in 1998/1999.	Measure, monitor, reduce and report GHG emissions from Transport Canada operations. Increase number of low emission vehicles (i.e. alternative fuel vehicles) in operational fleet.	• Finalize GHG emissions baseline by 2001/2002. • Adopt a formal GHG emissions reduction target, based on a share of the federal reduction target, by 2001/2002. • Report departmental GHG emissions annually from 2001. • 50 per cent of vehicles purchased between 2001 and 2003 to be low emission vehicles.	• Transport Canada emissions, expressed in CO2 equivalents/year, kilograms/year and per cent difference from baseline. • Per cent of low emission vehicles purchased of total annual vehicles purchased.
2) Contaminated Land	Of 1,110 properties, Transport Canada has 686 potentially contaminated sites, of which 571 have been assessed and 115 are suspected for contamination and require assessment. From 1996 to 1999, Transport Canada spent $21.4 million on assessments, $1.2 million on risk management, and $11.9 million on remediation. From 1999 to 2000, the department spent approximately $15 million on assessment and remediation.	Identify and manage all Transport Canada contaminated sites.	• Develop a contaminated sites management framework by 2001/2002. • Inventory and remediate or risk manage all sites by 2003/2004.	• Environmental costs and liabilities as reported to Treasury Board. • Number of contaminated sites undergoing remediation or risk management.

3) Non-hazardous Waste	Eight Transport Canada facilities or offices conducted waste audits in 1999 and reported their rates of diversion from landfill.	Increase current landfill diversion rates at selected facilities.	• Implement or increase non-hazardous waste recycling at selected Transport Canada Centres (TCCs): • Establish baseline in Vancouver by 2001/2002 and in Sudbury, Kingston and Pickering by 2002/2003. • 5 per cent improvement from baseline in Quebec by 2002/2003 and in Moncton, Dartmouth & St. John's by 2003/2004. • 10 per cent improvement from baseline in Winnipeg & Edmonton by 2003/2004. • Maintain and/or improve current 88 per cent diversion rate at Ottawa headquarters.	• Per cent waste diverted from landfill (i.e. recyclable waste/ total waste) per year or per person. • Kilograms waste generated per person per year.
4) Storage Tanks	Transport Canada owned and operated 146 tanks, of which 78 per cent are in compliance with the Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA). Transport Canada anticipates 100 per cent compliance by 2001/2002.	Ensure compliance with CEPA Tank Technical Guidelines.	• Ensure 100 per cent compliance with CEPA Tank Technical Guidelines by conducting regional tank audits.	• Per cent of tanks in compliance with CEPA Tank Technical Guidelines. • Number of tanks audited per year per region.
5) Environmental Emergencies	Environmental emergency plans were in place at all Transport Canada-owned and operated airports.	Increase environmental emergency planning at TC-owned and operated facilities.	• Revise and/or develop emergency plans for all TC-owned and operated facilities by 2003/2004.	• Per cent of plans in place. • Per cent of plans up to date (i.e. revised within specified time frame).

6) Environmental Awareness	No baseline on awareness level of Transport Canada employees currently exists.	Increase awareness of TC employees on environmental issues, procurement and green commuting.	• Measure baseline awareness level of TC employees by 2001/2002. • Deliver targeted environmental management and sustainable development awareness programs by 2003/2004.	• Per cent increase in awareness, as measured by surveys or testing.

SOURCE: Transport Canada 2007, Ministry of Transport, Ottawa

Transportation GHG Emissions by Energy Source and Transportation Mode

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Total GHG Emissions (Mt of CO2e) a,b,c	**135.0**	**129.9**	**132.9**	**134.6**	**141.5**
Passenger Transportation b,c	81.2	77.5	78.7	79.3	82.1
Freight Transportation b,c	50.1	48.4	50.1	51.2	55.2
Off-Road b,c	3.7	3.9	4.1	4.2	4.2
GHG Emissions by Energy Source (Mt of CO2e) a,b,c					
Electricity	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
Natural Gas	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Motor Gasoline	80.0	77.8	79.5	81.7	84.3
Diesel Fuel Oil	34.6	32.6	33.2	34.7	38.1
Light Fuel Oil and Kerosene	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Heavy Fuel Oil	4.5	5.0	4.9	4.2	4.5
Aviation Gasoline	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Aviation Turbo Fuel	13.2	11.8	12.2	11.7	12.3
Propane	2.1	2.2	2.5	1.9	1.8
GHG Emissions by Transportation Mode (Mt of CO2e) a,b,c					
Small Cars	22.6	22.5	22.9	23.3	23.7
Large Cars	25.1	23.9	23.6	23.4	23.3
Passenger Light Trucks	16.3	15.4	16.5	17.4	19.0
Freight Light Trucks	7.9	7.5	8.1	8.2	8.8
Medium Trucks	9.2	9.5	9.8	10.2	10.3
Heavy Trucks	17.6	16.2	16.6	18.3	20.8
Motorcycles	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
School Buses	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.1
Urban Transit	2.0	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.8
Inter-City Buses	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6
Passenger Air	13.0	11.6	11.9	11.5	12.1
Freight Air	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5
Passenger Rail	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Freight Rail	6.7	6.3	6.7	6.6	6.9
Marine	8.1	8.4	8.4	7.4	7.9
Off-Road	3.7	3.9	4.1	4.2	4.2
GHG Intensity (tonne/TJ) a,b,c	**71.9**	**71.9**	**71.8**	**71.9**	**71.9**
GHG Emissions Related to Electricity (Mt of CO2e) a,c	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.1**	

Iran, the US, and Highly Enriched Uranium

Shareefa Al-Advani

Good Things Come in Threes

The benefit of a liberal arts education allows the appreciation and tolerance of multifarious perspectives. Points of view ranging from the moderate to the radical are given weight when they are supplemented by evidence, as following the social science methodology. The value of this diversity allows the mind to see beyond the duality of black and white, and enter the colorful world of dialogistical possibilities, multidimensional potentialities and manifold probabilities.

Yet a large portion of the academic arena has curiously thriven on an approach of engaging opposing extreme dualities in a certain conceptual matter. This conceptual issue is that concerning "the East verses the West". The opposing members of these dyads are historically situated in High Middle Ages. One of the earliest tangible pieces of evidence of the tension between the East and the West were the decrees of Pope Alexander II in 1063, which gave a papal standard to those who were in battles against Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. The phrase "East and West", as used in current scholarly journals, by academics, and by the media, implies an imaginary dividing line between the countries of North America and Europe (the West) and the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (the East). The continued usage of this terminology still alludes to a separation between the two areas and thus stratifies the blocs into ideologically opposing poles.

The current reality is that this line (an intangible signifier of the ideological division between the two regions) has been deepened and perpetuated by scholars and politicians alike. Huntington's resounding *Clash of Civilizations* is the paradigmatic example which encompasses the impact that this jargon of partition has made on the academic world. Huntington predicted, based on his interpretation of historical indicators, that eventually there would be a war between the Western and Islamic civilizations. In the world of international politics, President George W. Bush recently claimed that the US was "in a great ideological struggle," and called to leaders in the Middle East to stabilize the region and extract the extremist Muslims who propagate their radical vision. Linguistically, what Bush's speech writers had failed to notice is that it is precisely the jargon used in a speech such as his that perpetuates the dichotomy of regional opposites.

One of the many dangers as an academic, therefore, is attempting to present a third perspective in a theoretical world of dualities, because that tertiary notion will likely be relegated to categorically accord with one side or another. In a political realm where one is either "with" one side or "against" that side, I feel impelled to voice a third opinion to break the Orwellian tragedy. Various

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I use the language of cardinal directionality due to the fact that the concept of the Orient/Occident is recognizable as a duality in itself, as well as for the reason that the academics in this arena themselves utilize this lexicon. Perhaps most ironic is that once the terminology of "East and West" has been parsed, it is realized that there must be a third category of [other] states. South America, East Asia, Africa, and Russia are all seen as non-participants in this culturally bipolar conceptual structure.

The vexillum sancti Petri refers to the Bible's Matthew 16:19, where Jesus says to Simon Peter, "I will give you the keys of the Kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven." Pope Alexander II is enfranchising himself with the authority of being able to condemn men to hell and raise men to heaven because he is the highest authority closest to God. It follows that the Pope assured a heavenly abode to those who committed the act of killing a Muslim. He also offered plenary and partial indulgences so that the Christian soldiers would be absolved of their temporal sins.

Even earlier, the Orient / Occident division may be traced to the Roman Emperor Diocletian in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries. I do not wish to use this division, mostly because Diocletian's "East-West" division referred to what was east and west of Rome, quite dissimilar to the "East-West" meaning we know today. Following Diocletian's methodology, the West would have included territories of North Africa (sections of modern-day Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis) and the East would have indicated that Greece and the Balkans were of the Orient.

Said, Edward W. Orientalism. (New York: Random House, Inc., 1979.)

It is noted that even the term "Middle East" is highly ambiguous, as it is mostly a state-centric term derived from the archaic "The Near East" by the British colonial power after the Second World War. The region in question is located in the "Middle" of the way to India and "East" of London. In this essay, "Middle East" refers to area bounded by the east by Sinai and by the west by Iran, and by bounded by the north by Turkey and by the south by Yemen. The meaning of "Middle East" as we now understand it has only taken form after the lexicon was assigned.

attempts have been made to maintain an unbiased approach to the matter, and I will also venture an irenic solution to the dueling factions, which will give neither side the upper hand, but will invariably seem to each as though its counterpart has the relative gain.

But there is neither East or West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth
When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the
ends of the earth
"The Ballad of East and West," Rudyard Kipling

The contention over the purpose of the enrichment of uranium in Iran is one of the largest diplomatic conflicts in the world today. Uranium enrichment can create civilian nuclear energy, but is also a key step in the process for creating a nuclear weapon. The possibility of a nuclear Iran has roused the current hegemonic power, the United States, into a multimedia offensive approach to the issue. Through various forums, America has tried to find every way to stop Iran from possibly developing a nuclear weapon. Iran has ignored all attempts by the US and international organizations and has continued with its developments. The American response from George W. Bush was to publicly label Iran as a member of the "axis of evil," a term that has replaced "countries of concern" (which had, in turn, replaced the label "rouge state" used under the Clinton Administration), but has the same implication. The tension between Iran and the United States of America has been so high that the enmity between the two has been called a "Cold War," which may

or may not explain Bush's rhetorical allusions to "good" and "evil", the ultimate labels when using the discourse of divisiveness. This leads to the following question: What are the reasons behind Iran's uranium enrichment? Once this question is answered, a solution may be found where both the United States and Iran will no longer be engaged in a "Cold War," but instead will be able to gear their foreign policies accordingly for a more stable world.

I argue that Iran's nuclear program has three reasons behind its development. First of all, Iran may wish to develop a nuclear weapon to deter the United States from getting involved in its domestic policies. Historically, the western hegemon has been involved in Iranian politics for half a century, and the Islamic Revolution was one of many backlashes that occurred as a result. Joining the nuclear club will allow Iran some of the insulation it has wanted for many years. Secondly, Iran hopes to create civilian energy, as its oil resources are depleting. Oil is a limited resource, and there has been evidence showing that Iranian oil is running out. Finally, Iran desires to create a new defense-industrial sector that will improve its economy by selling uranium to other states. This is not a new market, but Iran's involvement in it will be.

My methodology will proceed as follows: I use a realist perspective when understanding the deterrent quality of nuclear weapons, and thus will explain the approach to nuclear strategy in this systemic paradigm. I will then look at the history between Iran and the United States

"…The major component in European culture is…the idea of European identity as a superior one…The hegemony of European ideas about the Orient, themselves reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness…" (Said 7)
This tactic was also used during the Cold War, when the USSR was labeled the "evil empire" during Reagan's administration. The Reagan doctrine reinforced this ideological divide, and this had resoundingly divisionary effects.
"The Reagan Doctrine." US Department of State. (1980).
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/dr/17741.htm. (accessed: May 14, 2007).
Huntington, Samuel P. "Clash of Civilizations." Foreign Affairs. (Summer 1993). 22-49. 41 & 46.
Bush, George W. UN Speech. CNN.com. (September 19, 2007.)
http://www.cnn.com/2006/POLITICS/09/19/bush.transcript/index.html. (accessed December 23, 2006).
"My contention is that Orientalism is fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West…" (Said 204). George Bush is manifesting his latent Orientalism. (lexicon attributed to Said 206)
Bush, George W. "You are either with us or against us". CNN.com. (November 6, 2001).
http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/11/06/gen.attack.on.terror. (accessed December 24, 2006).
The US had been lobbying various corporations, European states, and Russia for the past 20 years so that the transfer of any material components for the nuclear project sites.

since the 1951 nationalization of the Iranian oil industry, and will demonstrate that any positive relations between the two states have been tenuous at best. Next, I explore each of the three reasons for Iran's nuclear development in turn, not to advocate its position, but instead to offer a comprehensive explanation for it. I then follow with a recommendation to US policymakers and Iranian diplomats as to how to approach the issue by sing a few Persian Gulf countries as "middlemen."

A world without nuclear weapons would be less stable and more dangerous for all of us.
Margaret Thatcher

Nuclear weapons proliferation is inevitable. Information on how to create a weapon is difficult to contain, with the prime example being A.Q. Khan, the founder of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program who transferred vital information on nuclear weapons to Libya, Iran, and North Korea. With the advent of globalization and the speed and amount of information transfer increasing at a hyper exponential rate, it is not surprising that dozens of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan-esques are busy running international information-transfer rings and profiting from their scientific knowledge by selling their knowledge to the highest bidder. Specifically, Iran, which has had a tangible nuclear program since the 1970s and has been training its citizens in nuclear science since the 1950s at Tehran Polytechnic (now the Amirkabir University

of Technology), has also profited directly from A. Q. Khan's information during the late 80s and early 90s. It is currently one of the states enriching uranium, a red flag that signifies nuclear development, whether for energy or for weaponry.

As Iran has been enriching uranium to an extent closer towards weapons grade material (Highly Enriched Uranium), a discussion of the possibility that states may develop nuclear weapons is in order. Perhaps an excursus of "nuclear weapons proliferation" will allow the unfamiliar to become matter-of-fact and permit a rational approach to the issue. As the fear resides in the idea that there maybe an eventual military confrontation between Iran and the United States, I will begin by addressing the issue of war and how war as a concept, may, in fact, be the cause of peace.

In an anarchic world where the state of existence is *bellum omnium contra omnes*, states have recognized that the concept of "war" is not simply about war-fighting, but also is the willingness to engage in battle. In other words, war is conceptually both war-fighting and the possibility of war-fighting. To address both aspects of the concept of war, the preparation thereof is tantamount to that state's existence. A state's primary responsibility to the people is to provide security, and it logically follows that states tend to prepare for war by enhancing the most visible sector involved in war: the military.

Koch, Andrew and Jeanette Wolf. "Iran's Nuclear Facilities: a Profile" Center for Nonproliferation Studies.
(1998). http://www.cns.miis.edu/pubs/reports/pdfs/iranrpt.pdf. (accessed December 26, 2006).
"Iran aggressively pursues…weapons [of mass destruction] and exports terror…states like these constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world…"
Bush, George W. State of the Union Address. CNN.com. (January 29, 2002).
http://archives.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/01/29/bush.speech.txt/. (accessed December 26, 2006).
The Clinton Administration identified the same three "axis of evil" states, Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, as the states which pose the most serious threat to nonproliferation.
Vetsko, Alexander. "Bush Administration's Non-Proliferation Policy." Carnegie Moscow Center. (May 17, 2002). http://www.carnegie.ru/en/news/47888.htm. (accessed December 26, 2006).
Although the lexicon had changed, the same three countries were identified by the Bush Administration as posing the same threat.
Sanger, David E., and Alaine Sciolino. "Iran Strategy: Cold War Echo." The New York Times. (April 30,
2006). http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/30/world/middleeast/30iran.html?ex=1304049600&en=
b85e52b87d6e94d0&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss. (accessed December 26, 2006).
Reynolds, Paul. "New Cold War Looms with Iran." BBC.com. (March 13, 2006).
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/4801786.stm. (accessed December 26, 2006).
The name "Persian Gulf" is used here to indicate the body of water shared by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman. There is no symbolic intent in the usage of this geographical term, as it is simply the designation recognized by the United Nations.

Developing countries, however, cannot keep up with large powers in a conventional arms race. The cost of maintaining an arms race is astronomical. In 2006, the USA's military expenditures alone at 563.2 billion dollars was comparable to Iran's entire GDP of 610.4 billion dollars. Moreover, Iran has had to compensate for a 1992 US arms embargo, creating its own planes, tanks, and missiles. Competitively speaking, Iran's most cost-effective choice would be to develop a single super-weapon to deter the United States. This choice is seen be fiscally deficient states as a viable option towards mitigating the power gap between richer states and poorer states.

This may seem like a radical claim. However, it may help to understand the term "cost" in relation to effectiveness beyond simply the fiscal consideration. Strategists and generals involved in conventional wars in the past century have based much of their strategy with an excogitation of General Erich Friedrich Wilhelm Ludendorff's "Total War," wherein losing and winning are the only two outcomes according to a "Total War." Whether the conventional war is a Total War or not, the "punishment strategy" of Total War is often employed and celebrated as a winning strategy. The punishment strategy involves a manipulation of the opponent's costs to an unacceptable level, ideally causing the opponent to declare defeat. The attacking state thus uses the following cost-benefit analysis:

$$(PC * C) - (PB * B) < R$$
Where:
PC = Perception of Cost
C = Cost
PB = Perception of Benefit
B = Benefit
R = Value of Resistance

The attacking state will thus use punishment to increase both the opposing state's perceived cost (PC) as well as the cost (C). If the opponent's overall cost is higher than its value of resistance, it will create a high level of destruction. Destruction does not necessarily lead to loss in the sense of Total War Loss, but it does lead to a large amount of human lives lost, a devastation that may or may not cause the opponent to fold. In sum, conceptually and practically, war-fighting involves the strategy of punishment, leading to the outcome of devastation.

The use of nuclear weapons also involves the strategy of punishment and leads to the outcome of a huge amount of lives lost. The US's nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were certainly successful punishment strategies, as any future use of nuclear weapons on civilian populations would be. Hiroshima's death toll was ultimately 140,000 people in a population of 255,000. With the consideration that only 1.38% of the bomb fissiled and had a one mile destruction radius, the percentage death of more than

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Varian, Hal and Peter Lyman. "How Much Information? 2003." Executive Summary. Regents of the University of California. (October 27, 2003). file://///Herald/www/research/projects/how-much- info-2003/execsum.htm. (accessed December 26, 2006).
"I am aware of the vital criticality of Pakistan's nuclear programme to our national security...The recent investigation was ordered by the government of Pakistan consequent to the disturbing disclosures and evidence by some countries to international agencies relating to alleged proliferation activities by certain Pakistanis and foreigners over the last two decades…Many of the reported activities did occur and that these were inevitably initiated at my behest. In my interviews with the concerned government officials, I was confronted with the evidence and the findings and I have voluntarily admitted that much of it is true and accurate. I take full responsibility for my actions and seek your pardon."
Transcript of Appearance on Pakistan Television Corporation:
Khan, Abdul Qadeer. "I Seek your Pardon." Guardian Unlimited. (February 5, 2004).
http://www.guardian.co.uk/pakistan/Story/0,2763,1141630,00.html. (accessed December 26 2006).
In 1974, Siemens and its subsidiary Krafewerke Union, German-owned businesses, began to make a nuclear power plant in Bushehr, Iran.
"Russia: Nuclear Exports to Iran: Reactors." Nuclear Threat Initiative. NTI.org. (November 6, 2002).
http://www.nti.org/db/nisprofs/russia/exports/rusiran/react.htm. (accessed May 11, 2007).
In the same year, Iran had the French company Framatome (now Areva NP) survey the area of Darkhovin to find a suitable place for two 950 MW Pressurized Water Reactors (PWRs) for the Karun site.
Spector, Leonard S. Nuclear Ambitions. (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1990).
Milivojevic, Marko. "Russia and Iran: Nuclear Deal." Middle East International. (January 20, 1995) p.14
Nuclear Engineering International, World Nuclear Handbook 1996. (Surrey, U.K.: Reed Business Publishing,

50% of the population is astonishing. The dropping of the nuclear bomb was the most influential factor in Japan's surrender, thus making this punishment strategy a successful one. Nuclear weapons, especially the ones created today, out power Hiroshima's "Little Boy" by 80:1. Any state threatened with a nuclear attack would most certainly consider the high cost in receiving the attack and realize that the [punishment] damage was categorically either unacceptable damage or irreplaceable damage.

Iran currently has a medium-range ballistic missile, the Shahab-3, which has a path radius of 2,100 kilometers. Developed in 1998, this MRBM has the ability to strike many American allies. Anticipating a regional threat, Israel and the US jointly developed an anti-ballistic missile, the Arrow missile, which has the capacity to intercept short range and medium range ballistic missiles via a radar tracking device that targets the missile in the midcourse phase of its flight.

Let us now imagine the most feared scenario: If Iran decided to create a nuclear weapon, and if Iran successfully demolished a neighboring country or city that was an American ally, what would happen? At this point, it may be best to realize that there are two categories of striking capabilities. According to the National Intelligence Estimate, in the year 2015, Iran would have a nuclear weapon. One nuclear weapon. With a single weapon, Iran may have Type I Deterrence, or First-strike capability, meaning that Iran could launch the weapon and strike another city, thus devastating the population. This is categorically known as "deterrence by punishment." However, first-strike capability also means that Iran could have its single nuclear weapon wiped out by a preemptive strike or by a successful ABM. Israel has had a past with the preemptive strike against nuclear programs and also has second strike capability. The US has a past with nuclear blackmail and has second-strike capability since the 1960s. If Iran tried to strike any city or country that was deemed a "vital interest" to the United States, the US

and or that state would massively retaliate. The casualties would be enormous. One-seventh of Iran's population lives in Tehran. If the retaliation strike hit Iran's five most densely populated cities of Tehran, Mashhad, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Ahvaz, 46 % of the population would be affected. If the top 10 cities were struck, 67 % of the population would be affected. This certainly is at both "irreplaceable damage" and "unacceptable damage" many times over. Iran would not be able to survive a retaliation strike.

Dulce Et Decorum Est Pro Allah Mori?

The argument currently used against Iran is that the state, and particularly the style of government, is not as rational as other governments. Any other government would recognize the consequences of having an enormous percent of its population and infrastructure depleted in a few flashes of light as tantamount to a complete failure of the state and the state's primary responsibility: the security of its people. Yet arguments have been made by high officials in the US Government that Iran has a culture of martyrdom. They continue to say that Iran would thus sacrifice itself as a state in order to fulfill its ultimate dream of martyrdom. Yet martyrdom is not a concept chosen for the people by the state. Martyrdom on this massive scale calls for, according to Ahmedinejad, voluntary choice. He will not allow his state to fail, nor his people to die unless they choose to do so. For those who have made the choice, they join the "Commando of Voluntary Martyrs," yet these 52,000 troops only are tactically sanctioned for domestic, rather than international, use. Ahmadinejad is indirectly funneling his "cult of martyrdom" into a sector that will bring him more assets rather than liabilities.

According to Iranian National Security Advisor, Ali Larijani, "In the Islamic school of thought, mass murder is a great sin." Ahmadenejad himself stated that "We all condemn terrorism, because its victims are the innocent" in a letter to the American people. Strategically speaking, Iran may also be working with American's misconceptions

1995). p.22.

