Political Participation in a Developing Nation: The Case of Kuwait

Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the graduate school of the Ohio State University

By
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* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1989

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Katherine Meyer
Wen Lang Li
Craig Jenkins

Approved by
Advisor
Department of Sociology
Copyright by
Yoosuf GH. Ali
1989
Dedicated To

In the name of Allah

The All-Compassionate, The All-Merciful

Oh Allah! send your blessing to the head of your messenger and the last of your prophets, Muhammed and his pure and cleansed progenty. Also, send your blessing to all your prophets and envoys.

To my Imam, Muhammed Ibn Al-Hassan Al-Askari (Al-Mehdi Al-Montazar, A.S ), I present this humble work.
Acknowledgements

Before expressing my sincere appreciation and respect to all those who made this study possible, I want first give thanks to ALLAH (GOD), who has provided me with many blessings.

This study owes more than can be acknowledged in words to Dr. Katherine Meyer for her time, continuous support, valuable and constructive guidance, contributions, and stimulating criticism throughout the development and organization of this research. To her I owe my deepest gratitude. A special word of thanks is also expressed to other members of the dissertation committee namely Dr. Wang Li my former advisor and to Dr. Craig Jenkins, for their interest, patience, and encouragement, along with their valuable suggestions throughout this effort.

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To my best friends, Dr. Jafer Haji, Dr. Mohammed Mansour, Abdul-Jalil Al-Tabatabai, Sabah Hamoudi, Hussain Al-Fadhli, Hudjatallah Ghadimi, Mohammed Boshehri, Hassan Habeeb, and Adel Al-Mumen, thank you for your support, advice, and kindness. Regarding our strong friendship, the pleasure is all mine.

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A special thanks to the members of the Sociology Computer Laboratory, Jong Soo Do, Shawn McEntee, Steve Hill, Michell McAllister, and Richard Haller. And to Agnes Kinschner, secretary of graduate studies.

Finally, Special recognition to my wife Maryam Mohammed Murad (Allah bless her soul) for every thing. Maryam for me, was a wife, the best friend, supporter, encourager, and every thing. She sacrificed every thing she had in the life to support me to continue my study. But she could not see the results of her sacrifactions. She left this world after fourteen months of pain and struggle with cancer. She left this world quite, as she was. I credit the successful completion of this work on the unconditional support of Maryam. May Allah bless her, and assemble her with prophet Mohammed (S.A), the last prophet of Allah, and his pure and cleansed progeny.
VITA

August 3, 1955------------------------Born-Kuwait

1979----------------------------------B.A., sociology. Kuwait University


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1985----------------------------------M.A. Ohio State University.

Publications


Field of Study

Major field: Sociology.
# Table of Contents

Dedication ................................................................. ii
Acknowledgments ......................................................... iii
Vita ............................................................................. v
Table contents ............................................................ vi
List of tables .............................................................. ix
List of figures .............................................................. x

Introduction  
I. Chapter I  
  Background .............................................................. 9
  Indicators of societal development ............................. 9
  Economic development ............................................ 9
  Social development ............................................... 11
  Political development .......................................... 15
  Research Questions .............................................. 22
  Summary .............................................................. 23

II. Chapter II  
  Studies of political participation: A review of  
    theoretical and empirical studies ............................ 25
  Introduction .......................................................... 25
  Political Participation ............................................ 31
  Variables related to political participation ................. 36
  Socio-demographic variables .................................. 37
  Variables related to Kuwaiti society .......................... 40
  Informal groups (Diwaniya) ..................................... 40
  Degree of religiousity ........................................... 42
III. Chapter III

Methodology - The research design--------------------------------------48
The sample-------------------------------------------------------------48
Political participation-----------------------------------------------51
Political attentiveness-----------------------------------------------52
Political activity-----------------------------------------------------52
Organizational involvement-------------------------------------------52
Construction of scales-----------------------------------------------52
The political attentiveness scale--------------------------------------53
The political activity scale-------------------------------------------54
The organizational involvement scale-------------------------------55
Independent Variables----------------------------------------------56
The religiousity scale-----------------------------------------------57
The cosmopolitan scale----------------------------------------------58
The socio-economic scale--------------------------------------------59
Other independent variables-----------------------------------------60
Analysis of the data-----------------------------------------------62

IV. Chapter IV

Findings--------------------------------------------------------------64
The descriptive analysis--------------------------------------------65
Demographic characteristics of the students------------------------65
Other characteristics---------------------------------------------68
Political activity-----------------------------------------------70
Political attentiveness-------------------------------------------70
Organizational involvement---------------------------------------71
Data analysis--------------------------------------------------------71
Factor analysis-----------------------------------71
Statistical analysis--------------------------------75