It is interesting to note that Siemens currently has a 34% stake in Areva NP.

The nuclear technology center in Isfahan was also created with the assistance of the French in the 1970s.

"Iran's Nuclear Program." Risk Report 1. (September 1995).

http://www.wisconsinproject.org/countries/iran/nuke.html. (accessed December 26, 2006).

ALL sources mentioned in this footnote are from the following secondary source: (Koch and Wolf)

Enrichment of uranium for nuclear energy (civilian) purposes uses only 3-5% of the isotope U-235, while weapons grade uranium is composed of 94% U-235. It is important to remember that HEU, highly enriched uranium (over 20% enrichment) may be blended with LEU (low-enriched uranium) and sold in the uranium market to state buyers for their fuel reactors. This is a profitable business.

towards Iran. "It is a paradox of deterrence that in threatening to hurt somebody if he misbehaves, it need not make a critical difference how much it would hurt you too – *if* you can make him believe the threat." Iran's rhetorical manipulations may in fact be necessary for the US to believe that the Iranians are resolved in their decision to stand firm and defend their state.

Therefore, if Iran is not developing a nuclear weapon to use against a state, it is certainly developing the capacity to defend itself. Nuclear weapons are both offensive and defensive weapons, and the nuclear weapon is certainly a strong deterrent, when regarding the weapon as defensive. Hobbes mentioned that "the passion…that incline[s] men to peace [is the] fear of death." The state of Iran fears a retaliatory strike, as the punishment strike would cause the Republic to cease to exist. By creating a nuclear weapon, Iran would be able to prepare for war, yet maintain the peace.

If you want to understand today, you have to search yesterday.
Pearl Buck

Why, then, would Iran want to deter the US? The US has had a hand in the Middle East for more than 50 years. In 1951, Mohammed Mossadegh, thought to have been aligned with the Communist Tudeh party by both the

British and the Americans, led the Iranian Parliament in its move to nationalize the Iranian oil industry. The British were immediately economically concerned with the future of their Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, yet they would not make a move against the new Prime Minister Mossadegh until they could extract a promise of aid from the US. The US President at the time was focused on the Cold War, and so the British had to wait to make their move. In Iran, Mossadegh was gaining support among the people of Iran as well as within the Parliament. Mohammed Reza Shah, the *Shahanshah*, was highly aware of the changing domestic power structure, and began to tighten his authoritarian grip.

When General Dwight D. Eisenhower became US President in 1953, he gave his permission to his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and his CIA Director, Allen Welsh Dulles, to coordinate Operation Ajax with the British. The Operation, led by Kermit Roosevelt, initially failed and Mossadegh rose to power. The Shah fled and stayed in Italy, but a few days later, returned to Iran and was ultimately reinstated by the American covert forces. Mossadegh was placed under house arrest. The Iranian people began to see Mohammed Reza as a cowardly puppet of the West and consequentially, he had lost any legitimacy as leader. The democratically elected Parliament was dissolved, and an Iranian authoritarian state rose with the nod given by the US.

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"The war of all against all."

Hobbes, Thomas. The Leviathan. (1651). http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/hobbes-lev13.html.
(accessed May 3, 2007).

Without security, a state would cease to exist. Even neutral Switzerland assigned guns to all males of age in every household.

This is the figure given by the US Department of Defense (441.6 billion) which did not include the cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, plus the cost of the "War on Terror" Operations in Iraq and Afghanistan (121.6 billion) given by the CRS Report for Congress. In 2006, the US had a GDP of 12.98 trillion.

United States Department of Defense. Fiscal Year 2006 Budget. (2006). http://www.defenselink.mil/.
(accessed May 3, 2007).

Congressional Research Service. The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations Since
9/11. (March 14, 2007). Washington, D.C: The Library of Congress, 2007.

North Korea had chosen this option.

Conventional wars, or wars involving one state against another state, is a focus here because the work is looking at state actors as they are involved in conflict with one another (i.e., Iran and the United States.)

States have not necessarily conceptually relied on the concept of Total War, though.

Whether this strategy regarding the usage of conventional weapons therein is a successful one or not is contentious. Robert Pape argues that Punishment strategy using conventional weapons is not effective in his book, Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War. However, this does not detract from my argument which claims that this strategy is utilized and thought of as a winning strategy. Examples of the Punishment strategy being used can be found in the Bombing of Dresden, to the firebombing of Tokyo, to the various Operations in Vietnam (such as Rolling Thunder and Linebacker).

This calculation of risk is almost identical to Robert Pape's equation on the "value of resistance."

The US also approved the Shah's request to begin a nuclear program. The Americans included the Iranians on their "Atoms for Peace" program and gave Iran a nuclear reactor and a fair amount of Highly Enriched Uranium and plutonium. Beyond nuclear weapons, the US was generous in arming the authoritarian Iranian leader. In thirty years, from 1950 to 1979, "US arms sales to Iran totaled approximately US $11.2 billion." During the same time period, the Shah had put forward a "White Revolution" and strengthened symbolic political ties with the United States. For every "democratic progression" the Shah made, the US envisioned a state that was "an island of stability", the Iranian people became more and more outraged and disgusted with the "Westoxication," and the Shah himself consolidated his own power and financial situation.

The 1953 Coup was seen as a rallying point for Iranians during the 1979 Revolution. Ayotallah Ruhollah Khomaini took over the power that the religious vacuum of the death of Ali Shariati left, and Khomaini pushed forward his idea of the *Wilayat al Faqi* instead of the previously mislabeled "Parliamentary Monarchy". Before the Iranian Revolution in 1979, the Shah was warned, "Majesty, after the fall of Mossadeq in 1953, hatred of the Americans ran so deep that it was easy for Khomeini to unleash an anti-American movement in response to the law." The US had also been accused of having a hand in the SAVAK's killing of Mostapha Khomeini, the son of Ruhollah Khomeini. Of course, the Shah's cruel treatment against

political protestors in 1963 and in the 1970s did not help his image in the public. Protest after protest in the 1970s, following the 40-40 cycle, was treated unsuccessfully with an iron fist. The Shah was at such a loss, he called in the American and British Embassies and asked directly, "What do I do?"

The Revolution gained momentum quickly, and passed under the American radar. Few American intelligence agents spoke Farsi or Arabic, and even fewer were embedded deeply enough in the Iranian grassroots to know that Khomeini had been spreading anti-Monarchical taped lectures in Iran as he was in exile in Iraq and France. In November of 1978, the US Embassy cabled a warning to the Shah, telling him that there was something in the air. The intelligence had finally caught on to the cycle of protests, almost worrisome since the large scale protests had began several months earlier in January. By December 1978, the protests in Tehran were numbering into the millions.

On 16 January 1979, the Shah left Iran and was "replaced" by Khomeni on the first of February. Khomeini began to implement the *Wilayat al Faqi*, with himself as the *Faqi*. When, in late 1979, the Shah was admitted by the US to receive cancer treatment, Iran had demanded the Shah to be extradited and returned to Iran for a trial. The Americans refused, and then reminded the Iranians of Operation AJAX. This thinly veiled threat did not set well with the Iranians. On 4 November 1979, members of the

Pape, Robert A. Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). p.16. Pape, however, does not believe that a punishment strategy is successful. Although I agree with his point of view, I am also aware that states still engage with the punishment strategy, because states still view this strategy as successful.

Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. The Spirit of Hiroshima: An Introduction to the Atomic Bomb Tragedy.
(Hiroshima: Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, 1999).

The official yield of the "Little Boy" was 15 kilotons. A current 1.8 Megaton B83 Bomb has a 1.2 Megaton yield. It is to be noted that the "Little Boy" was not efficient, fissioning 1.38 percent of its material, and that the B83 is a variable-yield weapon.

Cochran, Arkin, and Robert Norris, U.S. Nuclear Weapons Databook: U.S. Nuclear Warhead Production. (Canada: Harper Collins, 1987).

Unacceptable damage in assured destruction was defined by Robert McNamara where ¼ to 1/3 of the population would die and that 2/3 of the country's industry would be destroyed.

Ball, Desmond. "Targeting for Strategic Deterrence." Adelphi Papers. No. 185. (Summer 1983). International Institute for Strategic Studies, London.

"'Irreplaceable' damage was defined as destruction of a definite portion of the population and economically important objects, which results in the enemy state ceasing to exist as such… In particular, one of these defined «irreplaceable» losses, worked out in the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces at the end of the 1970>s, suggested that by using nuclear weapons, 5% of the enemy>s population and 15% of its industrial potential would be destroyed.

Miasnikov, E.V. The Future of Russia's Strategic Nuclear Forces: Discussions and Arguments. (Moscow, Russia: Center for Arms Control, Energy, and Environmental Studies, 1995).

Muslim Student Followers of the Imam's line stormed the US embassy and captured 66 people, 63 of which were diplomats. The group was supported by Khomeini. The American responses were Operation Eagle Claw and Operation Credible Sport, both of which were failures and therefore a factor in why Jimmy Carter lost the next election. After US President Ronald Reagan was sworn in on 20 January 1981, and the Algiers Accords were signed by both parties, the hostages were released. Of particular importance, and listed as the first point of the Accords, was the non-intervention in Iranian Affairs: "The United States pledges that it is and from now on will be the policy of the United States not to intervene, directly or indirectly, politically or militarily, in Iran's internal affairs."

Five years later, in 1986, members of the US government were selling arms to Iran. Aside from this being illegal under US law, it directly conflicts with the Algiers Accords. It may be argued that these were not individuals acting on behalf of the government, but the fact remains that they were US officials dealing with the Iranian government, and that a 20 million dollar transaction conveys the depth of the situation. The reason why the US was selling arms to Iran was to actually aid Iran during the 1980 – 1988 Iran-Iraq War.

During the course of the war, the United States had ultimately decided to support Iraq: "US interests would be adversely affected by Iran's carrying the fight to Iraqi territory." The US planned to assist Iraq in the war, as Reagan stated in a National Security Directive, "Political consultations should begin immediately followed by military consultations…in planning measures necessary to deter or defend attacks on… critical oil productions…in the Persian Gulf." Pursuant to a June 1981 National Security Directive,

The United States actively supported the Iraqi war effort by supplying the Iraqis with billions of dollars of credits, by providing U.S. military intelligence and advice to the Iraqis, and by closely monitoring third country arms sales to Iraq to make sure that Iraq had the military weaponry required.

Direct American military conventional arms sales assistance to Iraq from 1983 to 1988 totaled 200 million US dollars. Adding insult to injury, toward the end of the war, the US shot down an Iranian commercial flight Airbus A300B2, killing 290 civilians. The US paid Iran 61.8 million dollars to compensate for the Iranian lives lost, but did not pay for the airbus (30 million US dollars) nor apologized for its mistake of killing the civilians or for being in Iranian waters. In 1988, Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani made a covert pledge to "never allow Iran to be the victim again."

Iran's Shahab-3 MRBM has the ability to strike the following states: All of the GCC states, some Eastern European States, a few Central Asian States, and the general Middle East…Including Israel.

Iran's Fajr missile, according to the Associated Press's quote of General Hossein Salami, the air force chief of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, has the capacity to hold multiple re-entry vehicles.

Dareini, Ali Akbar. "Iran says it has Successfully Test-Fired a Missile Able to Avoid Radar." Associated Press. (March 21, 2006).

The Arrow began development in 1986. There has been development of an Arrow II, but more testing is required for this ABM.

Linzer, Dafna. "Iran Is Judged 10 Years From Nuclear Bomb: U.S. Intelligence Review Contrasts With Administration Statements." Washingtonpost.com. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/08/01/AR2005080101453_pf.html. (accessed May 5, 2007).

Kahn, Herman. Thinking About the Unthinkable. (New York: Hudson Institute, Inc., 1984).

Israel launched an air strike against Iraq's Osirak nuclear facilities in 1981.

Farr, Warner D. "The Third Temple's Holy of Holies: Israel's Nuclear Weapons." The Counterproliferation Papers. (Alabama: USAF Counterproliferation Center, 1999).

The US has threatened China with nuclear weapons in the 1950s and 1960s when it was the case that China was threatening Taiwan.

The US first tested the Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile Polaris in 1960, thus extending its nuclear capabilities to form a nuclear triad. Often, the creation of an SLBM is what allows a state to have second-strike capacity.

Iran has a population of 67, 477, 500. Tehran has a population of 11,931, 656 people. Further population data is also from the following source. Brinkoff, Thomas. City Population. http://www.citypopulation.de/Iran.html. (accessed May 5, 2007).

"As for the so-called rouge states in the Middle East…if these states acquire nuclear weapons…neither America nor Israel could be black-mailed, because the blackmailer could not carry out the threat without suffering overwhelming retaliation."

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt. "The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy." London Review of Books. Vol.28, No. 6. (March 22, 2006).

George W. Bush's State of the Union Address on 29 January 2002 labeled Iran an "Axis of Evil," symbolically condemning the state internationally. Iran, already suffering under a commercial and financial US embargo, was outraged, and Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi considered the label as an attempt to interfere in Iranian internal affairs.

Where does this leave us today? Ahmadinejad, President of Iran, is busy bolstering Iranian security, the Iranian people remember their history with the US, and the American people are left wondering "Why do they hate us?" The US National Security Strategy explains that terrorism springs from several different sources and reasons. One of these reasons is "political alienation," which states that terrorist recruitment can occur when a person is denied a voice and denied recognition in politics. I wish to take this on a separate level: what about the political alienation of a state? Does that not promote subversive activities? The US promotes the freezing out of Iran due to its policies, and thus is denying Iran the political voice it deserves in the international community and fostering hatred and fear within Iran against the US. Robert Baer, CIA officer from 1976 – 1997, states that "where Iran is going depends on how we treat them." So far, the treatment has been far from first-rate to say the least, and leaves the historically aware mind that Iran has ample reason for not trusting the United States.

Power may be at the end of a gun, but sometimes it's also at the end of the shadow or the image of a gun.
Jean Genet

In the "war of all against all," the state of nature to Thomas Hobbes was not to be a state of permanent fighting, but instead, is an existence where man is trying to secure the peace. Therefore, war to Hobbes does not have to be the actual act, but instead is echoed by Clausewitz's war as being a "political instrument," as a designation of the potentialities and possibilities of war.

Nuclear weapons proliferation is an unstoppable progressive force. States will seek to fortify their security and livelihood by enhancing their strategic military capabilities in any capacity. Yet "we need not fear that the spread of nuclear weapons will turn the world into a multipolar one." States, large and small, will try to prepare themselves for confrontation…yet at the same time, seek peace. If Iran has the ultimate goal of creating a nuclear weapon, it is for the reasons of deterrence, rather than offensive engagement.

Iranian objectives and interests since 1979 include the following requisitions for the US: To accept the legitimacy of the Islamic Revolution, to not interfere in Iran's internal affairs, and to deal with the Iranian regime on the basis of respect and equality. These objectives have not been

The issue that these unite have been stationed domestically is certainly a separate issue that must be investigated.
Küntzel, Matthias. A Child of the Revolution takes over: Ahmadinejad's Demons. (April 14, 2006). http://www.israel-
palestina.info/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=106. (accessed May 5, 2007).
Macleod, Scott. "Exclusive Interview: Iran's Foreign Policy Chief Talks with TIME". Time.com . (February
27, 2006). http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1167908,00.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).
Islamic Republic of Iran. UN Mission. "Iranian President Ahmadinejad Writes to the American People."
Perspectives. (November 29, 2006). http://www.finalcall.com/artman/publish/article_3059.shtml. (accessed May 10, 2007).
"September Eleven was a horrendous incident. The killing of innocents is deplorable and appalling in any part of the world. Our government
immediately declared its disgust with the perpetrators and offered its condolences to the bereaved and expressed its sympathies."
Letter to Mr. George W. Bush, President of the United States. Original.
http://www.president.ir/farsi/ahmadinejad/cronicnews/1385/02/19/index-f.htm#b4. (accessed May 10, 2007).
Letter to Mr. George W. Bush, President of the United States. Translated version.
http://hosted.ap.org/specials/interactives/_documents/ahmadinejad0509.pdf. (accessed May 10, 2007).
Khrushchev's shoe-pounding incident during the Cold War is a historical example of this logic of the "rationality of irrationality." If the US
believed he was "crazy" enough as a leader, they would take the USSR's resolve more seriously. Hobbes, 1651.

met. Iran has also requested that the US lift economic sanctions and that it unfreeze Iranian assets in the US, which the Iranians claim is in the amount of 10 million US dollars. Finally, a formal apology for Washington's past deeds has been requested by Iran.

Iran's increase in the volume and in the material means of its seeking resolutions for its requests for the US is directly in response to American strategic movements in the Middle East. Iran notes that it is surrounded by US troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and feels threatened by the presence of the American military so close to its borders. Although the US has limited resources, this has not stopped Bush from engaging in a "war of words" with Ahmadinejad. Ahmadinejad has written to Bush, asking for his cooperation in following international law and human rights as a fellow monotheist. The Bush Administration has rejected the letter.

In the letter, Ahmadinejad also states "All governments have a duty to protect the lives, property and good standing of their citizens." The United States has not responded to Iran. Therefore, Iran has had to seek other ways in which its objectives may be fulfilled, some of which have been viewed as irrational. Ahmadinejad's stance on Israel and the Holocaust has been widely received as threatening. Ahmadinejad, however, has stated that he is not against Jews. Rudolph Giuliani, leading candidate for the Republican nomination, states "It's the worst nightmare since the Cold War…The nuclear weapons in the hands of an irrational person, an irrational force. Ahmadinejad is irrational."

Yet I argue that Iran will not change its policy, and according to Thomas Schelling, renowned strategist, "Standing firm may be irrational because it entails excessive costs, but if the state can convince the other side that it is in fact irrational, the other will have no choice but to retreat and the result will be that the state will gain its objective." This is known as the "rationality of irrationality" in the rhetorical war. Iran will continue its nuclear program and its strategic hyperbole in the hopes that the US will positively respond to its 25-year-old objectives.

If Iran creates a nuclear weapon, it is for the purposes of deterrence against a threatening Western hegemon and its regional ally of Israel. If Iran does not create a nuclear weapon and instead continues with enriching uranium (thus being perceived as creating a nuclear weapon), its actions may change the US perspective on Iranian interests and on how to accommodate those interests. Sun Tzu has the most sound advice on this: "Success in warfare is gained by carefully accommodating ourselves to the enemy's purpose."

And what is a man without energy? Nothing - nothing at all.
Mark Twain

Iran is second to Saudi Arabia and holds almost 10 percent of the world's oil reserves at 133 gigabarrels. It would seem highly eccentric to claim that Iran was in need of energy. In 1957, the Shah began the Iranian nuclear program with the help of the US because he saw a future

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The Parliament was withering away, with mostly members of the Tudeh party (a Communist party) staying on. Because Mossadegh tolerated the Communists, he was seen as a liability for the US during this Cold War time, and therefore had to be ousted.

It is of Ramazani's opinion that Iran's Constitutional Revolution and the White Revolution both contributed to the Shah's consolidation of power. His SAVAK (The National Organization for Information and Security), the secret police, were also increasingly empowered as the Shah tried to control the masses of Iran. The SAVAK was formed and trained by the CIA and the Mosad.

Ramazani, Rouhollah K. "Iran's 'White Revolution': A Study in Political Development." International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies. 5 (1974). 124 – 139.

The operation was stated as a coup-de-etat against Mossadegh, who had become quite power in the brief period of a few months.

Wilber, Donald. "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran: November 1952 – August 1953." Clandestine Service History. Number 208. CIA Documents. (1969).

The Shah allegedly admitted that he owed his "…throne to God, my people, my army - and to [Kermit Roosevelt]."

Ebadi, Shirin. Iran Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope. (New York: Random House, 2006). Ch 1.

The Office of Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation. National Nuclear Security Administration.

http://www.nnsa.doe.gov/na-20/frrsnf.shtml. (accessed May 9, 2007).

US Department of State. "Atoms for Peace Agreement with Iran." Department of State Bulletin 36. (April 15, 1957).

Albright, David. "An Iranian Bomb?" The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Washington, DC. (January 1995).

http://www.bullatomsci.org (accessed 10 May 2002).

Albright, David and Mark Hibbs. "Spotlight Shifts to Iran." Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. (March 1992). pp. 9-

when Iran could not keep up with world consumption. It turns out the Shah was correct.

Iran's quota of production is set by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries at 4 billion barrels per day, but has only been able to produce 3.7 billion. Due to Iran not reinvesting in its oil sector, and subsidizing oil for its high domestic demand, Iran has been "burning the candle at both ends." According to a National Academy of Sciences analysis, Iran's revenues from oil could disappear by 2015.

Ahmadinejad's nuclear program may, in fact, address these woes. He is cognizant of his economic problems: On 25 January 2007, he noted that it was the consumption of petroleum that was his largest economic problem. Iran has had to import refined petroleum to keep up with domestic demand. In order to address this he had taken measures in 1994 and created a deal with China. The deal, worth 200 billion US dollars, entails "Chinese investment in Iran's oil fields and the long-term sale of Iranian natural gas to China [and an] annual export of some 10 million tons of Iranian liquefied natural gas (LNG) for a 25-year period." China is second to Japan as the leading consumer of Iranian petroleum and petroleum products. In 2004, Japan shipped in 630,000 barrels of Iranian oil per day.

Iranian domestic consumption, on the other hand, was 1.5 million barrels a day in 2004. Iran cannot keep up with this demand, nor can it continue to subsidize Iranian oil for its people.

A chemin battu il ne croit point d'herb: One does not believe in grass on a trodden path.

France's city of Flamanville contains two nuclear reactors which power the entire regions of Normandy and Brittany with electricity. France's civilian nuclear energy program powers 80 percent of its population with electricity using only 53 reactors. The population of Normandy is at 3,260,000 inhabitants while Brittany has 4,271,000 inhabitants. If Tehran's population is almost 12 million, that would mean that Iran would need about 3 nuclear reactors to provide enough electricity to their capital. The Bushehr nuclear reactor would not only be able to power the entire region of Bushehr, but also the region of Fars, thus covering 10 percent of all of Iran.

France's success, as well as the success of other states using nuclear power, has lead Iran to have a glimpse of the benefits of civilian nuclear energy. Iran's huge domestic consumption demands diversification in the energy production sphere. Nuclear power is an option, and

In September 1967, the US supplied 5.545kg of enriched uranium to Iran for fuel in a research reactor. Iran was also given 112g of plutonium.
"US Supplied Nuclear material to Iran." Digital National Security Archive. (29 January 29, 1980).
http://nsarchive.chadwyck.com. (accessed May 10, 2007).
"Iran Military Introduction" Globalsecurity.org.
http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iran/intro.htm. (accessed May 9, 2007).
The White Revolution consisted of the following reforms: Land Reforms, "nationalization of the forests, shares in State-owned factories to compensate former landowners, profit-sharing by factory workers, reform of the electoral law, formation of the Literacy Corps, Health Corps, Extension Corps, the establishment of local courts, nationalization of underground water resources, 'making anew the countryside', and the 'Administrative Revolution'."
Ramazani, 124 – 139.
Jimmy Carter, US President, 13 December 1977.
"People and Events: The Iranian Hostage Crisis, November 1979 – January 1981". Public Broadcasting Service.
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/carter/peopleevents/e_hostage.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).
Gharbzadegi, Jalal Al-Ahmed. Previously translated as "Weststruckness," but the usage of "struck" in the previous translation does not mean "beaten", but rather, "struck" in the sense of suddenly being afflicted by an illness. Thus, Westoxicaion is a more accurate translation that conveys the feeling of the word.
"…the religious camp is marching shoulder to shoulder with the communist in demonstrations against the regime…what brings them together it their common desire to destroy our national achievements." Shah Mohammed Reza, to Ehsan Naraghi.
Naraghi, Ehsan. From Palace to Prison: Inside the Iranian Revolution. Chicago: Iran R. Dee, 1991.p.8.
Naraghi, p.104.
In 1975, the Shah created the Rastakhiz (Resurgence) party and forced all political parties to become part of it.
State of Jurisprudence, personal translation.
Naraghi, p.9.

according to Article IV of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of which Iran is a signatory, "All the Parties to the Treaty undertake to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy." This is echoed by Ahmadinejad's claim that Iran has a "'legal right' to pursue a nuclear energy program. The concept of nuclear energy being a "right" has been contested by the United States. Ambassador Nicolas Burns, undersecretary of state for political affairs, has said, "Iran has no right to nuclear weapons…the government is irresponsible, and there's no international trust in the government of Iran that would warrant a nuclear…program."

The Russian Federation seems to trust Iran. Russia, which supplies itself with 16% of its energy needs by nuclear power, signed two deals with Iran. The first in 1995 was a contractual agreement, whereby Russia would essentially sell Iran a nuclear power reactor for 8 million US dollars. The second was an protocol signed in 2005 between the two countries stating that Russia would supply Iran with nuclear fuel for 10 years once Bushehr became operational. This agreement will help cut down on costs for Iran, which helps the state as its economic situation worsens each year.

A study made in March 2004 by the Royal Academy of Engineers has stated that "the cost of power from a nuclear plant was very close to the cost of power from a gas-fired plant, about 10-30 percent cheaper than coal (depending on the coal technology used) and about a third of the cost of renewables." Therefore, it is necessary for Iran to diversify, and it is furthermore economically sound to invest in nuclear power. Creating nuclear power for civilian use is a logical decision made by the Iranian government, after all.

Small opportunities are often the beginning of great enterprises.
Demosthenes

The uranium market is difficult to enter. In the early 1970s, there was a Uranium Cartel that existed for thee years that made enough money that it would "make an OPEC Minister jealous: during those three years, world 'yellowcake' prices zoomed from less than $6 per Ib. to about $42, where they have since remained." Today, selling uranium to other states has usually been on a bilateral basis, but there are regional markets according to continental location.

Demand for uranium is based on the energy consumption market, which has been exploding over time. Between 1980 to 2004, the growth rate of energy demand rose 2 percent each year. With the political instability of oil-

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Hundreds of Iranians were slaughtered at these protests by the Shah's SAVAK, or secret police. Khomeini was an organizer and participant in the 19636 protest, which was against social and economic reforms and was a response to the Shah's obviously staged referendum.

In Iranian culture and religion, after someone dies (here, as in a protest), there is a 40 day period of mourning. After that time, there is often vengeful action sought after the one who began the "injustice." The protests, the deaths, the mourning, and the revenge-protests became cyclical and occurred for years.

Lecture by William B. Quandt, senior advisor to US President Jimmy Carter under Zbigniew Brzezinski (the

United States National Security Advisor). Comparative Politics of the Middle East . The University of Virginia. (October 21, 2003).

The chants of "Khomeini for King" resounded as Ruhollah Khomeini descended from his plane.

Foucault, Michel. "What are the Iranians Dreaming about?" Excerpt from Afary, Janet and Kevin B.

Anderson. Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism. (Chicago: University

of Chicago Press, 2005). http://www.press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/007863.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).

The Juris, or the Jurisprudent. Khomeini was the "supreme leader."

Holloway, James. The Holloway Report. Joint Chiefs of Staff. (August 23, 1980).

The Algiers Accords. General Principles, Point I.

This went against the Arms Export Control Act.

US Declassified document from the National Security Archive. Letter from Oliver North to Adolfo Calero.

Kornbluh, Peter and Malcolm Byrne, Eds. The Iran-Contra Scandal: The Declassified History. (Washington, DC.: W. W. Norton and Co., 1993).

Special Intelligence Estimate. Implications of Iran's Victory over Iraq. Directorate of Intelligence. Approved for Release June 2001. p.14.

rich states, the decrease of natural resources over time, and expensive renewable energy resources, a move into the uranium market is arguably profitable. Thirty-eight states are currently using civilian nuclear energy, or have plans to do so. The percentage of the world land-wise using nuclear energy with nuclear reactors located inside their states draws a more compelling argument: forty-nine percent of the earth works with civilian nuclear energy, covering 70.6 percent of the world's population. Moreover, of those thirty-eight states, seven are in the G8. These states can certainly afford to buy uranium, and are the largest consumers of energy on earth: These states consume 79.1 percent of the world's energy.

The Uranium Market buys and sells uranium at different stages of enrichment: from Low-Enriched Uranium (LEU), three to five percent of which is composed of the Uranium-235 isotope and useable in a light-water reactor, to Highly-Enriched Uranium (HEU), ninety-four percent of which is composed of U-235. HEU may be produced and then blended with LEU to sell as nuclear reactor fuel. There is certainly precedent of this occurring, with the "Megatons to Megawatts" deal signed between the US and Russia in 1993. The deal called for Russia to down blend its HEU into LEU and sell the LEU to the US. "As of September 21, 2005, 250 metric tons of weapons grade HEU from the former Soviet Union has been recycled." This deal is worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

Iran only has to peer over the border to see that its

neighbor has latched on to a lucrative deal. A deal like that would most certainly bolster Iran's economy and allow their diversification project success. The uranium market would also explain why Iran is enriching its uranium to HEU: not to create weapons, but to allow a commodity so valuable to be bought as one lump and sold in pieces over time. Iran has the uranium already. The value in such a project would give Iran an immediate financial boost and in Iran's case, the sooner it gets out of economical disaster, the better.

The discovery of nuclear reactions need not bring about the destruction of mankind any more than the discovery of matches
Albert Einstein

Proliferation will occur. Clandestine projects will begin and have begun in states both large and small, rouge and otherwise. India, Pakistan, North Korea, and Israel all began their programs under the international radar. Pakistan received assistance from China and Israel from Britain but all states collectively remained unaware of these four states' program until after a test was carried out. Each state has listed reasons as to why nuclear weapons were developed: India and Pakistan developed weapons as a safety precaution against one another, North Korea wanted security against Western regime change, and Israel wanted a secure option against Arab states should there be another military threat to Israel's existence. All of these

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Former National Security Council Howard Teicher drafted the 1981 National Security Directive. These statements were made in a sworn affidavit for a 1995 US District Court case in Florida. Teicher, Howard. Affidavit, 1995 US District Court case in Florida.
http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB82/iraq61.pdf. (accessed May 10, 2007).
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http://www.sipri.org/contents/armstrad/atirq_data.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).
Secretary of State Richard S. Williamson, International Organizational Affairs, on a July 3rd, 1988 Nightline interview with Ted Koppel.
Williamson, Richard S. Nightline. (July 3, 1988). http://homepage.nthworld.com/jksonc/docs/ir655-nightline-19920701.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).
"Iranian Progress Towards Developing Nuclear Weapons". MILNET. (July 28, 2004).
http://www.milnet.com/Iranian-Nuclear-Chronology.htm. (accessed May 10, 2007).
The Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. The CRS Report for Congress.
http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/23591.pdf. (accessed May 10, 2007).
"Iran Rejects 'Axis of Evil' Barb." CNN.com. (January 30, 2002).
http://archives.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/01/30/iran.bush/index.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).
"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America." The White House. Washington D.C.,
March 2006. http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2006/nss2006.pdf. (accessed May 13, 2007).

states proliferated for defense and security purposes, as may Iran.

I will not be as optimistic as Kenneth Waltz and claim that proliferation is desirable. I will state, however, a resounding conclusion by John J. Mearsheimer: "Everything depends on how proliferation is managed." Mearsheimer was using this in reference to proliferation in Europe, but I believe that it is applicable all over the world. And, according to Waltz, "The slow spread of nuclear weapons gives states time to learn to live with them, to appreciate their virtues, and to understand the limits they place on behavior." Thus, it is the management of the slow spread of nuclear weapons that the US must gear its policy toward, rather than the explosive and offensive policy of military threats, confrontation, and preemptive strikes.

Current US policy on Iran is actually based on a third party, Israel. In March of 2006, US President George W. Bush delivered a speech in Cleveland, saying: "The threat from Iran is, of course, their stated objective to destroy our strong ally Israel. That's a threat, a serious threat… I'll make it clear again, that we will use military might to protect our ally Israel." It is quite tempting at this point to follow Mearsheimer once more, and state that basing American foreign policy on Israeli foreign policy is not in "our national interest," but I will not use that argument.

Instead, I would like to point out the interests of the United States as mentioned throughout the National Security Strategy:

1. Security (Protecting the US homeland)
2. Economic Prosperity
3. Humanitarian (The prosperity of others)
4. Political and Ideological (Democracies are good for the US)

Another fundamental interest of the US is maintaining the access to Persian Gulf Oil. Access to these oil sources affect other interests such as security and economic prosperity, and has been laid out in National Security Directive-63. Also known as the Carter Doctrine, this directive states "An attempt to by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States. It will be repelled by the use of any means necessary, including military force." Section V of the NSS is entitled, "Prevent Our Enemies from Threatening Us, Our Allies, and Our Friends with Weapons of Mass Destruction." The first point under the "challenges" section mentions Iran and its refusal to comply to the NPT. Iran has been labeled as an enemy. As it has been determined that Israel is an ally and that most Persian Gulf states with oil may be categorized as allies, friends, or under US control, the US must seek to make sure that its vital interests are aligned and integrated into a single policy. Currently, the US has not aligned its interests.

In the 2006 version of the NSS, Iran is labeled as a state where people live under "tyranny…that must not be tolerated" and the US promises to take "vocal and visible steps" to ending tyranny, such as via sanctions and covert

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Baer, Robert. Frontline. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/tehran/interviews/baer.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).
Hobbes, 1651.
Clausewitz, Carl Von. On War. (New York: Everyman's Library, 1993).
"…whatever number of things may introduce themselves which are not actually fighting, still is always implied in the conception of war."
Clausewitz, 1993.
Iran had an agreement with Libya and Syria in 1985 to develop nuclear weapons to counter Israel's nuclear threat.
Peled, Mati. Worldwide Report (January 9, 1986). pp. 61-63.
"A state becomes a great power not by military or economic capability alone but by combining political, social, economic, military, and geographic assets in more effective ways than other states can."
Waltz, Kenneth. "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May be Better." Adelphi Papers. No. 171. (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981).
Amuzegar, Jahangir. "Iran's Crumbling Revolution." Foreign Affairs. New York. Vol.82, Iss. 1. (Jan/Feb 2003). pg. 1.
Amuzegar, pg. 1.
As of 2003, 5 Army divisions (163,000 troops) were in Iraq, I division of Marines, 5 fighter-wing equivalents (350)m and 6 navy carriers. This force structure had been based on Powell's force structure created for Iraq 1990. 300,000 troops are available for deployment, of which 233,00 are deployed. 133,000 are in Iraq. 20,000 Troops are in Afghanistan, but have aid from NATO forces with 6,500 troops.

indigenous training. Specifically, the US documents:
As important as are these nuclear issues, the United States has broader concerns regarding Iran. The Iranian regime sponsors terrorism; threatens Israel; seeks to thwart Middle East peace; disrupts democracy in Iraq; and denies the aspirations of its people for freedom. The nuclear issue and our other concerns can ultimately be resolved only if the Iranian regime makes the strategic decision to change these policies, open up its political system, and afford freedom to its people. This is the ultimate goal of U.S. policy. In the interim, we will continue to take all necessary measures to protect our national and economic security against the adverse effects of their bad conduct.

The words "all necessary measures" indicate that "all options are on the table," as stated by Bush in a 2005 speech, which means that the nuclear option is a possible tool that may be used. This strategy is one of escalation. The US has been on the offense against Iran. Iran has also been aggressive in kind. When two states are using tactics that place each as the attacker of the other, what we are left with is a classic game of chicken. In brinkmanship, if neither side backs down, both will clash, and both will be damaged.

The US has already been exploring surgical strikes against Iran in Natanz and Isfahan. The US does not need a nuclear weapon to take out another nuke. What must be remembered at this point is if a nuclear station is bombed, it may cause an effect much like Chernobyl.

The 1986 Chernobyl meltdown affected an area of 4,000 square kilometers, contaminating them with an unsafe level of radiation. If we assume only half that area of Natanz would be destroyed, Israel would still suffer from radioactive fallout. Israel is only 1609.3 kilometers away from Natanz (Tehran is 300 kilometers away). The Gulf states would also be negatively affected. If the US used a "limited strike, they would wipe out both of their vital interests (Israel and the Persian Gulf oil) in one strike. A further challenge for the US is that the Natanz site is "hardened with a roof of several meters of reinforced concrete and buried under a layer of earth some 75 feet deep," and the current bunker busters have not been proven to be effective as surgical strikes at this depth. Yet assuming that the US was able to, it would devastate not only that city, but also would adversely affect US allies for years.

Moderation in all things
Publius Terentius Afer

Vital interests of a state represent the few items that, if infringed upon, would cause a state to drastically retaliate. These items are directly connected to a state's national interests and often perceived as a part of that state's national security, whether in fact or not. While it is understandable, *e scripta,* that the US react so aggressively against Iran's rhetorical threats against Israel, it is equally puzzling that that the US would choose to respond by

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Lecture by Robert Pape. Strategy. The University of Chicago. April 2005.

Letter to Mr. George W. Bush, President of the United States.

Letter to Mr. George W. Bush, President of the United States.

Ahmadinejad – Why So Sensitive About Israel?" CNN.com. (September 21, 2006).

http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/meast/09/21/ahmadinejad.intv/index.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).

Ahmadinejad has said at a UN Conference "No, I am not anti-Jew. I respect them very much. We love everyone in the world - Jews, Christians, Muslims, non-Muslims, non-Jews, non-Christians... We are against occupation, aggression, killings and displacing people - otherwise we have no problem with ordinary people." He has a problem with the "occupying regime."

"Iranian Leader not Anti-Semite." BBC.com. (September 21, 2006).

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5368458.stm. (accessed May 10, 2007).

"Republican Presidential Hopefuls Agree on Iraq." Gulf Times. (May 5, 2007). http://www.gulf-times.com/site/topics/article.asp?cu_no=2&item_no=147454&version=1&template_id=43&parent_id=19. (accessed May 10, 2007).

Jervis, Robert. The Meaning of Nuclear Revolution. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

Schelling, Thomas C. Arms and Influence. (New Havan: Yale University Press, 1966).

"I do believe that if the government of the United States changes its behavior, the conditions will be changed. Then a dialogue could take place." Ahmadinejad in an interview with TIME magazine.

"People who Mattered: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad." TIME.com. (December 12, 2006).

http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1570714,00.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).

Tzu, Sun. The Art of War. (N. Chelmsford, MA: Dover Publications, 2002).

asserting an endangerment of its own vital interest in turn via the "surgical strike". This dangerous game of brinkmanship, once again harkening back to Cold War escalation tactics, may lead to an outcome of devastating consequences for the US, Iran, and the entire Middle East.

The first puzzle the US must solve is the reason behind Iran's development of highly enriched uranium. Most politicians have not addressed the complexity of the development, assuming that the creation of a nuclear weapon is, *prima facie*, Iran's initial goal, from which, Iran wishes to proceed to terrorize the region. I have argued that these assumptions are too superficial, and that Iran has three reasons why it is developing highly enriched uranium: to enter into the uranium market in order to improve its economy, to create an economically sound source of energy for its country, and to create a nuclear weapon for reasons of deterrence.

The next step involves both the US and Iran. The US should realize that Iran has eight requests that are symbolically important to Iran that may be easily answered and resolved. Iran, in turn, should realize that it is a powerful state in the Middle East and that it should not abuse that power. The Islamic Republic of Iran should allow in weapons inspectors of its choosing in order to make sure the safety standards of its nuclear program are up to par.

Movement towards this next step may require Russia, Europe, and / or China, but I believe that regional mediators would also benefit both states. The US would have states there that are allies with the America, and Iran would be able to create regional partnerships that may create a path towards a benign regional hegemony. Of particular importance may be Oman, which has a strong relationship with Iran. This particular aspect of diplomacy and policy-making requires more research, but it should be considered as a possibility when each state takes steps towards resolution.

Reducing the complexity of the situation to simple black and white interpretations will neither create successful diplomacy nor strong policy. Each side must make concessions in order to ensure that the future of the region is stable, an interest that both sides share. If positive steps are made in creating stability, the future of the entire world may be safe.

Iran Profile – Nuclear Chronology 1957 – 1985. Nuclear Threat Initiative.

http://www.nti.org/e_research/profiles/1825_1826.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).

A loss of 10 to 11 billion per year, huge considering that Iran earns 50 billion per year in oil exports, which composes 80 % of their state revenue. "If we look at that shortfall, and failure to rectify leaks in their refineries, that adds up to a loss of about $10 billion to $11 billion a year," Roger Stern, an economic geographer at Johns Hopkins University said. "That is a picture of an industry in collapse."

"Report: Iran oil profits could dry up by 2015." Associated Press. (December 25, 2006).

http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/meast/12/25/iran.oil.ap/index.html. (accessed January 1, 2007).

"Iran – US Expert Predicts Oil-Export Crisis Within a Decade." Radio-Free Europe. Radio Liberty. (January 12, 2007). http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2007/01/DC93E2C3-0923-4575-84E9-808C49EEB513.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).

"Iran Trying to Prevent another UN resolution." Tehran Times. (January 25, 2007).

"Country Analysis Briefs: Iran." Energy Information Administration. (August 2006).

http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Iran/Full.html. (accessed May 10, 2007).

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Beardsley, Eleanor. "France Presses Ahead with Nuclear Power." NPR.com. (May 1, 2006).

http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5369610. (accessed May 11, 2007).

January 2006 estimate.

January 2005 estimate.

Brinkoff.

With about 5 million people in the combined regions, and an area of 145,351 square kilometers, and realizing that Iran is about 1,648,195 square kilometers in area, this figures to 10% of the area of Iran being energy-satisfied with one reactor (personal calculation, based off the following:). Beardsley.

Brinkoff.

It is important to note that Russia has huge reserves of oil and natural gas, yet still utilizes nuclear power.

"The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons." UN.org. (July 1, 1968).

http://www.un.org/events/npt2005/npttreaty.html. (accessed May 11, 2007).

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http://www.cnn.com/2005/WORLD/meast/09/17/iran.president/index.html. (accessed May 11, 2007).

India's Prime Minister in 1998, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, stated in a speech to his Parliament at the time, "It is India's due, the right of one-sixth of humankind."

"Paper laid on the table of the House on Evolution of India's Nuclear Policy." Embassy of India, Washington, D.C. (May 27, 1998). http://www.indianembassy.org/pic/nuclearpolicy.htm. (accessed May 13, 2007).

"Iran: US Official says Tehran has 'No Right to Nuclear Weapons'." Radio Free Europe. Radio Liberty. (May 3, 2007). http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2007/05/17f7d0f3-dc8d-4de7-af3f-90137ec55406.html. (accessed May 11, 2007).

Despite Security Council Resolutions 1696 and 1737 which call for sanctions against Iran and the non-transfer of nuclear technology respectively, Russia has pressed forward with its deals.

"Nuclear Power in Russia." World Nuclear Association. (May 2007). http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/inf45.html. (accessed May 11, 2007).

"Russia: Nuclear Exports to Iran: Reactors."

The Royal Academy of Engineers. "The Costs of Generating Electricity." London: The Royal Academy of London, March 2004. http://www.raeng.org.uk/news/publications/list/reports/Cost_of_Generating_Electricity.pdf. (accessed May 11, 2007).

Members were Canada, France, Britain, Australia, and South Africa.

The Uranium Cartel's Fallout. TIME. (November 21, 1977). http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,915744,00.html. (accessed May 11, 2007).

There is at least one formal exchange forum set up for this type of sale:

New York, NY, April 16, 2007 — The New York Mercantile Exchange, Inc., a subsidiary of NYMEX Holdings, Inc. (NYSE:NMX), the world's largest physical commodity exchange, today signed a 10–year agreement with the Ux Consulting Company, LLC (UxC), the global uranium pricing index and information leader, to introduce on and off-exchange traded uranium futures products on the CME Globex® and NYMEX ClearPort® electronic platforms on May 6 for trade date May 7.

"News Release." New York Mercantile Exchange, Inc. (2007). http://nymex.com/press_releas.aspx?id=pr20070416a. (accessed May 11, 2007).

"World Consumption of Primary Energy by Energy Type and Selected Country Groups (Quadrillion Btu), 1980-2004 (XLS)." Energy Information Administration. (July 31, 2006). http://www.eia.doe.gov/pub/international/iealf/table18.xls. (accessed May 11, 2007).

Personal calculations based off of statistical information from the CIA World Factbook.

Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the USA. Italy does not have a civilian nuclear energy program. Members of the G8 represent 65% of the world's economy. See Table 1 at the end.

United Nations Development Program. UN.org. http://www.undp.org/. (accessed May 11, 2007).

World Consumption of Primary Energy by Energy Type and Selected Country Groups (Quadrillion Btu), 1980-2004 (XLS).

"'Megatons to Megawatts': The U.S.-Russia Highly Enriched Uranium Agreement." Center for Defense Information. (May 14, 2004). http://www.cdi.org/program/document.cfm?documentid=2210&programID=32&from_page=../friendlyversion/printversion.cfm. (accessed May 11, 2007).

This is equivalent to eliminating 10,000 nuclear warheads, and is also equivalent to the energy of one major mine.

"Uranium Markets." Cameco. (April 9, 2007). http://www.cameco.com/uranium_101/markets/. (accessed May 11, 2007).

Reza Amrollahi, the head of the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran, announces that huge uranium deposits have been discovered in four locations in Iran.

"Discovery of Uranium," BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. (December 21, 1981). http://www.lexis-nexis.com. (accessed May 11, 2007).

Iran discovers "high-quality uranium" in the Saghand region of the Yazd province after "several years of exploratory work." Approximately 5,000 tons of uranium are said to be located at the site.

Nuclear News, March 1985, pp. 117-118.

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Waltz.

Mearsheimer, John J. "Why We Will Soon Miss the Cold War." The Atlantic Monthly. (August 1990).
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Please pardon the pun.

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http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/04/08/AR2006040801082.html.
(accessed May 13, 2007.)

Mearsheimer, John J. and Stephen Walt.

"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America."
Presidential Directive / National Security Directive – 63. The White House, Washington D.C. (January 15, 1981).
http://jimmycarterlibrary.org/documents/pd63.pdf. (accessed May 13, 2007).

"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America.". p.19.
This refers to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia (allies), Qatar, and the UAE (friends), and Iraq (under control).

"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America." p.3.
"Tyrannical regimes such as Iran…that oppress at home and sponsor terrorism abroad…"

"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America." p.38.

"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America." p.6.

"The National Security Strategy of the United States of America." p.20.