V. Chapter V

Summary, discussion, and conclusion------------------85
Findings and discussion-------------------------------85
The modes of Political participation-----------------86
Political participation among Kuwaitis---------------87
Political participation among non-Kuwaitis-----------93
Implications-----------------------------------------101
Limitations------------------------------------------104

Appendix------------------------------------------105

Questionnaire--------------------------------------105
List of references---------------------------------116
List of Tables

Table                                               Page
1. Population Censuses-----------------------------11
2. Economic and Social Indicators------------------14
3. Means, Standards deviation, and range of        66
   dependent and independent variables-------------
4. The rotated factor for the total sample----------73
5. Regression equation for the total sample--------78
6. Regression equation for Kuwaiti and
   non-Kuwaiti students-----------------------------81
## List of figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Modes of political activity (Kuwaitis)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Modes of political activity (non-Kuwaitis)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

Since the discovery of oil as a new source of energy in the late 19th century, and after the First World War, the industrialized world shifted to petroleum to fuel its industrial and military machinery. Societies proceeding through industrial development became increasingly dependent on petroleum and natural gas for both consumer and industrial uses. The importance of this newly discovered source of energy encouraged many of the Western countries to investigate more for oil around the world. This resulted in the discovery of oil in many different parts of the world. The Middle East was one of these areas that oil was discovered and "the first commercial oil strike [was] in Khuzistan, Iran." (Bill and Leiden 1984:415). Since then, the international oil companies discovered new oil fields in most of the Middle Eastern countries such as Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates. Because the newly oil discovered states lacked the strength and market dominance to determine the fate of their own resources, they were exploited by Western colonial powers. After the discovery of huge amounts of oil, this material became the most important source of energy; and replaced coal. The industrial world therefore, designed the industrial machinery on the use of petroleum and its productions.
After the Second World War, the petroleum producing countries began to demand greater control over their resources. These demands first took the form of insistence on higher prices for petroleum, and later to be marketed by the producers. Therefore, in 1960 they formed a new organization (OPEC). Today the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is considered as one of the most powerful economic and political organizations in the world.

In 1973, Middle East emerged as a strong power on the international and economic arenas. The first clear indication of this strength that helped these countries to play new roles occurred during the October 1973 war, when the Arab oil exporting countries implemented oil embargo on the United states, and some of the European countries who took the side of Israeli in the war. This embargo affected many dimensions of economic life in these countries. For example, the rates of unemployment increased, many factories and gas stations were closed. Consequently, the Middle East countries have gained an enormous amount of international leverage. In some of the European countries and Japan, the oil power had a perceptible influence. As states by Bill and Leiden (1984:433)

The Atlantic Alliance cracked under the strain of Arab pressures. In November 1973, the European Economic Community drafted a statement that Israeli return to its pre-1967 borders and that the rights of the Palestinian refugees be taken into account in any settlement. In subsequent meetings among Western oil consuming countries, France refused to agree to the recommended multilateral approach and insisted on renegotiating its own arms-oil deals with the Arabs. Even the Japanese always reluctant to move too far out of the shadow of the United States, took the side of the Arabs in the last week.
After the 1973 embargo, the oil exporting countries of the Middle East controlled their resources, and the revenues from oil exporting expanded. Today, 60 percent of the total global energy consumption comes from oil and natural gas - 40 percent from oil and 20 percent from natural gas (World Resources Institute 1986:104); which the Middle East accounts for 60 percent of the reserved crude oil International Energy Outlook 1985:16). The revenues paid in to the Middle East oil producing countries jumped after 1973 embargo from $6 billion to over $270 billion. The explosion of wealth played "an important, sometimes overwhelming, role in the economic development of a number of Middle Eastern nations" (Hoy 1980:300).

Many social scientists argue that economic development has different consequences for various aspects of the social life. It is a process in which it alters the structure of the society. Nie and his colleagues (1969) point out that:

Economic development alters the social structure of a nation. As a nation becomes more economically developed, three major changes occur: the relative size of the upper and middle classes becomes greater; larger numbers of citizens are concentrated in the urban areas; and the density and complexity of economic and secondary organizations increases.

These changes, on the other hand, bring with it an "expansion of politically relevant strata of the population.....The growth in the numbers of these people produces mounting pressures for the transformation of political practices and institutions" (Deutsch 1961:498). The increasing numbers of the mobilized population then tend to request more political participation. This may express itself through meetings with officials and political leaders, and demands
political participation, or it expresses itself informally through greater numbers of people taking parts in demonstrations, riots, set- ins, strikes, and uprisings.