Associated Press. "Bush: 'All options are on the table' regarding Iran's nuclear aspirations." USAToday.com. 13 August 2005. http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2005-08-13-bush-iran-
nuclear_x.htm. (accessed May 14, 2007).

Tactically, Bush also believes in escalation. He has increased troops in Iraq in order to win the post-war situation.

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http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070110-7.html. (accessed May 14, 2007).

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Caesium-137 to levels greater than 555 kBq/m².

"The Chernobyl Project." The International Atomic Energy Agency. IAEA.org. (October 1989).
http://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/publications/PDF/Pub885e_web.pdf. (accessed May 14, 2007).

Natanz is thought to have more than 3,000 centrifuges.

Sagan, Scott D. "How to Keep the Bomb from Iran." Foreign Affairs. (September / October 2006).

"Weapons of Mass Destruction: Nantz." Global Security.
http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/iran/natanz.htm. (accessed May 14, 2007).

The continuing existence of which is a US vital interest. National Security Strategy of the United States.

Such as the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis / Caribbean Crisis / October Crisis.

These requests, as mentioned before, consist of the following: To accept the legitimacy of the Islamic Revolution, to not interfere in Iran's internal affairs, to deal with the Iranian regime on the basis of respect and equality, to lift economic sanctions, to unfreeze Iranian assets in the US, to pay for Airbus A300B2, and to apologize for its past deeds.

If Iran chooses the weapons inspectors, there will be less of a reason for Iran to believe that the inspectors are spies.

One issue that may have to be addressed is that Iran a history of terrible earthquakes, the most recent one being in Bam in 2003. These nuclear sites must be earthquake-proof.

Such as certain GCC states.

All land areas and population figures are from the following unless cited otherwise: CIA World Factbook.

Nuclear Energy consumption (percentage of world consumption) figures are from:
Statistical Review 2006. British Petroleum. http://www.bp.com/liveassets/bp_internet/globalbp/globalbp_uk_english/reports_and_publications/statistical_energy_review_2006/STAGING/local_as
sets/downloads/pdf/statistical_review_of_world_energy_full_report_2006.pdf. (accessed May 11, 2007).

Not from CIA World Factbook, general knowledge.

Table 1: Nuclear Powered States and Energy Consumption

STATE	Land Area (in square kilometers)	Population (July 2007 Estimates)	Energy Consumption (Percent of World Consumption)
USA	9,161,923	301,139,947	24.6
France	640,053	63,713,926	2.4
Japan	374,744	127,433,494	6.4
Russia	16,995,800	141,377,752	3.4
UK	241,590	60,776,238	2.2
South Korea	98,190	49,044,790	2.7
Canada	9,093,507	33,390,141	2.6
Germany	349,223	82,400,996	3.2
India	2,973,190	1,129,866,154	3.0
Ukraine	603,700	46,299,862	0.4
Sweden	410,934	9,031,088	0.4
China and Taiwan	9,326,410	1,321,851,888	10.0
Spain	499,542	40,448,191	2.1
Belgium	30,278	10,392,226	1.0
Czech Republic	77,276	10,228,744	0.3
Slovakia	48,800	5,447,502	0.1
Switzerland	39,770	7,554,661	0.3
Bulgaria	110,550	7,322,858	0.1
Finland	304,473	5,238,460	0.3
Hungary	92,340	9,956,108	0.2
Brazil	8,456,510	190,010,647	2.2
South Africa	1,219,912	43,997,828	0.6
Mexico	1,923,040	108,700,891	2.3
Argentina	2,736,690	40,301,927	0.5
Pakistan	778,720	164,741,924	0.5
Lithuania	65,303	3,575,439	0.1
Slovenia	20,151	2,009,245	No information
Romania	230,340	22,276,056	0.3
Netherlands	33,883	16,570,613	1.3
Armenia	28,400	2,971,650	No information
Iran	1,636,000	65,397,521	2.0
North Korea	120,410	23,301,725	No information
Turkey	770,760	71,158,647	0.8
Indonesia	1,826,440	234,693,997	1.4
Vietnam	325,360	85,262,356	No information
Egypt	995,450	80,335,036	0.8
Israel	20,330	6,426,679	No information
Poland	304,465	38,518,241	0.6
Total	**72,964,457**	**4,663,165,448**	**79.1**
World total	**148,940,000**	**6,602,224,175**	**100**
Percentage of World	**49 %**	**70.6 %**	**79.1 %**

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My SCORE, Our MATCH: Community Partnerships For Learning And Growth

Christine and Christopher Picone

Executive summary

Most people live as part of a community. Therefore, individual actions and inactions not only affect the person concerned but also, to varying degrees, others who share the same community.

As far as possible, both individual and community life should be meaningful and fulfilling. The extent to which individuals and communities grow is dependent upon a multitude of internal and external dynamic variables.

Learning is a major determinant of individual and community growth; however, learning is, in turn, dependent on ability, attitude and access. Learning, especially in this time of constant change, is a lifelong process and is not just for personal but also for community benefit. Therefore, learning should not be seen as solely an individual responsibility.

"My SCORE Our MATCH" is a model to promote and facilitate individual and community lifelong learning and growth. It includes

- a record of individual progress towards "My Skills and Caring Ongoing Review and Enrichment", and also involves

- linkage with a growth partner, resulting in "Our Mutual Assistance Towards Community Harmony".

My SCORE Our MATCH involves an individual commitment towards progress in learning and growth across nominated dimensions of life, over a specified timeframe. A growth partner is then appointed to link up with the individual for the purpose of facilitating mutual support and encouragement in the learning and growth processes. As a result, the benefits are both to the individual and the community.

The nominated targets for each individual in lifelong learning and growth become the benchmarks for measuring progress at selected intervals and are documented, as a motivational prompt towards achievement.

Introduction

Lifestyles are very much different now compared to even just one generation ago. In this respect, Philip Candy (2002) identified a number of 'dominant changes that are impacting on our lives and bringing about a requirement for continuing learning and adaptation'. (p. 3). Some of these changes include:

- 'the pervasive effects of new technologies
- globalisation
- changing patterns of work
- alterations in family and community relations
- explosion of available information'. (pp. 3-4).

The saying "There are only two certainties in life: death and taxes" might be amended now to add "continuing change". In this regard, there is constant change in almost every aspect of life including both work and non work dimensions. People have the choice of being reactive or proactive to such changes. A reactive approach will almost always involve catch up and often results in missed opportunities especially relating to jobs and careers. A proactive approach, on the other hand, prepares the individual to take advantage of new opportunities not just in connection with employment but also in other life dimensions such as personal finance, health and fitness.

Lifelong learning and growth

Whether individuals are reactive or proactive, the reality for all is that a process of lifelong learning and growth is now essential in order to adjust to, or preferably anticipate, change in all aspects of life. Indeed a sobering warning has been made that 'Those who are not able to anticipate and adapt to change- to continue learning throughout their lives- are likely to become increasingly marginalized in economic and social life'. (Bryce et al n.d., p. 6)

In referring to lifelong learning, the OECD asserts that Lifelong learning is far broader than the provision of second-chance education and training for adults. It is based on the view that everyone should be able, motivated, and actively encouraged to learn throughout their life. This view of learning embraces individual and social development of all kinds and in all settings: formally, in schools, vocational, tertiary and adult education institutions; and non-formally, at home, at work and in the community. (Bryce et al n.d., p. 6)

Lifelong learning then, according to the OECD, is about learning not just for vocational purposes but also for general personal, family and community growth. Learning

for individual growth, such as formal qualifications, can be undertaken through a variety of means including online programs from home, alone. However, learning for family and social development cannot meaningfully be undertaken in isolation. Accordingly, various communities have facilitated networks and structures in order to promote, and provide the opportunity for, shared learning and growth activities.

Learning communities

South Australia is one example of a society that is committed to foster learning communities. Their motivation is that

Through the application of lifelong learning in our society and through learning communities we'll have more caring citizenship, an improved quality of life, more active participation in our society, cultural richness, better rights of passage and a wider range of people will feel valued and be included in the life of our state. (Ralph 2000)

Tasmania is another State that 'has developed comprehensive strategies to progress lifelong learning for all aligned with overall planning for the development of the State'. (Kearns 2004, p. 36). To this end, community leaders developed "Tasmania Together" which provides a 'vision for the development of the State with 24 goals and 212 benchmarks to assess progress'. (Kearns 2004, p. 36).

Communities such as the above, where people learn and grow together, stand to collectively benefit not only in terms of social cohesion but also economic growth, as members identify and work towards opportunities for shared success. In this respect,

there is now greater recognition of the wider benefits of learning which can be achieved in a range of sectors such as health, welfare, community building, regional development, cultural development, and the overall quality of life'. (Kearns 2004, p. 4)

Community learning & growth requires support & inclusion

Despite the significant wider social and economic benefits associated with lifelong learning and growth, learning communities do not happen without considerable effort, coordination and cooperation at every level. In this respect, a society will not reach a status of learning community

• if it does not address barriers to learning
• if it does not undertake extensive and focused research and development
• if it is not learner driven rather than institutional driven
• if it is not socially just and socially inclusive. (Ralph 2000)

One of the challenges for learning communities is to achieve active participation by those who are at risk of marginalization. Lifelong learning and indeed social participation generally are relatively easy for those community members who are comfortable in their personal and professional circumstances. However, there are many others within the same community who are not as fortunate through such causes as redundancy, illiteracy, shyness and the like. As an ideal, support mechanisms should be available, especially in the early stages, to provide the opportunity for social inclusion, and active involvement, in community learning and growth projects.

Types of lifelong learning and growth

The European Community defined three types of lifelong learning:
• Formal learning…typically provided by an education or training institution, structured and leading to certification.
• Non-formal learning…not provided by an education or training institution and typically does not lead to certification. It is, however, structured.
• Informal learning…resulting from daily life activities related to work, family or leisure. It is not structured and typically does not lead to certification. (Colley, Hodkinson & Malcolm 2002)

Formal learning, resulting in a full qualification, is usually associated with preparation for entry into a paid career path. Ongoing formal learning is then undertaken in order to upgrade or diversify skills to maintain and enhance employability.

Non-formal learning is typically associated with in-house training courses undertaken by organizations to provide specific knowledge and skills associated with policies and practices within the organization. The organization may offer some form of participatory acknowledgement; however, this is often specifically for internal benefit and advancement rather than for external recognition.

Informal learning can occur anywhere and may be intentional or unintentional. For instance, "hanging out"

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with a mate while he does mechanical work on his car provides the opportunity for incidental learning in a purely social setting. Indeed, how many people (including the authors) wish they had paid more attention within such unintentional learning and growth opportunities?

The lifelong learning ladder

For maximum benefits to the individual and the community, lifelong learning requires more than passenger seat participation. Specifically, 'A lifelong learning focus is not just about increasing access to information and information services, but the depth of learning which such activity promotes'. (Bryce et al n.d., p. 14). In this respect, Longworth (cited in Bryce et al n.d., p. 14) described 'The Learning Ladder' where the learner utilizes questioning and reasoning to process data and information towards the gaining of insight and wisdom.

Most people are now faced with information overload. Therefore, an important prerequisite of the learning and growth process is the ability to decipher what information and learning is most useful for the individual concerned. Otherwise, time can be unnecessarily wasted on the bottom rung of the learning ladder.

Lifelong learning contribution towards social capital

Aligned with the filtering process, there should ideally be the nurturing of awareness within individuals of linkages between at least some aspects of personal learning and growth to the wider community. Vibrant communities do not just happen. They require the nurturing of 'Social capital', which has been described as 'the stock of active connections among people: the trust, mutual understanding, and shared values and behaviors that bind the members of human networks and communities and make cooperative action possible'. (Cohen & Prusak 2001, infed 2007)

Ideally then, learning should be active, not passive, and directed towards community as well as individual development.

Frameworks for lifelong learning & growth within a community

Already there are numerous formal and informal opportunities for individuals to undertake lifelong learning and growth within a community setting. However, there is a challenge to connect such opportunities with active participation. For a variety of reasons many people hold back from involvement in community learning and

growth activities. Accordingly, there is at least an implied responsibility on community leaders to nurture such involvement through a variety of approaches.

One such proposed means of stimulating individual lifelong learning and growth within a societal setting is a personal and community learning and growth framework called My SCORE Our MATCH.

My SCORE Our MATCH

My SCORE Our MATCH is an acronym, standing for
My

Skills and
Caring
Ongoing
Review and
Enrichment
linked to a community growth partner resulting in
Our

Mutual
Assistance
Towards
Community
Harmony.
My SCORE

My SCORE is a formal recognition that each individual should have a personal plan for individual skills and community involvement. In this respect:

- **My-** acknowledges a personal benefit from participation in various lifelong learning and community programs, but also requiring personal and active participation.
- **Skills-** are needed for every aspect of life and, as part of lifelong learning, each person should have a plan to develop general life skills across a range of areas, within defined periods. For instance, in addition to being a student, a young person may be planning to obtain a drivers license and therefore may wish to learn some basic maintenance skills.
- **Caring-** is included to indicate that we all can, and should, help other people in our community. In this respect, **we either grow as part of our local community, or we grow apart from it**. We cannot say we are members of a community if we do not contribute something to that community. We can each contribute in various ways: some through helping to organize as well as participate in sporting teams; some

through visiting sick, elderly or disabled members of our family or in community care centers; some through musical, drama, or other associations; some through religious organizations and the like. In our own way, we can each have some involvement, no matter how small, in an area that interests us but at the same time benefits our community.

- **Ongoing-** confirms that our lives are dynamic and are constantly changing as a result of internal and external factors.
- **Review-** requires a reflection of progress to date towards planned skills and caring goals. Have we achieved what we set out to do for the current period?
- **Enrichment-** provides hope for the future, regardless of the past. We cannot change what we have or have not done in the past; however, we can strive to enrich the future for ourselves and for those around us.

Using the My SCORE framework, individuals are able to nominate desired learning and growth targets in order to develop new skills and contribute to the growth of the community over a specified period, usually one year. These plans are then subject to ongoing review, but always with a future focus, for the purpose of enriching the person and the community.

Our MATCH

Our MATCH confirms that individuals are also part of communities and as such there are shared benefits, but also shared responsibilities, associated with being part of that community. Accordingly:

- **Our-** highlights that more than one person is involved, either directly or indirectly, with almost every aspect of individual learning and growth.
- **Mutual-** confirms a shared relationship.
- **Assistance-** clarifies that as a community, each member has some role to play, as appropriate, in the growth of the community and, as part of this, in the learning and development of other community members.
- **Towards-** indicates there is a purpose for the learning and growth.
- **Community-** identifies that at least part of individual learning and growth can, and should, benefit the community
- **Harmony-** acknowledges that the ultimate goal of any community, and therefore of any learning and growth, is harmony. Terms such as community spirit, shared vision and peace are all the goals and consequences of people wanting to work together for a common

good. Individual and shared learning and growth can contribute to improve living conditions for all.

A community that provides a framework within which individual members can learn and grow not just for their own benefit but also for the betterment of others is a community moving in the direction of harmony. Of course this is an ideal that is seldom, if ever, achieved. However, where there is evidence of progress towards a goal there is motivation to continue in that direction. Accordingly, it is the process as much as the end product that provides returns to both the individuals concerned and to the community as a whole.

My SCORE Our MATCH involves team input for shared results

The words "score" and "match" are usually identified with success in sport. Most people enjoy watching and/or participating in sport. Although there is satisfaction associated with success at an individual level, there is an added dimension when the individual success contributes to team success. In this respect, in a team situation, "My SCORE" is not just for individual benefit but hopefully leads to a result of "Our MATCH". Then, both the individual and the team are winners.

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For this reason, the individual and community learning and growth framework has been given the title of "My SCORE Our MATCH", to remind each member of the community that at least some aspects of individual learning and growth will benefit other people and therefore community members can expect support and assistance from others in the learning and growth process.

It is up to each community to actively work together in the planning of community goals and how individual members can each contribute their SCORE towards the MATCH. Without intending to limit the involvement and learning/growth direction of any community member, there are benefits in the existence of frameworks to provide an organized structure to the individual and community learning and growth activities.

Template for My SCORE Our MATCH targets

The framework associated with My SCORE Our MATCH is a simple one page template that is used by each community member to identify personal learning and growth goals for a defined period of time. An example of such a template is at attachment 1. It provides for the inclusion of personal learning/caring targets across all

dimensions of life including formal study, health, fitness, hobbies, purpose in life, and community involvement. Some of the learning is largely for personal benefit, such as preparing for a workforce career; other learning and caring targets involve the community, such as membership of a sports club, religious organization, community association and the like.

Individuals nominate their own learning and growth targets in any of the dimensions of their lives. At different times, and for differing reasons, the learning/growth targets of individuals can expand or contract. What is important is the overt process of nominating and aspiring towards a program of learning and growth.

Role of "Community member" and "Learning partner"

The involvement by any community member in a learning/growth framework such as My SCORE Our MATCH, must be voluntary. However, involvement in such community learning and growth requires active participation, not just spectator presence on the sidelines.

The community member is one of many members of the same community. One of these other members becomes a special "learning partner", with a mutual responsibility to help and support the member in the achievement of learning and growth targets.

Therefore, the learning partner must be someone who can establish a relationship of confidence and trust with the member. The two stay in contact with each other during the learning period, in order to encourage each other so that at the end of the period there is a special feeling of shared success from helping each other to achieve more than perhaps might otherwise have been the case if the member was undertaking the learning process entirely alone.

To emphasize the mutual commitment of the community member and learning partner to help each other during the learning period, the targets of both the member and learning partner are recorded side by side on the planning sheet, and signed by both, as confirmation of their learning and growth partnership.

The learning partner could be someone around the same age as the member; however, there are benefits in having someone older, so that the younger member can benefit from the experience of the older learning partner in the learning and growth process. For instance, the learning

partner might be a former student from the same school who either works in the intended career field of the student or who shares an interest in the same sport, or the like.

In this situation, the younger member would benefit from the past experiences from the older learning partner; however, the older learning partner would also benefit from the fresh ideas and interests of the member. Indeed, in some areas of learning such as IT, the younger partner is likely to play a support role in the skill development of the older partner.

Regardless of the age of the learning partner, (s)he is not a "Coach". The learning partner is simply another community member who is there for special mutual support and encouragement in meeting learning and growth targets. There will, of course, be times when a "Coach" is needed for one or more community members in order to provide specific guidance. For example, a member and a learning partner may each be members of a musical society and the "Coach" is obviously the Director of the organization.

Progress results and reviews

As in sport, it is important to keep track of progress towards learning and growth targets. Therefore, whenever the member, or learning partner, achieves one of their stated targets during the learning period, it is a time for shared acknowledgement and celebration.

In addition, again as in sport, there should be agreed time intervals when the member and learning partner review achievements to date, and any remaining challenges.

Of course there may be internal or external factors that require adjustment to original targets. For instance, the gaining of a part-time job by a student may require postponement of some of the original learning/growth targets for the learning period.

Final result and community celebrations

At the end of the nominated learning/growth period there should be a result. Ideally, all the targeted learning and growth activities should have been achieved; however, there may be good reasons for non completion. Even in situations where some goals have not been completed, hopefully there is progress and therefore motivation to continue or restart the learning/growth during the next period.

Since the community benefits from at least some of the individual learning/growth activities, it is not only appropriate but also important for the community, just like a sports team, to celebrate individual and collective successes at the end of the season (and possibly even during the season). This can be in the form of special occasions during which certificates are presented to any member who achieved their individual target "SCORE". There can, of course, be other special awards, both individual and team, for outstanding achievement especially in relation to community development.

Next season
Fortunately, or unfortunately as the case may be, there is always next season, both in sport and in life generally.

Some seasons are better than others. Some seasons see success; some see sadness.

At different stages in people's lives, there are more opportunities for learning and growth than at other times. Accordingly, realistic and achievable targets are encouraged rather than risking unnecessary exposure to the frustration and de-motivation associated with significant failure. The learning partner and perhaps "Coach(s)" play an important role in objectively supporting and guiding the member in the initial nomination of targets, and the subsequent pursuance and review thereof.

Learning partner selection
The learning partner must be someone who can both encourage and extend the member in the learning/growth process.

There are always excuses for not being able to participate in nominated learning/growth activities. However, both in sport and in life generally, **excuses do not help to change results. Solutions will**! Therefore, just as in sport, the learning partner needs to be someone who can effectively motivate the member to participate at their best, under the given conditions at the time.

There will be occasions when it is necessary for a community member to sit on the bench for a while. For instance, personal or family sickness can impact on all aspects of life, including learning/growth plans. It is especially important for the learning partner to be there to offer encouragement during such times and to ensure the connection with the community is maintained.

When to start My SCORE Our MATCH
Anyone can participate in learning/growth at any age. Ideally, the involvement and commitment towards lifelong learning and growth should be nurtured during the school years. In particular, teachers are able to
assume the role of a lifelong learning model for students, demonstrating that they have learning skills, respect knowledge and its context and share information on how to find and utilize sources, thus conveying their ability to think critically" (Bryce et al n.d., p. 17).

Students are used to a degree of externally directed organization and discipline in their learning and growth process. Accordingly, the commencement of a seamless pattern of involvement in lifelong learning/growth frameworks such as My SCORE Our MATCH in the later years of schooling can provide the foundation and momentum to continue into the future.

Indeed, a simplified version of the My SCORE Our MATCH framework can be offered to primary students, with the learning partners coming from secondary classes. It is essential, of course, that any learning partner in a school situation has the approval of the administration and parents. It may also be appropriate to have more than one member and learning partner linked together if it is considered this will enhance participation. There is no restriction on numbers within individual learning partnerships; rather the emphasis is on facilitating inclusion by any, and all, interested individuals in the most appropriate means relevant to the situation.

The amount of learning periods that a member and learning partner remain together is by mutual agreement. Just as in sport, for a variety of reasons, some learning partnerships last much longer than others. The number of learning/growth successes and connectedness are both contributing factors.

Linking community "Teams" together
Each community can have numerous learning partnerships, together perhaps with "Coach(s)", working together to each achieve their learning/growth targets.

Within each community, there is of course the need to have some infrastructure of support and communication to facilitate the learning and growth activities of members. Schools, councils and community organizations will play a leading role in the establishment and maintenance of such networks within a local community. The end results of increased harmony within the community will be directly

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correlated to the commitment and ongoing contribution by key community leaders.

Increasingly, the internet and online link-ups are being used for communication and, in this respect; the existence of a "My SCORE Our MATCH" website for the community can be one means of facilitating contact and co-ordination not just within the community but also between communities.

Conclusion

Lifelong learning and growth is for the development of individuals and communities.

Especially with online access to previously undreamt of amounts of information, and the associated ability to participate in learning and growth from the lounge room, there are enhanced opportunities for individuals to participate in a raft of learning and developmental activities. Unfortunately, this new technology can also have negative consequences of isolation not just for those who do not have access or ability to participate, but also for those who over-participate at home, alone.

We are each individuals; however, we are each members of a community. As such, our learning and growth activities generally do not just affect us but also, to varying degrees, those around us. Accordingly, there are both personal and communal consequences for at least some aspects of individual learning and growth.

As a result, the community, as well as the person, has a vested interest in the outcomes of individual learning and growth. Therefore, the community should not only facilitate opportunities for individual lifelong learning/ growth but also nurture such involvement, for wider community benefit, as well as for the person concerned.

My SCORE Our MATCH is one such framework that can be used by a community and its members to plan, and subsequently review progress towards, learning and growth targets. Each member is encouraged to develop "My Skills and Caring Ongoing Review and Enrichment" in a supportive environment, involving "Our Mutual Assistance Towards Community Harmony".

The learning and growth targets of each member of a community are recorded, and then a learning partner assists the individual member in progress towards nominated goals. The end result is a win for both the individual and the local community.

Attachment 1

My SCORE Our MATCH:

Learning/growth contract _____

Community member: _____

Learning partner:

For period from _____ to _____

Area of learning/growth	Targets for Community Member	Targets for Learning Partner
Formal study/training		
Fitness/sport/health		
Hobbies		
Faith/ purpose in life		
Community involvement		
Other		

_____   _____

(Community Member)   (Learning Partner)

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Economic and Cultural Developments in Kuwait Compared to Other Gulf States: A Public Opinion Survey

Mohsen A. Bagnied

Introduction

In the Arab world, the Gulf region is by far the richest in oil resources, and probably the fastest to develop and modernize. The region has gained particular global attention due to its strategic importance. In recent decades and since the discovery of vast oil reserves in the region, the Gulf States have attracted a wave of immigration from all parts of the world, east and west. The composition of the population in most Gulf countries have changed significantly, and foreign workers in some cases have become much more in number than the native population. This changes in population composition, together with the fast pace of economic development have resulted in major cultural, economic, technological, legal, and political changes in this important region.

A preliminary review of economic and cultural conditions in the Gulf region indicates that different states in the region are following different development models. They range from very conservative like Saudi Arabia to very progressive like Dubai. Obviously development objectives vary from one country to another.

The objective of this study is to examine through a public opinion survey, how the residents of the State of Kuwait view these differences, and what model of development fits the Kuwaiti values and aspirations. The study was conducted in Kuwait. Business students at the American University of Kuwait (AUK) did participate in conducting the survey. Over 500 individuals living in Kuwait, from various nationalities were interviewed for the survey.

Kuwait and the Gulf Region

In the Gulf region, the economic and social development patterns of Kuwait appear to be somewhat in the middle between conservative Saudi Arabia, and the more liberal Dubai, UAE. Saudi Arabia, the richest Gulf country, follows progressive yet conservative economic policies.

On the other hand, the strict application of Islamic law in Saudi Arabia to preserve the local culture has made that country the most conservative in the region regarding cultural and social development. The other extreme is Dubai, with the most open economy in the region, and the most liberal society. Kuwait has relatively an open economy and a moderately conservative society that holds on some basic Islamic laws such as prohibiting alcoholic drinking and enforcing gender segregation. A traditional segment of the native Kuwaiti population appears to be content with this pattern of development in Kuwait. What I would call moderately conservative model of development.

The current model of development in Dubai has resulted in tremendous wealth, fame, fast growth and modernization as well as an influx of foreign immigration. In 2006, Dubai population reached over 1.4 million that is 20% above a year earlier. Over 97% of the labor force is foreign. Again, over 75% of the population is male. With this rapid growth, Dubai is experiencing major social, traffic and pollution problems. Many Kuwaitis consider Dubai a nice place to visit and have fun in, but not to live, work and raise a family.

Kuwait and Its Economy – Some Basic Facts

- The State of Kuwait gained its independence from British occupation in June 1961.
- Kuwait is strategically located at the northwestern head of the Arabian Gulf.
- Current population is about 2.6 millions; about a million are Kuwaiti nationals, and about 80% of the work force is non-Kuwaiti.
- Relatively open economy dominated by the oil industry.
- Natural resources are mainly oil, fish, shrimp, and natural gas.
- Crude oil reserves in Kuwait at about 100 billion barrels, or 10 % of world reserves, third after Saudi Arabia and Iraq.
- Oil represents 95% of export revenues, and 80% of Government income.
- Oil was first discovered in Kuwait in 1938 in Burgan Oil Field. The first shipment was exported in 1946.
- Industry consists of several export-oriented petrochemical plants, oil refineries, small manufacturers, water desalinization plants, fertilizer plants, block cement factories, and food processing plants.
- Agriculture is very limited.
- Commercial Fishing is successful.
- In 2004, Kuwait had a GDP of $48 billion, per capita

GDP $21,300, GDP growth rate 6.8%, inflation rate 2.3%, GDP by sector industry about 60%, and Service about 40%., unemployment 2.2%. In 2005, GDP reached $74 billion.
- Exports $27.4 billion, most to Japan, South Korea, US, Singapore and PRC.
- Imports $11.1 billion, most from US, Japan, Germany, PRC, UK, and Saudi Arabia.
- Kuwait currently produces about 3.5 million barrels per day of crude oil.
- Major exports are Oil, refined products, and fertilizers.

- Major imports are food, construction materials, vehicles and parts, and clothing.
- Current Account Balance (2005) is $31.5 billion.
- Investment is about 6.6% of GDP.
- Kuwaiti Dinar is strong, and is pegged to a basket of currencies, in which the US dollar has the most weight.
- Kuwait usually runs a balance of payment surplus.
- Kuwait has a reserve fund of about $80 Billion, invested mostly in the US, Germany, the UK, France, Japan, and Southeast Asia.
- Problems exit with air and water pollution.

The 8 M's
(Main-Pillars) of Economic Development*

MANPOWER
(Human Resources)

MONEY
(Financial
Resources/Investment)

MACRO INFRASTRUCTURE
(Availability of Public Goods,
and The country's
Economic, Political Legal
and Technological
Conditions).

MORALS
(Ethics & the Value
System)

MATERIALS
(Natural Resources)

MARKETING
(Domestic and
International)

MAINTENANCE
(Sustainable
Quality
Control)

MANAGEMENT
(Public and
Private)
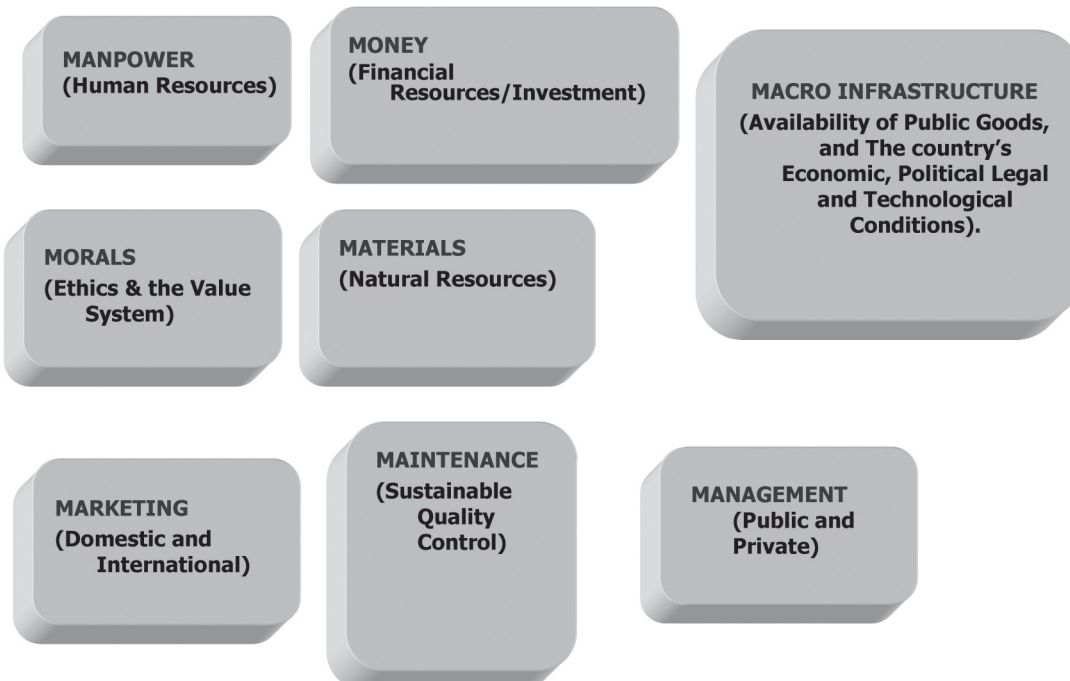
* Developed by the Author in a 2004 conference paper.

The Status of Elements of Economic Development in Kuwait   A Subjective Evaluation

Pillars of Economic Development:	Score
Human Capital (local + Imported)	S-
Financial Capital (Oil Revenues)	S+
Technology (Imported)	S
Energy (Local)	S+
Physical Infrastructure	S
Financial Infrastructure	S+
Support Services (Research, Marketing, Logistics, Information)	S-
Legal Infrastructure (Government Regulations & Bureaucracy)	S-
Political Stability	S
Security	S
Diversification	S-
Ethics and Social Justice	S-

S+ Excellent, S Satisfactory, S- Weak

Strategic planning:

Proposed Areas for Improvement
- Better Education and Training to all residents.
- Legal reform, particularly in business law and taxation + less Government bureaucracy.
- More investment in Physical and Business Infrastructure, including roads, utilities, ports, research, marketing/promotion, logistics and information technology.
- Greater investment in local industrial development to reduce reliance on oil, and to encourage diversification.
- Improve work ethics through more accountability, more equality, and the prevention of corruption and nepotism (Wasta) in government services.
- Improve management and quality control at both the private and public sectors.
- Encourage local savings and investment, and discourage waste in consumption of foreign luxury goods.

Survey Results
A Public opinion survey on Economic and Social developments in Kuwait vs. other Gulf countries was conducted in Kuwait in March 2007. The Survey was conducted on a random sample of over 500 residents of Kuwait. It was collected by Business students at the American University of Kuwait (AUK). About two-thirds of the people surveyed were Kuwaitis while the rest were of various nationalities, most from Egypt, India, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Figure 1. About 55 % were Males while 45% were Females. Close to 70% were college educated, and 15% had graduate degrees. Again, about 70% were young, under 26 years old. In terms of income distribution, they were about evenly divided between 3 categories; less than KD 200 (32%), KD 201-500 (31%), and KD 501-2000 (30%).

Figure 1: Nationalities
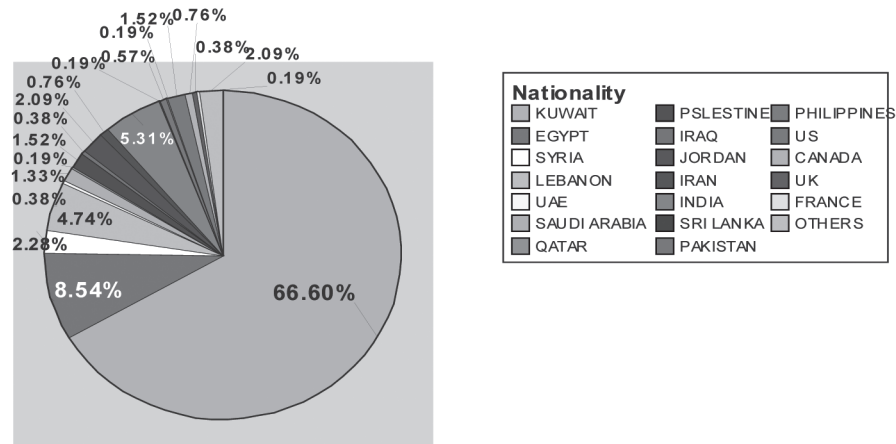
- Less than half of the people surveys were satisfied with the Economic and Social conditions in Kuwait. Figure 2.

Figure 2: Satisfaction w/ the Current Eco. Conditions in Kuwait
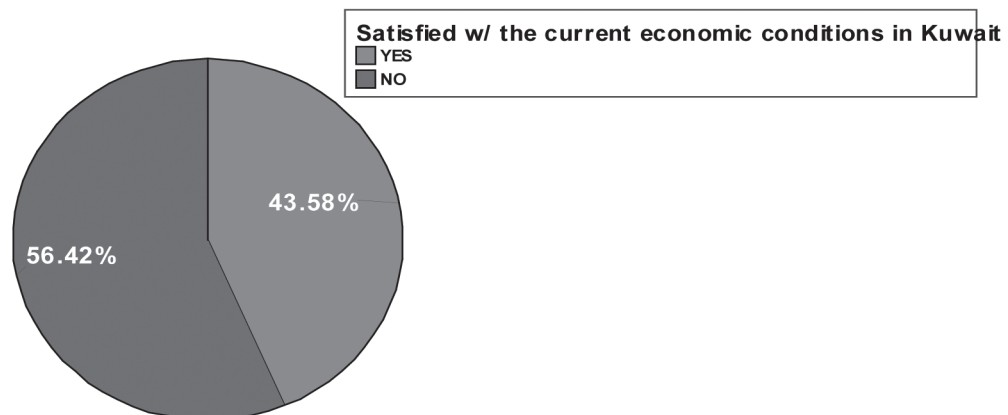
- Table 1 indicates that the higher the income of respondents, the less satisfied they are with the economic conditions in Kuwait. About 51 % of those under KD 200 category were satisfied, while in the over KD 2,000 category only 30% were satisfied.

TABLE 1: Satisfied w/ the current Economic conditions in Kuwait X Income

		INCOME				
		< 200	201 - 500	501 - 2000	> 2000	TOTAL
YES	% within Income	50.9%	47.9%	34.2%	30.3%	43.6%
NO	% within Income	49.1%	52.1%	65.8%	69.7%	56.4%
TOTAL	% within Income	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In terms of Gender, 53% of men were satisfied, compared to 60 % for women, Table 2.

TABLE 2: Satisfied w/ the current Economic Conditions in Kuwait X Gender

		GENDER		Total
		MALE	FEMALE	
YES	% within Gender	46.6%	40.0%	43.6%
NO	% within Gender	53.4%	60.0%	56.4%
Total	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- In terms of the education level, over 55 % of those with high school education were satisfied, while only 41 percent of respondents with college or graduate degree were satisfied, Table 3.

TABLE 3: Satisfied w/ the current economic conditions in Kuwait X Education

		EDUCATION			
		HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE	GRADUATE	TOTAL
YES	% within Education	55.3%	41.4%	41.0%	43.6%
NO	% within Education	44.7%	58.6%	59.0%	56.4%
Total	% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- The majority ranked Dubai ahead of Kuwait in terms of economic and cultural development, however, it was obvious that more people ranked Dubai as # 1 in Economic Development, 83%, Figure 3, than for cultural development, 48%, Figure 4, Tables 4 and 5.

Figure 3: #1 Gulf Country in the Economic Development
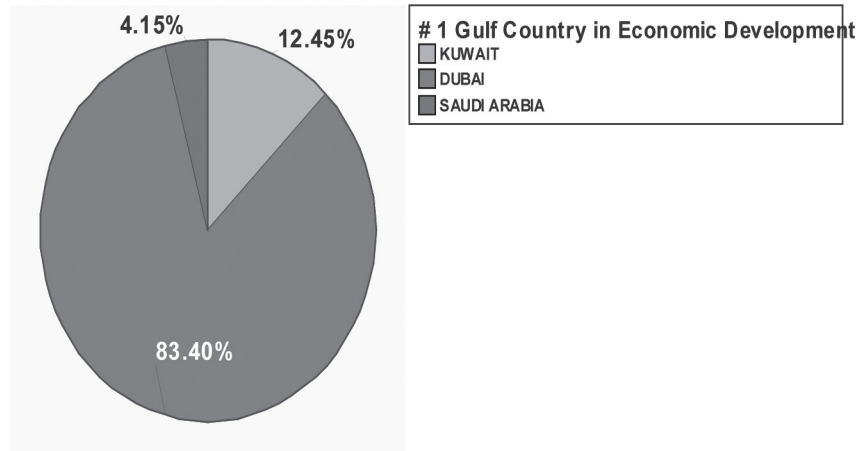
Figure 4: #1 Gulf coutry in Cultural Development
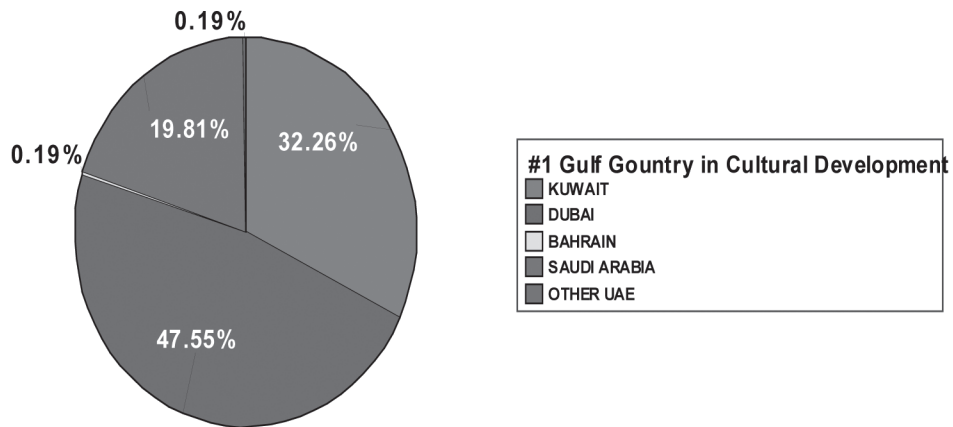
TABLE 4: #1 Gulf Country in Economic Development X Gender

		GENDER		Total
		MALE	FEMALE	
KUWAIT	% within Gender	**12.8%**	**12.1%**	**12.5%**
DUBAI	% within Gender	**82.8%**	**84.2%**	**83.4%**
SAUDI ARABIA	% within Gender	**4.5%**	**3.8%**	**4.2%**
TOTAL	% within Gender	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

TABLE 5: Gulf Countries Ranking: Cultural development X Gender

| | | GENDER | | TOTAL |
		MALE	FEMALE	
KUWAIT	Count	86	85	171
	% within Gender	29.7%	35.4%	32.3%
DUBAI	Count	137	115	252
	% within Gender	47.2%	47.9%	47.5%
SAUDI ARABIA	Count	67	38	105
	% within Gender	23.1%	15.8%	19.8%
TOTAL	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100%	100	100

- In terms of overall economic and cultural living conditions, again Dubai got the most votes 51%, followed by Kuwait 36%, and third came Qatar at less than 5%, Figure 5.

Figure 5: #1 Gulf Country in Economic & Cultural living Conditions
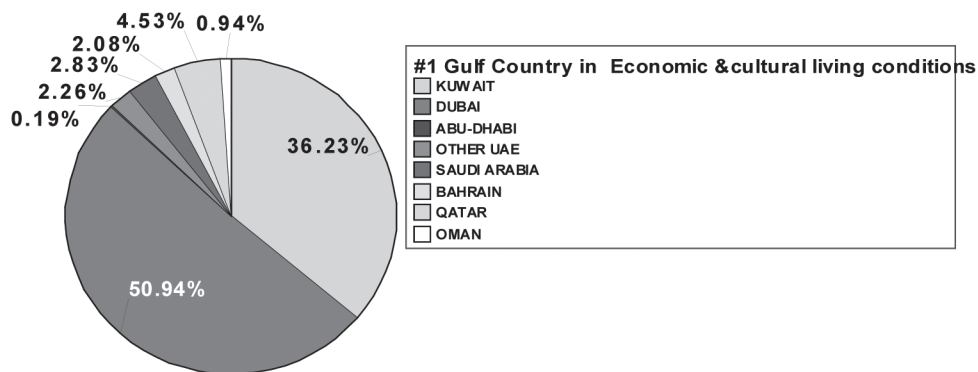
What was surprising is that despite the strong votes for Dubai, when people were asked "Do you prefer to work and live in Kuwait or Dubai", the majority, 57% Preferred Kuwait, over Dubai, 43%, Figure 6. When asked why? The number 1 reason given was more money, 38%, Figure 7.

Figure 6: To work and Live in Kuwait or Dubai?

To work & live in Kuwait or Dubai?
☐ KUWAIT
☐ DUBAI

42.83%

57.17%

Figure 7: Why?

Why?
☐ MORE FUN
☐ MORE MONEY
☐ MORE OPEN
☐ MORE MODERN

13.58%

28.30%

19.81%

38.30%
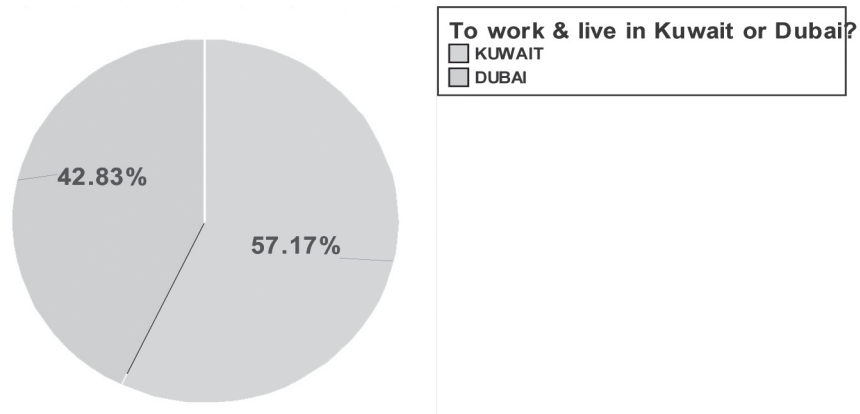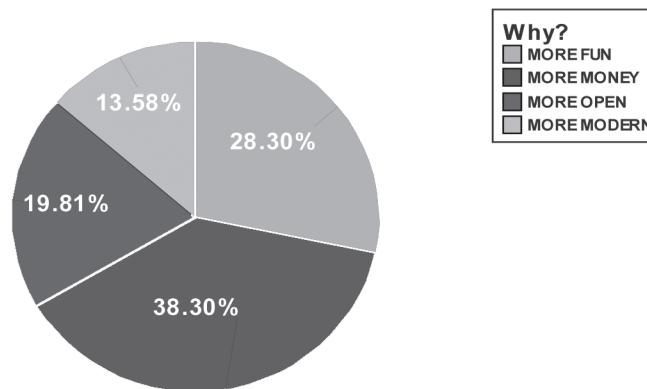
- More men than women indicated preference for living and working in Kuwait, 61% compared to 52%, Table 6. By age, only those under 20 preferred working and living in Dubai over Kuwait, Table 7.

TABLE 6: Do you prefer to work & live in Kuwait or Dubai? X Gender

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
KUWAIT	Count	177	126	303
	% within Gender	61.0%	52.5%	57.2%
DUBAI	Count	113	114	227
	% within Gender	39.0%	47.5%	42.8%
TOTAL	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 7: Do you prefer to work & live in Kuwait or Dubai? X Age

		AGE						
		< 20	20 -25	26 -30	31 -45	46 -55	> 55	TOTAL
KUWAIT	Count	71	130	47	38	14	3	303
	% within Age	45.8%	61.9%	61.0%	62.3%	66.7%	50.0%	57.2%
DUBAI	Count	84	80	30	23	7	3	227
	% within Age	54.2%	38.1%	39.0%	37.7%	33.3%	50.0%	42.8%
TOTAL	Count	155	210	77	61	21	6	530
	% within Age	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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- When asked why they preferred a country over the other, the majority of men, 44% referred to more money, while women were split between more fun 33%, and more money 31%, Table 8. A third major factor for women was "more open", 25%.