However, the explosion of wealth in the Middle East exporting oil countries, encouraged many political leaders to pursue new policies and programs for development. Therefore, gigantic advances have been made in different fields. Technological growth, industrial development, expansion of transportation and communications, and increased education are evident throughout these countries. These programs and policies affected the demographic structure of these societies. Huge amounts of villagers and nomad people moved to the cities and settled in newly build urban areas. With the increases of education and the creating of new jobs, social mobilization occurred across these societies. This in turn changed the size of classes. The size of upper and middle classes became larger. Also, greater proportion of the population became more aware about the social and political life. This awareness encouraged many people demands for participation in the political affairs. For example, in the Arab Gulf States, Iraq, North and South Yemen, and Libya, citizens demanded more political freedom and participation (Peterson 1988, Layne 1987). Consequently, in some countries political leaders responded positively, and gave them more political freedoms and participation, whereas, in other countries, the political leaders reacted negatively. These negative reactions, led to riots, demonstrations, violence, and in some cases to military coups.

Also, the expansion of wealth in the Middle East oil exporting countries, encouraged many of these countries to establish different
aid organizations to help Third World countries in general and Arab countries in particular. Besides bilateral organizations such as the Kuwaiti Fund for Arab Economic Development, the Kuwaiti Investment Company, the Saudi Arabian Fund for Development, and the Abu-Dhabi Fund for Economic Development; there have been numerous multilateral aid programs. These include, the Islamic Development Bank, the OPEC and OPEC Special Funds, the Arab Bank for Economic Development of Africa, and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. Thus, between 1973 and 1977, these countries dispensed over $19 billion in soft loans and grants to many of the Arab and Third World countries for developmental purposes.

Kuwait as one of these oil exporting countries in the Middle East, is important for the world market economy. This importance attributes to the huge amount of the reserved oil, and the daily production of oil. Kuwait reserves 18 percent of the world crude oil and export more than one million barrels a day (Oil and Gas Journal 1984). Because of the production and export of the oil, Kuwait became one of the richest countries in the world.

As a result of the expansion of wealth, Kuwait moved to a new era. Kuwaiti government has "supervised the reconstruction of much of Kuwait city and the construction of large modern residential suburbs" (Nyrop, 1977). Larger number of citizens settled in the urban areas, education increased, new institutions and organizations were established. Along with the increase in wealth "there has developed a system of social services- including public education, free medical care, government housing, and pensions- which place Kuwait among the
most advanced welfare states in the world" (Al-Fadhli 1987:3). Politically, the advents of the constitution in 1962 and the National Assembly in 1963, led to the constitutional and political freedom, widened the participation based and opened opportunities for most segments of the society to participate in the political life, and influence events.

However, because of the oil in Kuwait and other countries of the Middle East, this area became important politically and economically. Many politicians and social scientists believe that the stability of this area is vital for the flow of this cheap and clean energy to industrial nations to run the industrial machinery. They argue that political stability only occurs when all aspects of social life change at the same pace. For instance, if one aspect is found to be far behind in the process of development and modernization, the result would be a gap between these aspects. This gap becomes a source of instability and known as "lead-lag" (Huntington, 1968). Among those who emphasized this notion are Bill and Leiden (1984:26), they state that:

spurred by economic modernization and specially by social modernization, the capacity to generate change in the political realm has been increasing....In failing to address political change and reform [by members of middle classes] the political elites exhibit their unwillingness to absorb and institutionalize political transformation. This begets a situation in which expanding gaps, like bubbles, burst into one another. The gap between socio-economic and political development increased by the capacity to generate transformation and the failure to absorb it.
To narrow the gap between socio-economic development and political development, the political system needs to "provide the society with values such as equality, justice, and political participation" (Huntington 1977, Hudson 1978, Bill and Leiden 1984). This participation in turn, will give citizens more chance for involvement in political affairs, and in the decision making process.