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
MORE FUN	Count	72	78	150
	% within Gender	24.8%	32.5%	28.3%
MORE MONEY	Count	129	74	203
	% within Gender	44.5%	30.8%	38.3%
MORE OPEN	Count	45	60	105
	% within Gender	15.5%	25.0%	19.8%
M O R E MODERN	Count	44	28	72
	% within Gender	15.2%	11.7%	13.6%
TOTAL	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

• In terms of age, 36% of people less than 20 years old sited more fun as the first factor. The older the respondents, up to 55 years, the more weight was given to money than any other factor, reaching 57% at 46-55 years category, Table 9.

122 **TABLE 9: Crosstabulation: Why? X Age**

		AGE						
		< 20	20 - 25	26 -30	31 - 45	46 - 55	> 55	TOTAL
MORE FUN	Count	55	62	18	10	3	2	150
	% within Age	35.5%	29.5%	23.4%	16.4%	14.3%	33.3%	28.3%
MORE MONEY	Count	44	82	32	31	12	2	203
	% within Age	28.4%	39.0%	41.6%	50.8%	57.1%	33.3%	38.3%
MORE OPEN	Count	34	37	15	14	3	2	105
	% within Age	21.9%	17.6%	19.5%	23.0%	14.3%	33.3%	19.8%
MORE MODERN	Count	22	29	12	6	3	0	72
	% within Age	14.2%	13.8%	15.6%	9.8%	14.3%	.0%	13.6%
TOTAL	Count	155	210	77	61	21	6	530
	% within Age	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

• In terms of the best overall economic and cultural living conditions in the Gulf region, the answer varied by nationality of the respondents. Dubai came as number one by 45 % of Kuwaitis, 56% of Egyptians, 67% of Syrians, 80% of Lebanese, and 61% of Indians, Table 10.

TABLE 10: Nationality X #1 Gulf Country in the Economic &cultural living conditions

		#1 Gulf Country in Economic & Cultural Living Conditions								
		Kuwait	Dubai	Abu Dhabi	Other UAE	Saudi Arabia	Bahrain	Qatar	Oman	TOTAL
Kuwait	Count	142	158	1	7	12	8	19	4	351
	% within Nationality	40.5%	45.0%	.3%	2.0%	3.4%	2.3%	5.4%	1.1%	100.0%
Egypt	Count	15	25	0	2	1	2	0	0	45
	% within Nationality	33.3%	55.6%	.0%	4.4%	2.2%	4.4%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Syria	Count	1	8	0	1	0	0	2	0	12
	% within Nationality	8.3%	66.7%	.0%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	16.7%	.0%	100.0%
Lebanon	Count	4	20	0	0	1	0	0	0	25
	% within Nationality	16.0%	80.0%	.0%	.0%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Palestine	Count	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	8
	% within Nationality	12.5%	75.0%	.0%	.0%	12.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Algeria	Count	4	4	0	1	0	0	2	0	11
	% within Nationality	36.4%	36.4%	.0%	9.1%	.0%	.0%	18.2%	.0%	100.0%
India	Count	10	17	0	0	0	1	0	0	28
	% within Nationality	35.7%	60.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	3.6%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
US	Count	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	% within Nationality	12.5%	87.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
TOTAL	Count	189	270	1	12	15	11	24	5	527
	% within Nationality	35.9%	51.2%	.2%	2.3%	2.8%	2.1%	4.6%	.9%	100.0%

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- Overall, 51% selected Dubai, 36% selected Kuwait, 5% selected Qatar, and 3% selected Saudi Arabia.
- In terms of the country that succeeded to improve living conditions for its residents, Dubai came as # 1 followed by Kuwait, with more women than men by percentage voting for Dubai, 60% compared to 50%, Table 11.

TABLE 11: Success in improving Living conditions X Gender

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
KUWAIT	% within Gender	30.0%	26.7%	28.5%
DUBAI	% within Gender	50.0%	60.4%	54.7%
OTHER UAE	% within Gender	5.2%	2.9%	4.2%
SAUDI ARABIA	% within Gender	2.4%	.8%	1.7%
BAHRAIN	% within Gender	.7%	1.7%	1.1%
QATAR	% within Gender	9.3%	5.0%	7.4%
OMAN	% within Gender	2.4%	2.1%	2.3%
TOTAL	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- **When asked, should Kuwait follow Dubai Economic model of development, the majority, 77%, said yes, Table 12, Figure 8.**

TABLE 12: Should Kuwait follow Dubai Economic Model? X Gender

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
YES	Count	220	186	406
	% within Gender	75.9%	77.5%	76.6%
NO	Count	70	54	124
	% within Gender	24.1%	22.5%	23.4%
TOTAL	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100%	100%	100%

Figure 8: Should Kuwait Follow Dubai Economic Model?

Should Kuwait follow Dubai Economic Model?
■ YES
■ NO

23.40%

76.60%
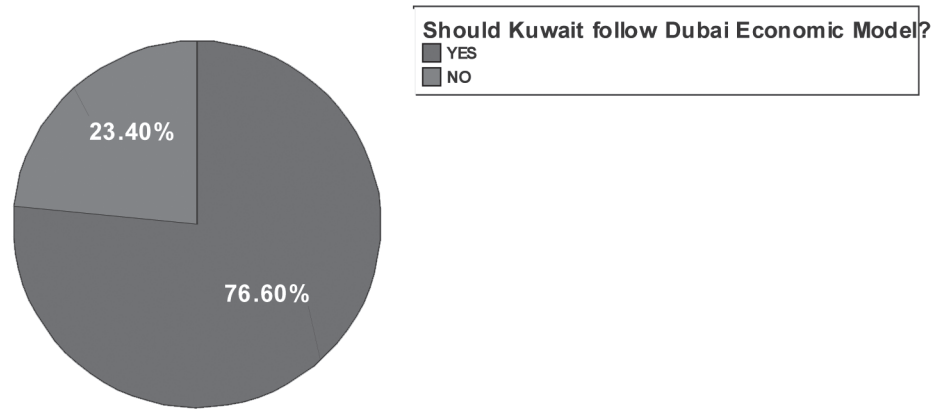
- However, on the contrary the majority, 51 %, did not want Kuwait to follow Dubai Social/cultural development model, Table 13, Figure 9.

TABLE 13: Should Kuwait follow Dubai's Social/Cultural development Model X Gender

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
YES	Count	142	119	261
	% within Gender	49.0%	49.6%	49.2%
NO	Count	148	121	269
	% within Gender	51.0%	50.4%	50.8%
TOTAL	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Figure 9: Should Kuwait follow Dubai Social/Cultural development Model?

Should Kuwait follow Dubai Social/Cultural development Model?
□ YES
■ NO

50.75% 49.25%
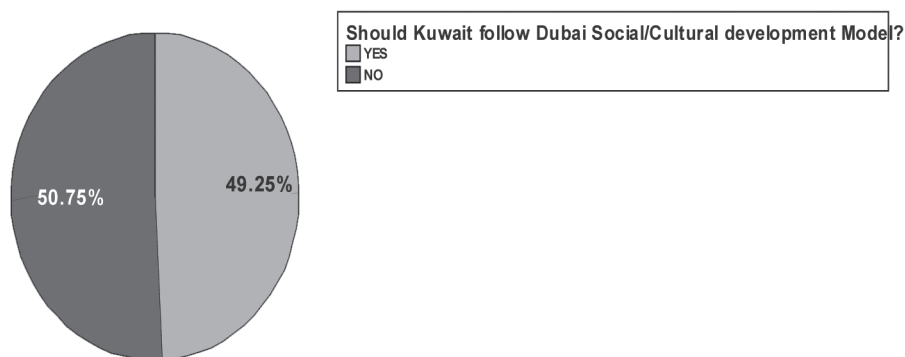
- In responding to a question on which Gulf Country managed to best preserve its cultural and social values, 35% voted for Saudi Arabia, followed by Dubai and Kuwait, with about 26% each. Other countries included were Oman and Bahrain, Table 14, Figure 10.

TABLE 14: Success in preserving Cultural/Social values X Gender

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
KUWAIT	% within Gender	24.5%	26.7%	25.5%
DUBAI	% within Gender	28.3%	24.6%	26.6%
OTHER UAE	% within Gender	2.8%	1.7%	2.3%
SAUDI ARABIA	% within Gender	35.2%	34.6%	34.9%
BAHRAIN	% within Gender	1.4%	5.8%	3.4%
QATAR	% within Gender	3.4%	2.1%	2.8%
OMAN	% within Gender	4.1%	4.6%	4.3%
TOTAL	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100%	100%	100%

Figure 10: Succes in preserving Cultural/Social values?
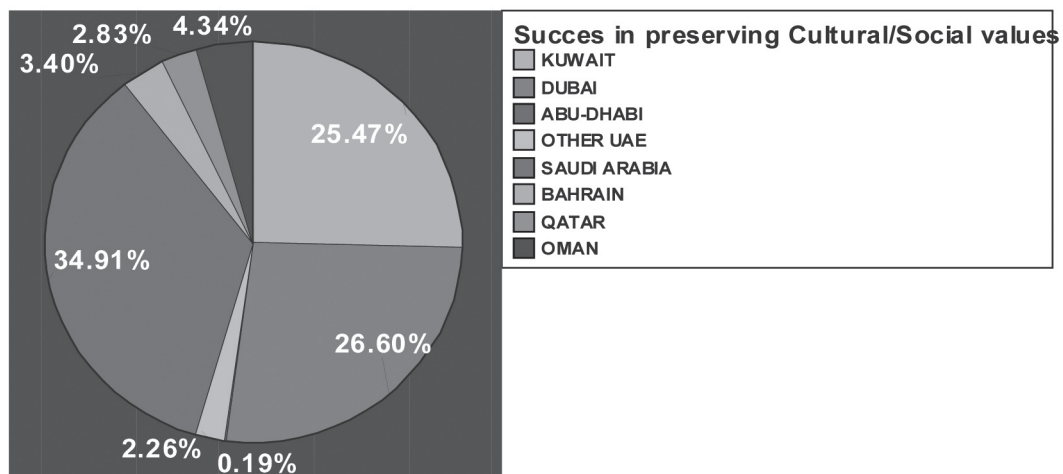
- However, when asked "should Kuwait follow strict Islamic Laws", only 30% agreed. More women were against the idea, 75%, than men, 66%, Table 15, Figure 11.

TABLE 15: Should Kuwait follow strict Islamic Laws? X Gender

		GENDER		
		Male	Female	Male
YES	Count	98	59	157
	% within Gender	33.8%	24.6%	29.6%
NO	Count	192	181	373
	% within Gender	66.2%	75.4%	70.4%
Total	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Figure 11: Should Kuwait follow strict Islamic Laws?

Should Kuwait follow strict Islamic Laws?
☐ YES
■ NO

29.62%

70.38%
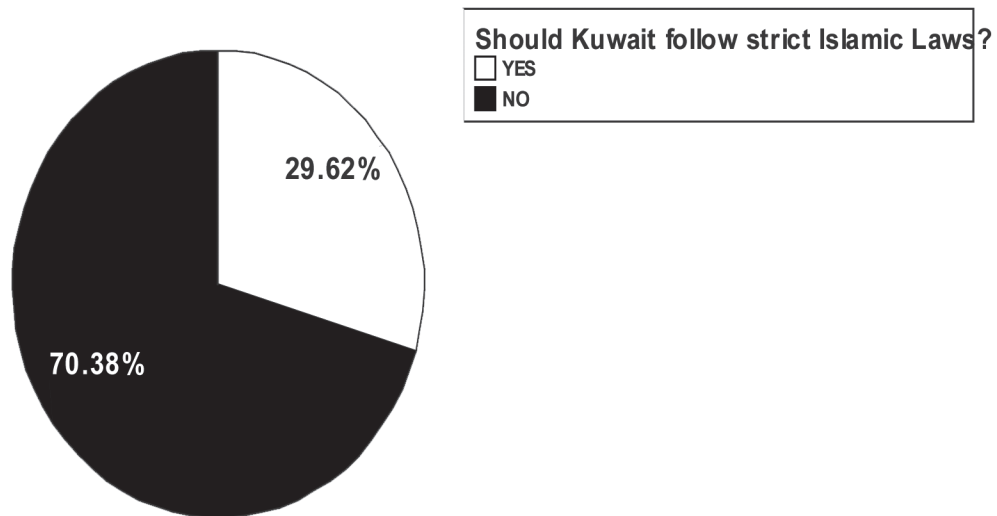
First Woman Minister

- Over 85 % of respondents felt that women in Kuwait are treated either normal or good, Figure 12.

Figure 12: How women are treated in Kuwait?
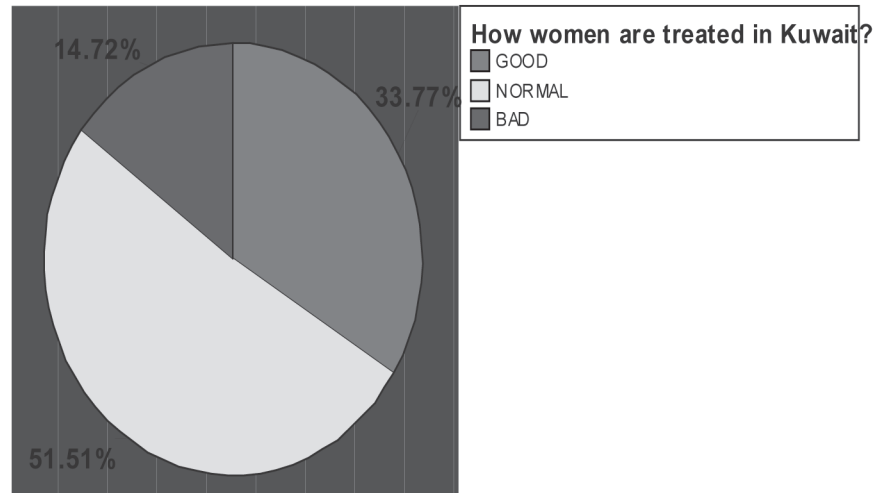
- Gender wise, more men felt that women are treated well, 39.3% compared to 27.1 percent for women, Table 16.

TABLE 16: How women are treated in Kuwait? X Gender

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
GOOD	Count	114	65	179
	% within Gender	39.3%	27.1%	33.8%
NORMAL	Count	133	140	273
	% within Gender	45.9%	58.3%	51.5%
BAD	Count	43	35	78
	% within Gender	14.8%	14.6%	14.7%
Total	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100%	100%	100%

H.H. Emir of Kuwait welcomes women to Parliament

- Less than 15 % of both women and men felt that women are treated badly in Kuwait. People with less education gave higher percentage votes for good and bad treatment and below average vote for normal treatment, Table 17.

TABLE 17: How women are treated in Kuwait? X Education

		EDUCATION			
		HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE	GRADUATE	TOTAL
GOOD	Count	32	119	28	179
	% within Education	37.6%	32.4%	35.9%	33.8%
NORMAL	Count	33	202	38	273
	% within Education	38.8%	55.0%	48.7%	51.5%
BAD	Count	20	46	12	78
	% within Education	23.5%	12.5%	15.4%	14.7%
TOTAL	Count	85	367	78	530
	% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- With regard to the treatment of foreign workers, the votes were about split between normal and bad, with 43 % for normal and 42% for bad, Figure 13.

Figure 13: How foreign workers are treated in Kuwait?

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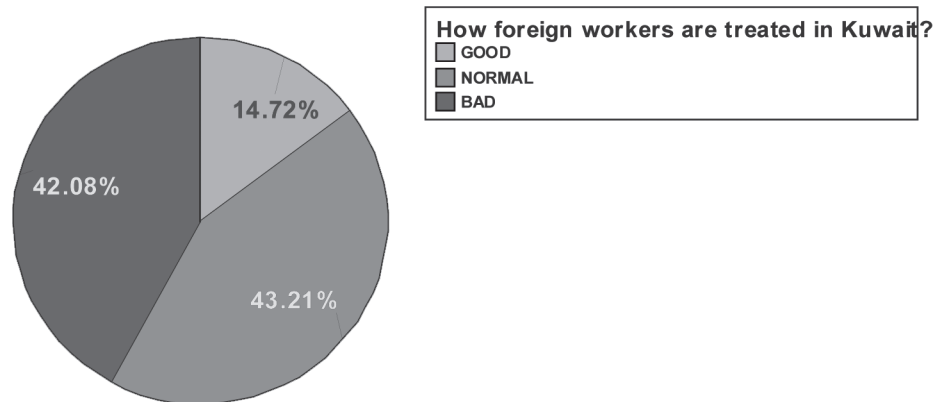
* Only about 15% considered the treatment as good, Table 18. About one third of Kuwaitis in the survey felt that the treatment of foreign workers is bad, with 47% felt that it is normal.

TABLE 18: How foreign workers are treated in Kuwait? X Nationality

		How foreign workers are treated?			
		GOOD	NORMAL	BAD	TOTAL
KUWAIT	Count	65	166	120	351
	% within Nationality	18.5%	47.3%	34.2%	100.0%
EGYPT	Count	5	17	23	45
	% within Nationality	11.1%	37.8%	51.1%	100.0%
SYRIA	Count	1	1	10	12
	% within Nationality	8.3%	8.3%	83.3%	100.0%
LEBANON	Count	2	6	17	25
	% within Nationality	8.0%	24.0%	68.0%	100.0%
SAUDI ARABIA	Count	0	1	6	7
	% within Nationality	.0%	14.3%	85.7%	100.0%
PALESTINE	Count	1	4	3	8
	% within Nationality	12.5%	50.0%	37.5%	100.0%
JORDAN	Count	1	5	5	11
	% within Nationality	9.1%	45.5%	45.5%	100.0%
INDIA	Count	2	12	14	28
	% within Nationality	7.1%	42.9%	50.0%	100.0%
US	Count	0	4	4	8
	% within Nationality	.0%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	78	228	221	527
	% within Nationality	14.8%	43.3%	41.9%	100.0%

Figure 14: Favorite Culture

- When asked about which culture they prefer, two-thirds of the people surveyed preferred Arab Culture, while one-third preferred western culture, Figure 14. However, the survey indicates that the preference for Arab culture was weaker among the young age and among women, Tables 19, 20.

TABLE 19: Favorite Culture X Gender

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
ARAB	% within Gender	69.7%	60.8%	65.7%
WESTERN	% within Gender	30.3%	39.2%	34.3%
Total	% within Gender	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 20: Favorite Culture X Age Crosstabulation

		AGE						
		< 20	20 - 25	26 – 30	31 - 45	46 - 55	> 55	TOTAL
ARAB	Count	95	139	53	40	17	4	348
	% within Age	61.3%	66.2%	68.8%	65.6%	81.0%	66.7%	65.7%
WESTERN	Count	60	71	24	21	4	2	182
	% within Age	38.7%	33.8%	31.2%	34.4%	19.0%	33.3%	34.3%
TOTAL	Count	155	210	77	61	21	6	530
	% within Age	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

- In terms of the preference of economic system, 51% preferred the capitalist system, followed by the Islamic system, 31%, and finally the socialist system, 18 %, Figure 15. Capitalism was more popular among higher income group of over KD 2,000 per month, 61%, Table 21. Meanwhile, Islamic system was the highest, 39%, among the KD 501-2000 group.

Figure 15: Favorite Economic System
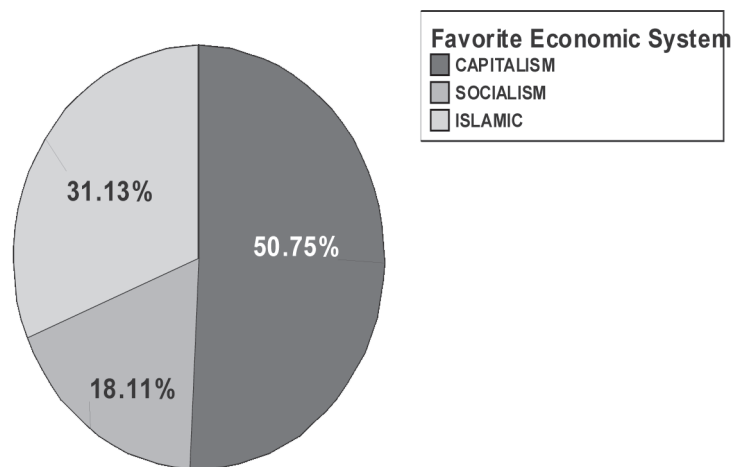
TABLE 21: Crosstabulation: Income X Favorite Economic System

		Favorite Economic System			
		CAPITALISM	SOCIALISM	ISLAMIC	TOTAL
< 200 KD	% within Income	55.0%	18.7%	26.3%	100.0%
200 - 500	% within Income	52.1%	19.4%	28.5%	100.0%
501 - 2000	% within Income	42.9%	18.0%	39.1%	100.0%
> 2000 KD	% within Income	60.6%	9.1%	30.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	269	96	165	530
	% within Income	50.8%	18.1%	31.1%	100.0%

- In terms of education, the capitalist system was highest among the more educated, 56%, while Socialism was more popular among the less educated, 27%, Table 22.

TABLE 22: Crosstabulation: Education X Favorite Economic System

		Favorite Economic System			
		CAPITALISM	SOCIALISM	ISLAMIC	TOTAL
HIGH SCHOOL	Count	44	23	18	85
	% within Education	51.8%	27.1%	21.2%	100.0%
COLLEGE	Count	181	62	124	367
	% within Education	49.3%	16.9%	33.8%	100.0%
GRADUATE	Count	44	11	23	78
	% within Education	56.4%	14.1%	29.5%	100.0%
TOTAL	Count	269	96	165	530
	% within Education	50.8%	18.1%	31.1%	100.0%

- By Nationality, Capitalism was the favorite among all the major nationalities included in the survey. However, Islamic system ranked second among Kuwaitis and Egyptians, 33%, and 31%, respectively, while Socialism ranked second among Syrians, Lebanese and Indians, 42%, 28%, and 32% respectively, Table 23.

TABLE 23: Nationality X Favorite Economic System

		Favorite Economic System			
		CAPITALISM	SOCIALISM	ISLAMIC	TOTAL
KUWAIT	% within Nationality	51.6%	15.4%	33.0%	100.0%
EGYPT	% within Nationality	44.4%	24.4%	31.1%	100.0%
SYRIA	% within Nationality	50.0%	41.7%	8.3%	100.0%
LEBANON	% within Nationality	48.0%	28.0%	24.0%	100.0%
SAUDI ARABIA	% within Nationality	57.1%	14.3%	28.6%	100.0%
PALESTINE	% within Nationality	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	100.0%
JORDAN	% within Nationality	18.2%	27.3%	54.5%	100.0%
INDIA	% within Nationality	46.4%	32.1%	21.4%	100.0%
US	% within Nationality	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	% within Nationality	50.7%	18.2%	31.1%	100.0%

- In response to a question on whether oil should be the basis for economic development in Kuwait, 64% disagreed, Table 24, Figure 16.