Thus, in the case of Middle Eastern oil exporting countries, to prevent any serious political instability during the process of modernization, leaders of these countries need to maintain balance between socio-economic and political modernization. The decision makers also need to adopt social, economic, and political programs that have no contradiction with the culture and religion of their societies. For example, one of the most important reasons behind the Islamic Revolution in Iran was the way the shah approached religion and Muslim leaders. The shah in his modernization programming neglected the importance of many key segments of the society that once played crucial roles in the foundation of modern Iran. As stated by Abrahamian (1986:118):

Tensions were aggravated not by modernization per se, but by the way modernization implemented....the shah's political programs rejected the claims of unions, intellectuals, merchants, religious leaders, and professionals to share in government policy-making, thus alienating virtually every major organized group in Iran.
Also, the attacks on the person of Ayattalah Khomieni directly by the Minister of Information was considered by citizens as a challenge to their belief. For them, he was a leader who had a history of struggle against oppressors, and a symbol of a real religious leader. This was the trigger for political instability in Iran which led to the collapse of shah's regime, and the foundation of the Islamic State.

In conclusion, this study focuses on Kuwait as one of the important countries in the Middle East which reserves about 18 percent of crude oil, and produce more than one million barrel oil a day. Therefore, stability of this country is important for the world market economy. Political instability in Kuwait may expand to other countries in the region which reserves more than 60 percent of the world crude oil. This might end with creating problems for the industrialized nations, the industrial machinery, and financial problems for Third World countries that depend on aid funds programs.

Because Kuwaiti society is going through process of modernization, this study attempts to see the effects of modernization on citizens political cognitions and behaviors. Understanding characteristics of participants helps to evaluate the trends of modernization process in general, and the balance of socio-economic and political modernization in particular. It also helps the decision makers to know about the future political demands of modernized citizens to adopt more rational plannings that prevent the society any problems of instability. Therefore, because of these features and the lack of research in this area in Kuwait makes this study unique.
Chapter I

Background

To better understand the current state of the Kuwaiti political system it is necessary to understand the historical context in which political change has occurred in this small country on the Arabian peninsula. The key to change has been the development of the country’s rich oil resources which were discovered and extracted in 1949. With this discovery causing a rapid influx of modern technology and political influences from the democratic and industrialized countries, it is appropriate to speak of the recent Kuwaiti economic, social and political development.

Indicators of societal development:

1- Economic development:

Before the discovery of oil, Kuwait was a poor traditional sheikdom with an estimated population of 120,000 in 1947 (Al-sabah, 1980). The economic system was dependent on pearling and commerce with India, Iraq, Iran, Africa, and other countries in the region. Not only did Kuwait lack agricultural production and surplus products, it also lacked most of the basic necessities (Ismail, 1982:24). As Kelly states (1980:164):
Kuwait was predominantly tribal in nature, ruling authority was vested in the shaikly families, and social behavior was regulated by local customs and usages, by Islamic perception, and not least by the exigencies of a primitive economy. The population as a whole was divided into sedentary and nomadic groups, the sedentary being made up of cultivators, fishermen, seafarers, artisans, merchants, and others, while the nomadic consisted of tribes or sections of tribes which customarily wandered in search of pasture for their flocks and herds.

However, the discovery and extraction of oil in the late 1940s, has been a great contribution for technological growth and industrial development. The discovery of oil gave Kuwaitis the highest per capita income in the world. Before the discovery of oil, Kuwaiti per capita income was $100 annually, by early 1970s that figure was approaching $16,000; in 1982 it was over $22,000.

The discovery of oil also accelerated the establishment of a financial industry. From 1955 to 1959 there was only one bank in Kuwait, whereas by 1983 this number had increased to twelve. Similarly, in 1952, there were only two share holding companies. But by the end of 1983 this number had increased to 42 with many different specializations.

Industrial activity also developed rapidly. Besides the oil manufactures, many factories such as cement, aluminum, glass, furniture, etc., were established. By 1978, there were more than 3400 industrial concerns forming diverse sources of economic stability.
Because of the economic development, the population of Kuwait increased by more than six hundred percent between 1957 and 1985. This represents an average annual growth rate of nearly ten percent. This phenomenal population growth could not be accounted for by natural increase alone. It is estimated that some fifty to sixty percent of the population growth experienced by Kuwait since 1957 has been due to migration (Table 1).

Table 1. This table shows the seven official population censuses conducted since 1957:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average pop. per sq.km.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Kuwaiti</td>
<td>59,154</td>
<td>54,468</td>
<td>113,622</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Kuwaiti</td>
<td>72,904</td>
<td>19,947</td>
<td>92,851</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>132,058</td>
<td>74,415</td>
<td>206,473</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>KD</td>
<td>84,461</td>
<td>77,448</td>
<td>161,909</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non</td>
<td>116,246</td>
<td>43,466</td>
<td>159,712</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200,707</td>
<td>120,914</td>
<td>321,621</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>KD</td>
<td>112,569</td>
<td>107,490</td>
<td>220,059</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non</td>
<td>173,743</td>
<td>73,537</td>
<td>247,280</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>286,312</td>
<td>181,027</td>
<td>467,339</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>KD</td>
<td>175,513</td>
<td>171,883</td>
<td>347,396</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non</td>
<td>244,368</td>
<td>146,898</td>
<td>391,266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>419,881</td>
<td>318,781</td>
<td>738,662</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>KD</td>
<td>236,600</td>
<td>235,488</td>
<td>472,088</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non</td>
<td>307,168</td>
<td>215,581</td>
<td>522,749</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>543,768</td>
<td>451,069</td>
<td>994,837</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>KD</td>
<td>280,649</td>
<td>284,964</td>
<td>565,613</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non</td>
<td>495,990</td>
<td>296,349</td>
<td>792,339</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>776,639</td>
<td>581,313</td>
<td>1,357,952</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>KD</td>
<td>337,243</td>
<td>342,358</td>
<td>679,601</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non</td>
<td>627,333</td>
<td>388,194</td>
<td>1,015,527</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>964,576</td>
<td>730,552</td>
<td>1,695,128</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Social Development:

Before the discovery of oil, Kuwait was poor in literacy. There was no comprehensive educational system prior to 1952. Privileged children used to study elementary reading, writing, arithmetic and the Koran at private teachers' homes. The only school was established in 1912 but was forced to close due to lack of funds in 1931.

The Dutch Reform Church of America operated as the only medical facility in Kuwait until the late 1930s, when the government established the first medical clinic. The people had relied largely on the "use of the traditional Arabic medicine, such as herbs" (Al-Thakeb, 1974:30).

Since the discovery of oil, enormous advances have been made in the social fields of education, health, housing, communication, etc. Hundreds of new school buildings, clinics, and hospitals developed. The number of students enrolled in primary, intermediate, secondary, and higher education was less than 5,000 in 1945; by 1955 there were more than 22,000. In 1973 student enrollment approached 162,000, and in 1984 was over 315,000. This was almost a 700 percent increase since 1945.

In recent years, the education acceleration has been especially evident at the university level. In the twenty years between 1966 and 1986, the number of students enrolled in higher education increased by over 400 percent.
Social development is also evident in housing. Most of the old Arabic houses, for example, have been demolished, and the owners of the old houses moved to the newly designed suburbs upon receiving money and land from the government. Each of the new communities in the suburbs consists of both low and high income housing, medical centers, schools, shopping centers, mosques, leisure facilities, police stations, public libraries, and other facilities found in most modern cities.

Gigantic advances have also been made in the fields of health. Today, there is a medical clinic in every residential community which handles all sorts of medical services. Many hospitals for various specializations were also established, including orthopedic, mental, asthmatic, cardiac, and maternity hospitals, as well as such institutions as a women’s sanitarium. Since the beginning of the 1950s, the number of general hospitals increased 375 percent between the years 1953-1983. General clinics increased 1120 percent in the same period. The number of school health clinics increased 1260 percent. The rapid development of health services can also be seen in the increase of the number of physicians and the size of medical staff (Table 2).
# Table 2. Economic and social indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area in (sq.km.)</td>
<td>17,818</td>
<td>17,818</td>
<td>17,818</td>
<td>16,918</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (000)</td>
<td>1,695</td>
<td>1,358</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Kuwaitis</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth rate per 1000</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death rate per 1000</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude oil production</td>
<td>424**</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports (Billion c.f.)</td>
<td>205**</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports (Ml. b1)</td>
<td>292**</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports of refined products (Ml. b1)</td>
<td>144**</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita GDP (KD)</td>
<td>2.927**</td>
<td>5.436</td>
<td>3.463</td>
<td>1.373</td>
<td>1.610</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. expenditure (mil. KD)</td>
<td>3,227**</td>
<td>4,659</td>
<td>3,632</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. expenditure (mil. KD)</td>
<td>3,578**</td>
<td>2,630</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value of Exports (mil. KD)</td>
<td>2,527</td>
<td>2,665</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>411**</td>
<td>8**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value imports (mil.KD)</td>
<td>1,763</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students in govt.schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>27,327*</td>
<td>17,770</td>
<td>14,457</td>
<td>12,830</td>
<td>9,759</td>
<td>5,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>124,386</td>
<td>125,114</td>
<td>92,240</td>
<td>57,414</td>
<td>49,562</td>
<td>29,293</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>122,262</td>
<td>100,618</td>
<td>59,767</td>
<td>47,065</td>
<td>23,610</td>
<td>11,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>24,723</td>
<td>31,960</td>
<td>20,962</td>
<td>13,897</td>
<td>5,984</td>
<td>2,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other govt.institutions</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>5,481</td>
<td>5,441</td>
<td>2,973</td>
<td>1,850</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of beds in govt.hospitals</td>
<td>5,092</td>
<td>5,148</td>
<td>4,056</td>
<td>3,557</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>2,164</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population per bed</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of govt.doctors</td>
<td>2,803</td>
<td>2,102</td>
<td>1,017</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of doctors (govt. &amp; private)</td>
<td>3,095</td>
<td>2,361</td>
<td>1,198</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population per doctor</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>729</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* preliminary figures
** 1984 figures
*** excluding crude petroleum and refined products