TABLE 24: Should Oil be the Basis for Economic Dev. In Kuwait? X Income

		INCOME				
		< 200 KD	200 - 500	501 - 2000	> 2000	TOTAL
YES	% within Income	39.2%	33.9%	36.6%	33.3%	36.4%
NO	% within Income	60.8%	66.1%	63.4%	66.7%	63.6%
TOTAL	Count	171	165	161	33	530
	% within Income	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 16: Should Oil be the Basis for Economic Dev. In Kuwait?
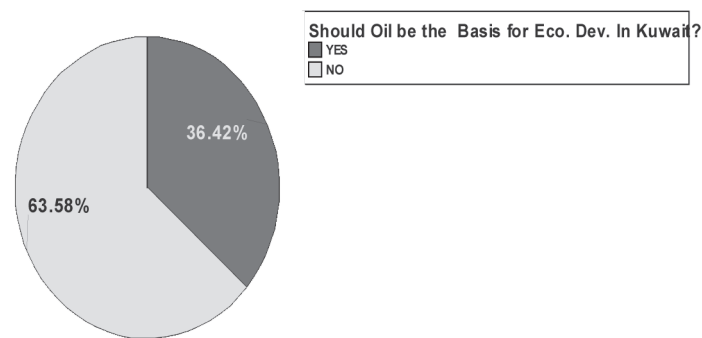
- Table 25 shows that people with higher education tend to disagree more on the reliance only on oil for future economic development in Kuwait.

TABLE 25: Should Oil be the Basis for Economic Dev. In Kuwait? X Education

		EDUCATION			
		HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE	GRADUATE	TOTAL
YES	Count	37	134	22	193
	% within Education	43.5%	36.5%	28.2%	36.4%
NO	Count	48	233	56	337
	% within Education	56.5%	63.5%	71.8%	63.6%
Total	Count	85	367	78	530
	% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

- Another area of dissatisfaction is the current spending habits of Kuwaitis, Figure 17. About 64% of respondents disapproved the current spending habits, Table 26.

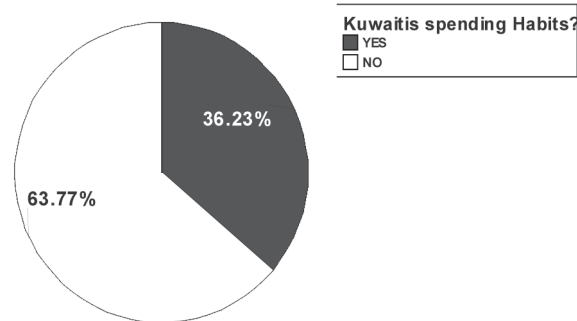Figure 17: Do you approve of the Kuwaitis spending Habits?

TABLE 26: Crosstabulation: Kuwaitis spending Habits? X Gender

		GENDER		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
YES	% within Gender	35.9%	36.7%	36.2%
NO	% within Gender	64.1%	63.3%	63.8%
Total	Count	290	240	530
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

• Less educated respondents appear to be less concerned with the spending habits, 48% with High School were concerned, compared to 67% with higher education, Table 27.

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TABLE 27: Crosstabulation: Kuwaitis spending Habits? X Education

		EDUCATION			
		HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE	GRADUATE	TOTAL
YES	% within Education	51.8%	33.2%	33.3%	36.2%
NO	% within Education	48.2%	66.8%	66.7%	63.8%
Total	% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

• Regarding the issue of which economic integration group Kuwait should join, about 38% preferred an Arab Economic Union, followed by a free trade area with the US, 24%, and the Gulf Cooperation Council came third at 23%, Figure 18.

Figure 18: Should Kuwait Join an Economic Group?
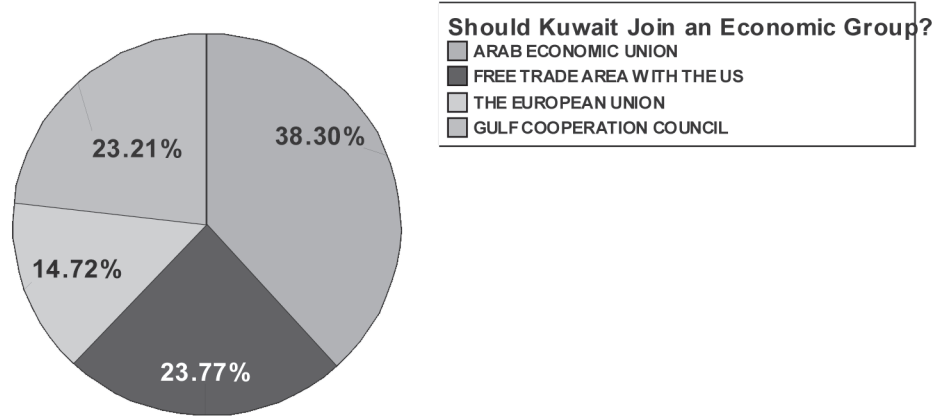
* The greatest support for the Arab Economic Union was among the college educated, Table 28. In general, there was less interest in joining the European Union, less than 15%.

Map of the Arab countries, members of the Arab League

TABLE 28: Should Kuwait Join an Economic Group? X Education

		EDUCATION			
		HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE	GRADUATE	TOTAL
ARAB ECO. UNION	% within Education	37.6%	39.5%	33.3%	38.3%
FREE TRADE AREA W/ US	% within Education	30.6%	20.7%	30.8%	23.8%
EUROPEAN UNION	% within Education	9.4%	15.8%	15.4%	14.7%
GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL	% within Education	22.4%	24.0%	20.5%	23.2%
TOTAL	Count	85	367	78	530
	% within Education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Major Conclusions and Recommendations:

1. Over half of respondents were less than satisfied with the economic conditions in Kuwait. This was particularly the case among women, more educated and higher income groups.

2. Most people in Kuwait rank Dubai as # 1 and Kuwait # 2 in terms of economic and cultural development in the Gulf. Younger people and women appear to be particularly impressed with Dubai.

3. Most people would like to see Kuwait following the Dubai model of Economic Development.

4. On the contrary, the majority of people did not want to see Kuwait following Dubai model of Social and Cultural Development.

5. Despite the fascination with Dubai, the majority of people surveyed preferred to live and work in Kuwait than in Dubai. More money was a major reason cited.

6. The respondents ranked Saudi Arabia as # 1 in the Gulf in terms of preserving its social and cultural values.

7. However, the majority of respondents were against applying strict Islamic Law in Kuwait. With 75% of women against the idea.

8. It was generally agreed that women were not treated badly in Kuwait. On the other hand, 42%, including one third of Kuwaitis felt that foreign workers were treated badly.

9. The majority of respondents showed a preference of Arab Culture over western culture. However the preference was weaker among women and young people.

10. Capitalism was the favorite economic system among respondents, followed by Islamic economic system. Little interest was shown for the Socialist system, except among people from Syria, Lebanon and India.

11. The majority of respondents felt that Kuwait should not rely only on oil for economic development.

12. The majority of respondents disapproved the current spending habits of Kuwaitis.

13. There was more support for Kuwait to Join an Arab Economic Union that other forms of regional Economic Integration groups. Least interest was to join the European Union.

14. The author recommends certain measures for Kuwait to accelerate the rate of economic development. These include better education and training for human resources, legal reform for business law, encouraging greater domestic savings and investment, encouraging greater industrial diversification, promoting better work ethics and fighting corruption, and greater investment in both physical and business infrastructure.

Survey of Economic and Cultural Developments in Kuwait

1. Are you satisfied with the current economic conditions in Kuwait?

Yes _____   No _____

2. Is Kuwait going in the right direction in terms of economic development?

Yes _____   No _____

3. Please rank the following Gulf countries in terms of their success in developing their economies: Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Dubai.

1.   2.   3.

4. Are you satisfied with the current social/cultural conditions in Kuwait?

Yes _____   No _____

5. Is Kuwait going in the right direction in terms of social/cultural development?

Yes _____   No _____

6. Please rank the following Gulf countries in terms of their success in developing their culture: Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Dubai.

1.   2.   3.

7. Among all Gulf States, which one has the best overall economic and cultural living conditions for you? _____

8. Which country in the Gulf succeeded in improving living conditions for its residents? _____

9. Which country in the Gulf managed to best preserve its cultural and social values? _____

10. What do you think about the treatment of women in Kuwait?

_____Good   _____ Normal   _____ Bad

11. What do you think about the treatment of foreign workers in Kuwait?

_____Good _____ Normal _____ Bad

12. Do you prefer to work and live in Kuwait or Dubai? __ Kuwait ___ Dubai

12.a. Why? ___ More Fun ___ More Money ___ More Open ___ More Modern

13. Which culture do you prefer? _____ Arab _____ Western

14. Which Economic System do you prefer?

___Western (Capitalism) ___ Socialism (China) ___ Islamic (Saudi Arabia)

15. Would you like Kuwait to follow Dubai model of <u>Economic</u> Development?

Yes _____ No _____

16. Do you like Kuwait to follow Dubai model of <u>Social and Cultural</u> development?

Yes _____ No _____

17. Do you think that Oil should be the basis for economic development in Kuwait?

Yes _____ No _____

18. Do you approve of the current spending habits of Kuwaitis?

Yes _____ No _____

19. Should Kuwait join:

___ An Arab Economic Union ___ Free Trade Area with the US

___ The European Union ___Gulf Cooperation Council

20. Should Kuwait Follow strict Islamic laws?

Yes _____ No _____

21. Your Gender: _____ Male _____ Female

22. Your Age: ___ Under 20 ___20-25 ___26-30 ___31-45 ___46-55 ___Over 55

23- Monthly Income (KD): __ under 200 __ 201-500 __ 501-2000 __over 2000

24. Your Education: ___High School ___College ___ Graduate Degree (MS, Ph.D.)

25- Your Nationality: _____

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Panel Discussion*:
Labor Market Dynamics in Kuwait: A Multi-Perspective Approach

Mourad Dakhli

Our project entails surveying and analyzing labor market dynamics in Kuwait. Acknowledging the complexity of this market and the multiple drivers affecting its structure, we adopt a multi-perspective approach. The economic aspect of our study will focus on labor supply and demand, wage structures, mobility, and overall efficiency. Implication for entrepreneurial intention and undertaking will also be assessed in this part of the project. The historical dimension of our analysis will focus on identifying the key historical events and critically assess their implications on the current structure and dynamics of the labor market. The legal/ethical perspective will provide a theoretically driven assessment of government actions affecting the market, and the regulatory and ethical consequences. The media perspective will study media coverage of labor-related events and issues and compare the nature of this coverage for local versus foreign media sources. Finally, the psychological perspective will address how a number of negative psychological outcomes including discrimination and depression are associated with the structure of the labor market.

Labor Market Dynamics In Kuwait:
Implications for Entrepreneurial Intention and Activity

We use a number for key labor economics models and theories to analyze and explain the structure and dynamics of the labor market in Kuwait. Our analysis is divided into the following parts. First, we use the law of labor supply and demand to explain labor distribution and wage structure. Second we look at labor mobility and efficiency with a focus on the human capital dimension. Third, we look at the economic impact of labor unions and collective bargaining. Finally, we assess the role of the government in shaping the efficiency of the labor market and on affecting the growth of entrepreneurial undertaking in Kuwait. The aim is to identify the economic challenges and opportunities of the labor market, evaluate its relationships to entrepreneurship, and assess it's potential contribution to fostering the socioeconomic development of the country as a whole.

In the Gulf area the labor market exhibits a number of interesting, and at times, peculiar characteristics that are born out of the historical, social, and economic transformations that characterize the entire Gulf area. Nonetheless, the Kuwaiti market exhibits a number of country-specific characteristics. Among the many reasons behind this uniqueness is Kuwait's traditional role as a first mover when it comes to important economic and political changes (though this is no longer the case), as well as the experience of having been invaded and occupied by its much larger neighbor who still claims Kuwait as one of its provinces. In addition, Kuwaitis have been the minority population in their own country for a long time.

Like many of its GCC neighbors. Kuwait depends to a large extend on the huge pool of expatriate workers. The expatriate labor force is divided into two categories, domestic and professional. Key supply countries for the domestic include the Philippines, India, Bangladesh, and Indonesia. On the professional side, Egypt, Lebanon, as well as a number of Western countries such as England and the United States provide much of the labor force. Recent statistics indicate that about 90% of the Kuwaiti labor force is employed in the public sector, and about 90% of the private labor force is employed in the private sector.

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* Panelist include: Mourad Dakhli, Christopher Ohan, Ann Scholl, Mohammed Shaheed, Juliet Dinkha, Conerly Casey

While the government has put a set of incentives to encourage private sector employment for Kuwaiti, market supply and demand and government regulations still lead Kuwaitis to seek employment within the large government bureaucracy. Wage structures and distribution as well as benefits also provide economic incentives for public employment. Because of the disparity in wages and benefits between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis, private firms find it more cost effective to employ non-Kuwaitis. This is further exasperated by the complexity of lay-off policies for Kuwaiti nationals. Job security, generous pay and benefits packages, and non-demanding performance expectations may have negatively affected entrepreneurial drive and activity. The goal of this research is to analyze the main characteristics of the labor market, and assess their role in fostering or inhibiting entrepreneurial activity in Kuwait. To achieve this goal, we survey potential and existing entrepreneurs. We use survey and scenario methodology to assess the degree to which certain market characteristics promote or hinder entrepreneurial intention and activity.

Conditions of Kuwaiti Dependence: Labor and Security

Kuwait is a modern city-state established in the eighteenth century on the Arabian peninsula which, because of its small population and size must rely on outside assistance for protection. This situation was originally accepted by the ruling elite and, more recently, by the native Kuwaiti population as an unalterable situation that necessitates a fundamental level of dependence. This dependence is a double-edged sword that effects not only security but also the labor force in general.

Contact between Britain and Kuwait can be traced to the late eighteenth century. In 1792 the English East India Company transferred its agency from Basra to Kuwait because of difficulties with the Ottoman authorities there. While Kuwait was technically part of the Ottoman Empire the Turks had never exercised anything other than nominal authority over Kuwait. This left both the rulers of Kuwait and the British relatively free to engage in diplomatic activity with one another, of which the British took advantage by stationing a political officer in Kuwait by 1821. By the end of the century Kuwait's rulers sought to increase their reliance on the British for protection against Ottoman Turkey. Although Kuwait was not an independent principality, the ruling Al-Sabah family, by strengthening ties with the British, had no choice but to surrender some of the autonomy the Sheikdom had enjoyed for over a century. While security was not a major issue until the end of the nineteenth century, the commercial position of the state had, by that time, already been fundamentally split between rural Bedouin and more urban Kuwaitis. Thus the combination of outside dependence for protection and the formal division in the state's laboring classes can be seen as the roots not only of Kuwait's current population which is more than half expatriate, but also the strictly guarded and privileged status of Kuwaiti citizenship.

Dependence: Labor

The tradition of a division of labor based upon class has a long history in Kuwait. In the nineteenth century the majority of Kuwaiti laborers were mariners—sailors, pearl divers and fisherman. On the other hand the bedouin were a land-based group focused on finding pastureland. They were responsible for enforcing the decisions of the rulers and even for supplying forces when Kuwait engaged in warfare. So labor was divided between Kuwaiti mariners and the bedouin who made up a sort of army or law enforcement. Another interesting factor is that economic relationship between mariners, the bedouin and the ruling Al Sabah family was based on debt.

The whole economic structure of the [pearling] industry even more than in ship-owning, was based on debt. Everybody was in debt—the diver to the nakhoda [captain], the nakhoda to the merchant who financed him, the merchant to some other merchant bigger than himself, the bigger merchant to the sheikh. The whole business was based on debt, debts which were rarely paid because the paying of them was impossible.

While the classes themselves were separate, they were linked socially and economically. This linkage based on debt or obligation is one that would continue after the growth of the oil industry and the large influx of expatriate workers.

In 1946 Kuwait began oil exports, which grew quickly. The huge income resulting from oil reduced the influence of the merchant elites and brought about fundamental social change. According to Ghanim al-Najjar, "This created a new breed of potential merchants who started to appear either by being connected to the [ruling] family, or because they were directors of a ministry…. They had the choice to push and go into it and compete with others or just to sit…. They all came in." Potential oil revenue thus served to galvanize Kuwaitis into a bloc determined to preserve its integrity and protect access to citizenship. By 1953 there were approximately 41,000 "guest workers" employed in Kuwait, 90% of whom were unskilled and working for wages of $1/day.

Kuwait remained an attractive destination for international migrants. When Kuwait declared its independence from Britain in 1961 there was already a large Indian population. In addition, the small state's self-proclaimed political neutrality in the Middle East made it a favorable refuge for Jordanian Palestinians, Syrians, Lebanese and other Arabs. In fact, in the years immediately following independence, Kuwaitis were a minority, making up only 47 percent of the total population by 1965.

The traditional dependence on immigrant labor not only embedded a huge population of subject people in the daily lives of Kuwaiti people, but it also undermined traditional conception of citizen-as-subject among Kuwaitis. According to one study of labor migration in Kuwait conducted in the 1980s there was a certain "confusion of identity" that existed in the state and was

exemplified in unstable gender roles that correspond to status. Today for example, Kuwaiti men are usually perceived as masculine and dominant while Asian women are perceived as powerless and always without power. All other groups fall somewhere between these two extremes. Given prevalence and visibility of foreign labor and the resulting issues with identity, it is not surprising that among native Kuwaitis there is a growing fear regarding cultural integrity. This fear has manifest itself in a legal system that serves to protect "native" rights (power) at the expense of the foreign (powerless) laborers.

Until 1964 the original Aliens Residence Law, the Private Sector Labor Law, the Nationality Law, and the Law of Commercial Companies allowed relatively free migration under close government control. The spirit of the laws, however, maintained the prerogative of national control over the most profitable sectors in Kuwait's economy. As a result of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and associated internal disagreement, the Ministry of the Interior limited migration and abandoned the provision that waived visa requirement for fellow Arabs. While security concerns were important, they have always been relegated to a subordinate place in Kuwait in light of labor shortages. In order to cope with this apparent immigration inconsistency, the country has a tradition of relaxing certain laws allowing workers in yet strengthening or adopting others in an effort to maintain the dominance of nationals. In order to maximize profits as well as maintain a rising standard of living for the minority Kuwaitis, the country continues to have an awkward reliance on an immigrant population that is never officially considered permanent. For example, by the late 1970s the entry and employment of dependents was restricted. As the number of non-Muslims rose through immigration, political tensions between advocates of liberalization and supporters of restriction increased. This tension was manifest in the rising political strength of Kuwait's religious conservatives. One effect of this conservative influence was the amending of the Naturalization Law which, by 1982 restricted citizenship only to Muslims.

The 1899 Anglo-Kuwaiti Bond/Treaty set up a system which promised the Kuwaiti ruler protection from outside aggression and non-interference in Kuwait's internal affairs. In return for this, Kuwait surrendered any control of its foreign affairs. This formal division in domestic and foreign control ultimately led in 1925 to the creation of two distinct legal systems within Kuwait; National Jurisdiction which applied to Kuwaiti citizens, Arab nationals, Iranian nationals, and citizens of the British-protected states in the Gulf, and British Jurisdiction which applied to all others, including British citizens, citizens of all nations in the British Commonwealth—mainly Indians and Pakistanis.

In the early twentieth century Kuwait was a semitribal Islamic society and this dual system relieved Kuwait of dealing with problems involving Christians or Hindus, for example. Initially the number of cases coming through British Jurisdiction was relatively small. In 1953 the number heard in the British Court was only four. With the development of the oil industry and the influx of additional expatriate workers, however, the number quickly increased. By 1955 the number of cases in the British Court was over two hundred. The growing wealth and power of Kuwaitis coupled with the more visible influence of British Jurisdiction led to an increase in Kuwaiti nationalism.

By 1960 with the growing anti-British sentiment in Kuwait, the Law of Commercial Companies was passed. It mandated that 51 percent of all companies in Kuwait be owned by Kuwaitis. With the added incentive fostered by the creation of a welfare state that promised free housing, utilities, education, and medical care, the population and merchant class were won over to the idea of ending the protectorate. On 19 June 1961, the Protectorate was formally abolished and less than a month later, on 1 July, all British courts operating in Kuwait were closed. While the formalities of a dual legal system had ended, the tradition of distinct laws applying to expatriate workers did not.

The 1964 Kuwaiti Labor Law was drafted to define workers' rights, including the right of the employee to sue for violations of work contracts. With the continued growth of the expatriate labor force, Kuwaitis clearly felt outnumbered and threatened by migrants. In fact, the mechanisms of this law were and continue to be problematic since the employee cannot work for anyone else during the trial and, since the original employer is unlikely to continue supporting someone suing him/her, the migrant employee is left with neither an income nor a place to live. In addition, without the protection of the British Jurisdiction, the 1959 Residency Law could be arbitrarily applied. According to this law an alien can be deported as a result of a judicial or an administrative decision taken by the authorities if 1) the alien had been convicted and the court has recommended deportation,

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2) if the alien has no means of sustenance, or 3) if there are moral or security reasons if the alien continues to reside in Kuwait. As Longva points out, the 1964 law does not consider the fact that there is nothing to prevent the employer from accusing the worker of some morally objectionable behavior that could lead to deportation—in effect the application of the 1959 Residency Law—and the end of any lawsuit.

An example of the precarious position of expatriate laborers can be found in an April 2007 letter from Kuwait's Private Universities Council (PUC) to the American University of Kuwait. Basing its critique on a newspaper article, the letter states, some foreign professors working at private foreign universities in Kuwait (the American University of Kuwait)…are intentionally spreading the teachings of modernism which contradicts our Islamic religion, belief system, traditions and values of Kuwaiti society. These professors also promote their modernist ideas, waging a war against Islam and spreading the poetry and literature of sexuality, alcohol and immoral love in order to westernize youth…. This calls for a collective and firm position to stop these westernizing intellectual satires. The [newspaper] article mentions that a female professor…is teaching a course against our uncontested Islamic religion, traditions and societal orthodoxies.

Again, based on information on from a newspaper article, the PUC demanded that the university provide "subjects, topics, reference and articles" about a particular course. The letter questioned whether this unnamed professor decided "to spread her westernizing and modernist intellectual beliefs without considerations for our Islamic religion and beliefs?"

The American University of Kuwait's own mission statement calls for providing students with an "American-style liberal arts education." Its stated values include "freedom of thought and expression and emphasizes the need for students to learn how to think critically." The founding president says the institution is "devoted to providing its students with the tools, skills, experience, and motivation to think critically, reason logically, communicate effectively, and write creatively while deepening their understanding of different fields of knowledge." Despite its western model, the university is a Kuwaiti institution and can offer none of the standard protections of academic freedom afforded to instructors in other countries. Consequently, faculty at the institution are virtually without representation or protection. Thus,

a distinguished expatriate professor can as easily be deported from Kuwait on a morality charge as a taxi driver. Walking a fine line between legality and perceived morality, the university did not want to jeopardize its own position and, therefore, asked the professor to write her own response to the morality "charges." The case has yet to be resolved but serves to demonstrate the precarious nature of expatriate labor in Kuwait.

Domestic workers are not protected by the Labor Law as they work under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior rather than the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor. In addition, conflicts on this level are considered issues to be solved in the domestic setting, not openly in law courts. "[T]he sponsorship system ultimately protects local populations, who perceive themselves as being "under siege." In doing do, sponsorship severely circumscribes some of the most fundamental freedoms of migrant workers and exploits their dependency and vulnerability. The laws which apply to foreign laborers are so lose that they can be applied arbitrarily or in some cases circumscribed by employers leaving workers in a state of dependent limbo.