Source: Ministry of Planning- Central Statistics Office. Kuwait, 1985
Modes of mass communication such as television, radio, cinema, newspapers and magazines can be used to form trends in public opinion and effect change in the society. Other modern establishments such as, public libraries, theatres, and museums are also significant means by which new ideas can be transmitted while preserving the nation’s heritage. Kuwait has given considerable attention to developing these institutions as means of modernizing citizens’ attitudes, behaviors, and opinions. Before the 1950s there were no radio or television stations, theaters, or showrooms. By 1983, there were eight radio stations with different languages, and two public television stations. There are now five theaters and fourteen showrooms in Kuwait.

3- Political development:

Before the formation of Kuwait as a sheikdom in 1756, "Kuwaiti territories were part of Al-Hasa - the eastern part territory of the Arabian Peninsula- province and under the authority of Bani-Khalid to serve as a trading center for the tribes of Bani-Khalid" (Al-Ebraheem, 1975:35 and Ismael, 1982:27). In about 1716, the territory was settled by the "Utubi" clan of the "Anaiza" tribe. Through the eighteenth century, intra-tribal power struggles, and the growing Wahabi sect (religious sect), power in central Arabia gradually weakened the established relationship between most of the tribes, and the cordial relationship between the "Utubi" and "Bani-Khalid" tribes.
This struggle later helped the "Utubi" tribe to establish an independent Kuwait on the northeastern coast of Arabia, and sometime in the seventeen-fifties to select Sabah the First as the first Amir of the town "through tribal election" (Al-Rushaid, p. 31). Sabah the First and his family, unlike many of the "Utubi" families whose interests turned towards the sea, remained oriented toward the desert. The caravan trade and tribal relations were its primary concerns.

After the death of Sabah the First in 1762, there were five Amirs in a direct line of descent from him who were selected in the traditional tribal manner. Alshammar (1959:177) states that those rulers:

were not privileged from most of the Kuwaiti population in any way. They were similar to the Sheik of a tribe. There was no distinction between the Sheik and members of his tribe. The power of the ruler was limited, and there were some Kuwaiti leaders who had more authority than the ruler himself.

Nevertheless, during this period, Kuwait reached its peak as a growing port and caravan center after the occupation of Basra port by Iranians in 1776. This occupation was "a very important factor contributing to the economic and demographic growth of Kuwait" (Al-Ibraheem, 1975:29). The advantage which Kuwait drew from this occupation of the port of Basra led to

direct relations (which) were established between Kuwait and the British East India Company’s representatives in the Gulf. Kuwait became important as a center for nearly all the caravans carrying goods between Basra and Aleppo during the period 1775-1779 (Abu Hakima, 1965:30).

However, by 1860, Kuwait was "the most important town on the Persian Gulf and attracted hundreds of craftsmen, owing to the healthy
although severe climate, the friendliness of the inhabitants, and the splendid anchorage" (Al-Ebraheem, 1975:35).

After the death of Abdullah, the fourth ruler of Kuwait in 1892, his son Muhammed ruled Kuwait with the cooperation of his brother. In 1896, they were assassinated by their brother Mubarak and he seized the throne. By early 1897, opposition and threats to Mubarak became apparent from the Ottoman Empire. So, he decided to approach the British for a formal agreement of protection.

From 1897 to 1898, the Turkish military buildup in Basra, and the "signs of Russian interest in the upper Gulf, by French activities in Muscat, and by the schemes then being put to the port by German and Russian entrepreneurs for the construction of a railway from Constantinople to the head of the Gulf" (Kelly, 1980:169-170), worried British and made them to move closer to the treaty Mubarak sought. Therefore, in January 1899, a secret agreement between Mubarak and Britain was concluded. By the agreement Mubarak binds himself, his heirs and his successors not to receive the Agents or Representatives of any Power or Government at Kuwait, or at any other place within the limits of his territory, without the previous sanction of the British government, and further binds himself, his heirs and successors not to cede, sell, lease, mortgage, or give for occupation or for any other purpose any portion of his territory to the Government or subjects of any other power without the previous consent of Her Majesty’s Government for the purpose. This engagement also is to extend to any portion of the territory of the said Sheikh Mubarak, which may now be in the possession of the subjects of any other Government" (Ismael, 1982:49-50).

The subordination of Kuwait to Great Britain’s Gulf policy marked the transformation of political power within Kuwaiti society. The main aspect of this was the "transformation of the basis of Sabah
authority from a tribally mediated form of community consensus to an externally mediated basis of power. Backed by the British, Mubarak transformed himself from a community leader into an autocratic ruler, in effect transforming the Sabah house into a centralized power structure in the society" (Ibid, 55).

Turkey reacted with dismay to the new situation in the Gulf, and sent its navy to Kuwait to remove Mubarak from power by appointing "Hamdi Pasha" as Governor-General of Basra. In addition, Germany started to press Turkey to re-establish Ottoman influence over Kuwait. This led Britain to "rush a naval squadron to the Gulf to prevent an occupation of the principality on the part of the Ottoman authorities" (Al-Ebraheem, 1975:55).

By the outbreak of World War I, "Britain declared Kuwait as an independent country under the protection of Great Britain" (Ahmad, 1978:16). After the death of Mubarak in 1916, his successors were faced with external and internal problems. Externally, the relationship between Kuwait and Ibn Saud (the king of Saudi Arabia) reached a low point when the Saudis attacked Kuwait in 1919, and blockaded Kuwait for fourteen years.
Internally, with the sudden death of the ruler of Kuwait in 1921, the heads of Kuwait's most influential families organized to form a Consultative Council. The new Amir "accepted the idea of the Consultative Council, and pledged himself to work with the Council in the administration of Kuwait's affairs" (Al-Hatem, 1980:53). This Council lasted for only two months because of disagreements and fighting among its members. This led to the dissolution of the council.

In the thirties, the society edged toward bankruptcy. This resulted in anti-government upheavals and growing demands for social reform (Al-Rumaihi, 1977:12-14). As Ismael states (1982:73):

Encouraged by the British political agent, the merchants emerged as the moderate leaders of this movement, seeking reform within the structure of Sabah authority and coalescing the nationalist and pan-nationalist elements behind the movement for parliamentary government.

In 1938, they formed the National Block and asked the Amir to fulfill his 1921 pledge and form a legislative council. The Amir accepted their demands under British pressure, and an election for the People's Legislative Council was organized (Al-Adsani, 1947:5-6).

This Council dissolved as had the 1921, Council because of a conspiracy threatened the independence of Kuwait. As Al-Hatem (1980:220-221) reports: "Five of the members of the Council sent a letter of King Ghazi of Iraq asking him to join Kuwait to Iraq immediately." As a result, some of them were executed, jailed, and fled Kuwait to Iraq, and the movement for reform and representative government ended.

By the end of the 1940s, oil was discovered and commercialized. In
1950, the Amir Ahmad Al-Jaber died and was succeeded by his cousin Abdullah-Al Salem who was an active supporter of the reform movement. Throughout his reign many social, economic and political reforms occurred. In 1952, for example, a development board was established to coordinate construction activity, especially development of a public utilities infrastructure. Large-scale construction and expansion projects created roads, hospitals, fresh water refineries, schools and other modern facilities. Financial institutions such as banks, insurance and investment companies were also established.

Politically, the new Amir of Kuwait allowed the establishment of youth associations, the emergence of newspapers, participation for important administrative councils, and the foundations of the welfare state. Furthermore, in 1961, Great Britain and Kuwait terminated the 1899 agreement, and signed a treaty of independence. On June 19th 1961, Kuwait became a fully independent state and Kuwait was admitted as a member of the Arab League and in 1963 became a member of the United Nations.

In December 1961, an election was held to choose members of the Constituent Assembly to draft a new Constitution under which a National Assembly of fifty members was to be elected. In January 1963, the country's first national assembly came into existence after a general election. After two centuries of political non-involvement, some people felt for the first time that they had the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. Women, naturalized citizens and non-citizens were excluded from this process.
As Alshayjei states (1988:194):

Prior to independence in 1961, Kuwaiti political life and its leadership was limited to privileged Al-Sabah ruling family, and their influential allies in the merchant community whose role was primarily limited to consultative capacity although they issued occasional demands in order to protect economic interests. The advent of the constitutional and political freedom, widened the participation base and opened opportunities for new groups and segments of the society not only to participate in the political process but to influence events.