Foreign workers receive entry visas and residency only when employed by a citizen or institution. Sponsorship (*kafala*) requires sponsor-employer (*kafeel*) to take full economic and legal responsibility for the worker during the period of contract. The *kafeel* is obligated to repatriate the worker at the end of the contract. This creates a system where the workers are totally dependent on the good will of the employer. According to a United Nations Development Programme report on human rights in Kuwait, the guarantor system for foreign works is an impediment that can violate their basic rights. In fact, workers are not even free to offer their labor to the highest bidder and either party can break the contact at any time. Most workers, however, will endure hardship rather than suffer the economic loss of breaking a contract. Dependence is increased when many workers are required to surrender their passports. This is not required by law but is a common practice in Kuwait and is legitimized on the grounds that since expatriates outnumber Kuwaitis, they compose a security risk. Confiscating passports is considered a measure of crime prevention as it protects Kuwaitis from a potentially criminal foreign labor force.

According to a US State Department report on Kuwaiti labor practices, "Employers often exploited workers' willingness to accept substandard conditions. Noncitizen

workers, especially less-skilled South Asian laborers, lived and worked much like indentured servants, were unaware of their legal rights, and generally lacked the means to pursue legal remedies." While all laborers in Kuwait have access to the court system and "courts rule in favor of employees in an estimated 90 percent of the labor disputes they hear," there are no legal ways to force employers to abide by court decisions or pay court-awarded damages. In fact, employers often "used illegal methods to pressure foreign employees to drop cases against them, such as withholding their passports, encouraging police intimidation and brutality, threatening deportation, and filing criminal charges against them for fabricated crimes, such as theft."

In July 1991 the Kuwaiti prime minister linked the country's labor dependence to the recovery following the Iraqi invasion. He said, reaching the desired balance in population composition is no longer considered to be a social objective and target; instead, it has become an inescapable necessity, as a result of the limited financial resources inflicted by the occupier's destruction of the country's oil wealth, and damage done to the national economic structure, establishments, and installations.

The dependence would increase in the decade following the invasion but the status of foreign workers would not change. They often continue to endure less than ideal working conditions in Kuwait because of the relatively high salaries and abundance of employment. In addition many workers, particularly in the domestic sphere, which is largely populated by Indians and Southeast Asians, send the bulk of their salaries back to their families at home. For many, therefore, Kuwait becomes a means to an end rather than the ideal working environment. This model serves the state well as it provides the foreign labor upon which Kuwait is dependent and also discourages those laborers from considering Kuwait a permanent home, thus preserving the cultural dominance of Kuwaiti nationals.

Dependence: Security

Although studies have shown that the legacy of western imperialism is usually the restructuring of social classes and the end of traditional governing elites, Kuwait's ruling Al-Sabah family was able to retain its power after 1961. The preservation of its rulers both while Kuwait was a British protectorate and after it gained its independence served to perpetuate the tradition of outside protection coupled with a strictly classed labor force.

In the early eighteenth century the Kuwaiti tradition of inviting an outsider to exercise a degree of control was established. Local historians of Kuwait agree that Sabah bin Jabir, leader of the Al Sabah family, was selected (c. 1750) by the heads of 'Utub families of Kuwait to administer justice. Even when bin Jabir died in 1762 his youngest son, 'Abd Allah, was selected as leader because of his sense of "justice, intelligence and willingness to consult the group (jama'a)." Stability was, therefore, something that came from outside the community. If the primary purpose of the state is to provide security for the inhabitants, the leadership in Kuwait had a cunning way of provided it by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1897 Mubarak Al Sabah successfully used the British, who sent a naval presence to guard the Kuwaiti coastline, to challenge the authority of the Ottoman Empire, which nominally controlled the region. The British were also concerned about the growing threat of Russian intrusion into the region and were willing to enter into a more formal albeit secret security agreement with Kuwait. By 1899 Kuwait had become a protectorate with the Anglo-Kuwaiti Bond. Although the arrangement had no legal standing in international law, there was little the weak Ottoman Empire could do to oppose it. In 1900 the German Consul-General at Constantinople petitioned Mubarak to purchase a site in Kuwait for the terminus of the Baghdad Railway. When Mubarak refused, Germany pressed Turkey into taking Kuwait by force. This the British would not permit. According to the Ottoman grand vizier Mahmud Shevket Pasha, there was:

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no solution other than to cede these places to England, if not outright, at least as her sphere of influence or protectorate…. We would be in conflict with England over two desert districts like Kuwait and Qatar. What benefits could we hope for from these unimportant lands…. it is necessary for us to remain silent in order to get along with this state.

From the British perspective, if Germany controlled the railway, it might threaten British trading dominance in the region. Internally Mubarak was playing his cards well. By seizing the sheikhdom through the murder of members of his own Al Sabah family in 1896, Mubarak needed outside support for his claim as leader of Kuwait. Between 1896 and 1913, Mubarak not only used the British to legitimize his own authority, but also to secure Kuwait against any external threat. By 1913 the Ottomans were willing to formalize an agreement with England over the status of Kuwait. In the first months of World War I, the British

offered Mubarak recognition as an independent principality under their protection if Kuwait would support British aspirations in the region. This was an agreement to which he readily agreed. Clearly Kuwait was secure under the auspices of the British Empire. The relationship was tested in 1920 when the Saudis demanded that Kuwait embrace Wahhabism. With a display of British force, it became apparent that the Saudis would not simply absorb the state of Kuwait. 'Abd al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud was informed that "Her Majesty's Government recognized the territory… as definitely appertaining to [Kuwait] and that is not open to dispute."

On 19 June 1961, protectorate status was abrogated in favor of a new relationship governed by "a spirit of close friendship" where the British would render assistance if requested by Kuwait. True to the agreement, Sheikh Abdullah Salim Al Sabah requested that Britain send troops to Kuwait on 30 June ostensibly to protect the state from Abd al-Karim Qasim, the leader of Iraq who announced, "We shall extend Iraq's borders to the south of Kuwait…. No individual, whether in Kuwait or outside, has the right to dominate the people of Kuwait for they are the people of Iraq." Even the British Foreign Office decided that "Kuwait is unlikely to remain independent, in the foreseeable future, unless she is militarily protected and known to be militarily protected, by H.M.G." The requested troops came; 7000 British troops by 1 July. Realizing that the continued presence of a large contingent of British troops would make independence look like a sham, the troops departed by October of that year but were replaced with those of the Arab League.

As Hijazi points out, Kuwait's admission into the Arab League was based largely on the fact that the Qasim regime was generally detested in the Middle East and most wanted it removed from Iraq. Kuwait, however, moved quickly to ingratiate itself to the League by establishing the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED) whose object was the funding of development projects in other Arab countries. For example, in 1962 Jordan received a KD 7.5 million loan and Sudan received a KD 7 million grant. Clearly, Kuwait was attempting to garner outside support and use its oil-based wealth as an instrument of foreign policy in the event that its own territorial integrity was threatened.

In 1984 Kuwait's test as an independent power came as a result of the "tanker war" whereby Iran was targeting goods destined for Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War.

Snubbed by the GCC, both the US and the USSR offered assistance, which guaranteed Kuwait's integrity. This lesson that Kuwait would have to look outside the Gulf for protection would be hard-learned in the 1990-1991 Iraqi Invasion and Gulf War.

Conclusions

The roots of Kuwaiti dependence can be traced to the coming of the Al Sabah in the 18th century. Specifically since the late 19th century this dependence is based on foreign labor as well as protection. It is a city-state in conflict which seeks to assert a sense of its own independence by protecting citizenship through segregation yet remains totally dependent on that segregated labor force for its wealth as well as outside powers for its protection.

Given Kuwait's size, it will continue to rely on non-GCC states for protection. Seemingly as long as oil revenues continue to fund the Kuwaiti ruling bloc, there will be less incentive to dramatically overhaul the labor system. As early as 1956 the British Foreign Office noted that "Kuwait is too prosperous and most of the Kuwaitis are too busy making money to cultivate political passions." This was demonstrated in the aftermath of the Iraqi invasion when many of the candidates running for the Kuwaiti parliament in 1992 made a campaign issue of minimizing imported labor only to witness a rapid increase in labor imports shortly after the election. The labor debate is a no-win political issue in Kuwait. As Tétreault point out, any change regarding the importation of workers could blur the distinction between native bosses and foreign workers. For example if the number of foreign workers were reduced, the domestic labor force would undergo a degree of "Kuwaitization." This might cause a drop in living standards and even leisure time as Kuwaitis would have to do their own housework, childcare, driving, gardening and other domestic chores that are now performed in most families by foreign labor.

Only if oil revenue declines might Otto Hintze's observation be realized in Kuwait: "What is common to ancient and modern constitutions of city-states is based… on the peculiar character of this political organization. Even where the foundation of a city-state was the work of a monarchical rulership, after it has come into existence it soon emancipated itself…. When the city-state is fully developed, monarchical rule is abnormal and at best transitory, brought about by internal factionalism and outside assistance."

Ethical Theory and Labor In Kuwait

According to the Anglo-American tradition, labor practices in Kuwait seem not to fit with expectations of equity and justice. In traditional Western justice frameworks, justice demands a blind eye to private relations, ethnicity, nationality, religion and gender or irrelevant disability. Justice in this sense is blind, except where justice demands vision. For example, adverts for jobs should not specify gender, nationality or religion of successful applicant except when other overriding considerations are at play. Justice demands impartiality—an objective, distant regard of individuals as respected moral agent, without regard to specifics of how that moral agency is instantiated in terms of religion, ethnicity, nationality, etc. What is left, what may be properly considered, in traditional Western ideas of justice applied to positions in the public sphere, is the applicant and narrowly defined sets of qualifications.

On this scheme, labor practices and laws in Kuwait seem blatant violations of justice. In Kuwait, employment adverts specify nationality, religion or gender of applicant when such is not relevant to the job, and pay schemes rank the pay given to an individual solely on the basis of ethnicity. Moreover, evaluative standards are also applied in discriminatory manners. Such practices fail to meet standards set by traditional Western justice theories, particularly for rules of justice attached to public, economic sphere. According to Western justice theories, favoring those of one's nationality or ethnicity over others is considered racism, favoring one's friends and acquaintances over strangers is cronyism and favoring one's family members over others is nepotism. Racism, cronyism and nepotism are considered unjust, morally dodgy at best, depending on the degree and level of institutionalism.

However, some recent theorists, such as Virginia Held, argue for the setting aside of traditional Western moral values in favor of stretching ethics of the private sphere to the public realm. In our private ethics, often called *ethics of care and concern*, our social relations with others determine our appropriate moral actions. In the private realm, morality does and should allow for partiality. Ethics of care and concern permit us to act according to our level of care and concern for the proximate other

Consider for example, a position which requires a great deal of tact and social grace, such as concierge at a hotel. A person with Turret's Syndrome might not be eligible for such a position. In such a position, however, many other disabilities, race, religion or gender should not be relevant factors.

and the level of proximity determines our ethical duties—one is allowed to favor one's family over one's friends, favor one's friends over mere acquaintances and to favor acquaintances over strangers.

In Kuwait, employment laws and practices appear to institutionalize ethics of care and concern in the public realm. In the West, relations are sharply demarcated between social (private) and professional (public) relations. In Kuwait, this demarcation is blurred—one stands, always and primarily, in social (private) relations with others, as well as professional relations. One's ethnic, family or friendship affiliations frequently determine one's professional relations with others.

This moral prevalence of the social over the professional relation, at times, produces a greater equity or level of care in regards to some situations. Those arguing for the adoption of ethics of care in the public realm argue that such will benefit those frequently marginalized by traditional justice theories. For instance, the primacy of family relations results in laws that give just and appropriate paid maternal leave for women, whereas women in the West often do not receive paid maternal leave. For those with physical disability, the level of care provided by government subsidy is more generous than in the West. For employers to stand in a caring relation to employees and vice versa, creates stronger and better bonds of mutual commitment to see a job well done.

However, I do not think those advocating the application of care and concern to the public realm would necessarily care for how Kuwait does so. For instance, concerning nepotism: persons within a specific circle of care should all be afforded the same level of care. When a friend or family member enters a more distant circle of care, (that of a professional relation), the level of care must be similar to all those also standing in a similar relation of care. The demand that employers care for versus merely do duty by employees would demand a more humane, caring approach to those not of one's own nationality.

In traditional ethics theories, in which an abstract moral agent stands in a three-place relation, mediated by duty, to another moral agent. Instead, a *carer* stands in a two-place relation to the *cared-for*. In order to better develop and understand an ethic that applies to and is relevant to Kuwaiti labor-relations, improved understanding and application of the model of ethics of care and concern might improve the discrimination apparent in Kuwaiti

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labor regulations and enforcement thereof better than attempting to introduce the Western concept of rights, three-fold relation of moral agents and objective justice moral standpoints.

Labor Market & Media Coverage: A Comparative Analysis

Media coverage has been widely used as an indicator of the importance placed on particular issues in a society. These issues have included, inter alia, health care (Brodie, Brady and Altman, 1998), smoking (Warner, 1985), terrorism (Slone, 2000), substance abuse (Fan and Holway, 1994), the environment (Nissani, 1999) and labor (Puette, 1992; Buerhaus and Staiger, 1999; Pearson and Seyfang, 2001; Martin, 2004).

The concept of media coverage is a deceptively complex one. This is in part due to the many variations that exist in communications media and their use, the existence of a wide array of media systems, ownership regimes and philosophies and a the development of a broad range of attitudes towards and use of media by audiences. The implications of media coverage have spawned a similarly wide array of perspectives. These perspectives include notions if the political economy of image production and consumption (Gamson et al, 1992), the cultural implications of media coverage (Hall 1980, 1997) and even invoke Gramsci's (1971) notions of hegemony and social control.

The "Hutchins" Commission on the Freedom of the Press in the United States noted that multiple media operating in a free environment create the conditions for a wide range of social perspectives to be reflected and negotiated. (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947). Yet in many places the press is not free but instead constrained by government ownership, official controls or the threat of sanctions. In most societies the careful analyst will probably find the press to be somewhere between the extremes of complete government ownership and control on the one hand and complete press freedom on the other hand. The variations are many, as even in the United States it may be argued that corporate entities, some closely aligned with the government exert undue influence on the media (Bagdikian, 1990).

Coverage of particular issues may be measured by traditional means such as "column inches" in newspapers, total time observed in radio or television broadcasts, or numbers of mentions in any medium. Semetko and

Valkenburg (2000), for example, analyzed 2,601 newspaper stories and 1,522 television news stories for mentions of particular themes in relation to European politics. Baxter et al (1985) analyzed a sample of 62 music videos on the newly launched MTV with a focus on the frequency of appearance of content centered on sex and violence as well as government, politics, and US culture.

Beyond the totals or frequencies of mentions, researchers also often investigate tone or bias of coverage. Many media coverage studies focus on the content of newscasts but program content is an equally rich area of investigation. Most such investigations fall under description of content analysis, though this general method has many variations ranging from highly statistical (Berelson 1952; Krippendorf, 1980) to interpretative and qualitative approaches (Carney, 1972).

Investigations of media coverage are predicated on certain assumptions about media and audiences. Apart from the obvious assumption that audiences actually do consume media, such studies can also generally be said to be operating under the "media effects" paradigm. Within this paradigm media are thought to have any of a number of different types of effects on the audience that consumes media content. In the early days of communication studies several phenomena indicated that media may actually have very strong direct effects on audiences. Studies of Kate Smith's War Bond drive in the United States during World War II (Merton, 1946), responses to Orson Welles "War of the Worlds" broadcast and the power of wartime propaganda all seemed to demonstrate media's ability to directly cause audiences to act (Doob, 1935; Lasswell, 1927; Lippmann, 1922).

Subsequent studies with greater empirical bases indicated that these direct effects, while possible, were quite the exception. Normally, media effects were not likely to be so direct or intense. Studies of voting behavior for example, revealed that the media were not likely to change voter's minds about their choices of candidates (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1944). From these beginnings, communications scholars developed the concept of limited effects or indirect effects in which media are perceived as having effects in multiple steps and acting in the context of other social forces such as interpersonal influences. Thus, Mohammed (2001) found that listeners to a radio program on HIV/AIDS prevention were much more likely to be affected by the messages on the radio if the ideas were also present and reinforced in their personal communication networks.

Media in Kuwait
Kuwait features a mix of government media (owned and directly controlled) alongside more recently licensed private media. The local print environment features both Arabic and English dailies that are privately owned but constrained by strict rules against criticism of the Emir, the ruling family, Islam and certain government policies. Publications are also subject to what is known as "prior restraint" as the Ministry of Information requires all publications to be submitted for approval.

Arabic daily newspapers include Al-Rai Ala-Am, Al-Seyassah, Al-Qabas, Al-Watan and Al-Anbas. Kuwait's English-language dailies include the Kuwait Times, Kuwait Today; and the Arab Times. A number of foreign daily newspapers are also available in Kuwait.

Radio in Kuwait features popular Arabic and English music stations along with religious stations broadcasting Qur'anic recitations. International services such as the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Service (Arabic Service) are also broadcast for the local market. Local television features state owned Kuwait TV with three channels in operation and a number of privately owned television operations – the most significant of these being the Al-Rai television station. Satellite television is readily available with a wide range of Arabic channels originating from neighboring countries as well as English language services which can be subscribed to locally.

Coverage of Labor Issues
Whereas in most countries labor issues include political discussions of the power of trade unions and the social interplay of capital and labor, in Kuwait and other Gulf states the situation is somewhat different. Lonvga (1999) described the situation in a number of Gulf States with vast visiting labor populations. In many cases, including Kuwait, the expatriate worker population is greater than the local native population. The vast majority of these workers are unskilled, uneducated laborers and domestic servants from poor developing countries. Major sending nations include India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines.

The discourse of immigrant labor runs deep in Kuwait press coverage. This is evident in the fact that news stories often refer to the people mentioned by their nationalities rather than their names (e.g., a Pakistani was arrested…). Newspapers in particular tend to feature stories of maids who are kept in jobs sometimes against their will,

sometimes not paid and often abused. However, while these stories generate some level of human interest, it is worthwhile to investigate how much attention is given to the underlying social problems leading to such stories and whether there is any criticism of official policies in this regard. Pertinent here, as well, is the question of bias and whether news reports favor Kuwaiti employers and Kuwaiti policies over human rights and laborer welfare. Relevant, as well, is the level and slant of media coverage of these issues by international media and the images of Kuwait that are portrayed in such coverage.

Working to death in Kuwait: Depression and suicide among expatriate Asian domestic workers
In post World War II Kuwait, the percentage of expatriates in the population rose steadily with increasing oil revenues and government development programs dependent on expatriate labor. The Kuwaiti population, of this period, was small with few Kuwaiti experts in the oil and other development industries. Increased oil revenues and government investment in education produced a generation of Kuwaitis who replaced expatriates at the highest levels of employment, but their numbers continued to be relatively small. By 1985, slightly more than one-half the expatriate workers (52%) were Asian and less than one-half (46%) were Arabs, Africans, Europeans, and United States citizens (Kuwait Census, 1993). The Kuwaiti government favored Asian workers over other expatriates because of their lower labor costs. Asian expatriates, likely to return to their countries of origin, and unable to speak Arabic or to lay claim to oil revenues as Arab nationals, created fewer social and political problems for the Kuwaiti government than non-Kuwaiti Arab laborers (Shah, 1986).

The numbers of expatriate workers relative to the numbers of Kuwaitis, living in Kuwait, has continued to increase, with the 1997 Kuwait government census reporting 760,000 Kuwaitis (34%) and 1,450,000 non-Kuwaitis (66%), with Asian workers constituting 67% of the non-Kuwaiti residents. The large numbers of expatriate workers, particularly those who have worked many years in Kuwait, resent social and political economic discrimination against them. In response, Kuwaiti citizens view expatriate workers with suspicion, if not hostility.

Public debate about a perceived compromise between Kuwait's economic needs and its security needs, though pre-dating the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, further increased mistrust, nationalism and chauvinism,

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intensifying suspicion and hostility toward expatriate laborers. The majority of expatriate laborers work for private companies or families, making them accessible, non-threatening targets of aggression associated with alcohol and drug abuse, and PTSD and depression, all of which increased in the aftermath of the invasion (Abdel-Khalek, 1996; Abdel-Khalek, 1997; Abdullatif, 1995; Casey and Dinkha 2007; Hai and Liabre 1997; Hadi and Liabre 1998).

The suspicion and hostility toward Asian expatriate workers, newspaper reports of suicides, and ongoing concern by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights (2001), the U.N. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1999), and Human Rights Watch (2000) prompted us to assess depression and suicide among expatriate Asian domestic workers in Kuwait. In February of 2007, we reviewed the published literature about depression and suicide in Kuwait, and decided to keep track of all reports of depression and suicide in Kuwaiti newspapers. According to the World Health Organization, the 2002 prevalence rate of suicide in Kuwait was 2.5 males per 100,000 people, and 1.4 females per 100,000, low by world standards. By 2003, this rate had decreased for males to 1.6 per 100,000 and increased for females, more often domestic workers, to 1.6 per 100,000 people.

Reviewing two to three newspapers a day, English and Arabic, our research assistant, Safaa Abdulhamid, found 15 reported suicides between February 1, 2007 and May 1, 2007, one, a double-suicide in which two women jumped off the third floor of a building. Eleven females and four males committed suicide, with fourteen of workers committing suicide from countries in Southeast Asia—Nepal, Indonesia, India, Pakistan and India—and one from Ethiopia. Ten were domestic workers; one man was a farmer; and we have no information about the employment of the other four. In just three months, the rates of suicide in Kuwait for women stand at 2.4 per 100,000 people and for men at .7 per 100,000, an increase for women and decrease for men since the 2003 yearly rates were published, an indication that suicide rates for both men and women will show marked increase by the end of this year.

Expatriate workers chose particularly lethal methods of suicide—six people leapt to their deaths from the roofs or top floors of buildings and seven hung themselves, while one man slit his wrist and another took an overdose of an unknown medication. The explanations given in the news articles were primarily related to employment:
One man was depressed because of a large debt.
A woman had not been paid her salary for six months and had been raped by her employer's son.
Two women jumped out of the third floor of a building to escape a kidnapper who tried to force them into prostitution.
A woman claimed to have been suffering unknown family problems.

The U.N. Commission on Human Rights, Human Rights Watch and other human rights organizations continue to express concern that domestic staff of Asian origin in Kuwait are subjected to debt bondage, other illegal employment practices, passport deprivation, illegal confinement, rape and physical assault. Few sue their employers for abuse, fearing judicial bias and deportation. Those who run away may seek shelter at their country's embassy pending repatriation or a change in employer. According to Habitat International Coalition (2003), out of an estimated 500,000 domestic workers in Kuwait, approximately 1,000 women per year were in informal shelters run by their countries' embassies. Others who run away are kidnapped and forced or recruited into prostitution.

While it is difficult to establish levels of depression or contributing factors in these cases of suicide, it is clear that a substantial number of expatriate workers suffer emotional and physical traumas at the hands of their employers; Many are literally working to death, finding few options to debt bondage, rape and physical assault, other than running away or suicide.

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Technically the Sheikh of Kuwait was subordinate to the Governor of Basra province.

Mubarak (r. 1896-1915) had come to power by murdering his two brothers, Muhammad, in power since 1892, and Jarrah, Muhammad's close adviser. Threats to Mubarak's position came from his nephews and enemies who pressured the governor of Basra to force the Turkish government to occupy Kuwait. The Ottomans also wanted to control Kuwait because of its port as well as the planned terminus of the Berlin-to-Baghdad railway. Mubarak's desire for the British to establish a protectorate in Kuwait relieved this threat. See Tétreault, pp. 570-575.

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