Since then, the mass media, politicians, informal groups, etc., started to encourage citizens to participate in other dimensions of political life. Many political groups, unions, and political organizations were founded which have encouraged participation in governmental affairs, and have extended voting to women.

In the 1970s, political consciousness was obvious among the citizens and groups. These groups requested more social, economic and political reforms. The Liberal Democrats, for example, requested the participation of women in politics among other requests (Al-Rumalhi, 1977:37). In response to public demands, the royal family permitted the Assembly election of 1971 to be held on the basis of a free vote, though women, and naturalized citizens who are identified as second-class citizens, still have no voting rights.

After the 1971 election, the representation of the royal family was reduced in the Cabinet and for the first time some members of the National Assembly were appointed to the Cabinet. In August 1976, Amir Sabah Al-Salim dissolved the parliament on the basis that it had been delaying legislation. Later, a committee was founded to revise the Constitution.
In 1979 a group of Shia citizens gathered in Al-Shabban mosque requesting national unity, the return of democracy, and a chance for women and naturalized citizens to vote. Later, representative groups joined them. These gatherings continued for six consecutive weeks and were ended by the imprisonments some of the organizers and surrounding of the mosque with police and the threat of the use of force.

On February 1981, the fifth National Assembly was elected. The Crown Prince formed a new Cabinet. In July 1986, the Amir of Kuwait dissolved the parliament for the second time in ten years, for an indefinite period. The immediate reason behind this dissolution was different than for the 1976 dissolution. As Gavrielide points out (1987:183):

> The immediate reason behind these actions - the collective resignation of the Council of Ministers on July first, and the dissolution of the parliament on July third - was the persistence of the members of Parliament in calling in ministers for questioning. On the day the Council of Ministers resigned, the Minister of Communications was supposed to testify... The Amir asserted that the questioning was meant to "settle old scores and was not looking forward to the future".

**Research Questions:**

Since the discovery of oil in 1949, profound changes in the social, economic, and political fabric of Kuwaiti society have occurred. Of interest of this study is the relationship between these changes and the nature and level of citizen's political involvement. What is the impact of mobility, the changing role of informal organizations, and the creation of formal organizations upon citizen's attitudes and behaviors in political participation? How have recent Islamic
movements in Kuwait affected citizen’s political participation? And to what extent do these behaviors exist in the current period of retracted democracy?

These general questions will be operationalized as four research questions:

1. What are the types of participation in Kuwait?
2. Who participates?
3. What are the group basis of the participants?
4. What is the relationship between social characteristics and political participation in a period of retracted democracy?

Summary:

The discovery and extraction of oil has been a great contribution to social, economic, and political change for over a quarter of a century in Kuwait. As a result, the relative size of the upper and middle classes became greater; larger number of the citizens are concentrated in the urban areas; and the density and complexity of social, economic, and political organizations increased. Greater proportions of the population found themselves in life situations which led to increased political information, political awareness, a sense of personal political efficacy, and other progressive attitudes.

Given the profound changes in the social, economic, and political fabric of Kuwaiti society, we are interested in the relationship between these changes and the nature and level of citizens’ political participation. Namely what is the impact of social mobility, the
changing role of informal organizations, and the creation of formal organizations upon citizen’s attitudes and behaviors in political participation. How recent Islamic movements in Kuwait affected citizens’ political participation. And to what extent do these behaviors exist in the current period of retracted democracy.
CHAPTER II

Studies of political participation:
A review of theoretical and empirical studies

Introduction:

Since the initial conception of a science of society by August
Comte some 200 years ago, social order and social change have been
important aspects of sociological study. Within the bounds of
these complementary concepts, different approaches derived from three
classical sociologists: Marx feudal vs. bourgeois social order,
Durkheim's mechanical solidarity versus organic solidarity, and
Weber's emphasis on the role of religion and culture in creating
a set of values that permit sustained growth.

These classical approaches provide the background of current
attitudes and orientations about change and development.
Huntington's theory of political development and political
participation, and Inkeles' theory of individual modernity are direct
descendants of the Weber hypothesis.

Within the tradition of the discipline there have been a
variety of explanations of social change in general, and modernization
in particular. For this study, the modernization perspective is
reviewed.

Modernization theory goes back to the Nineteenth century
bi-polar theories which envisioned societies evolving from one state to
another. This is very obvious in the works of Tonnies
"Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft", Durkheim's "mechanical and organic solidarity", and Weber's "rationality and bureaucracy". For these theories, change or development is a product of innovations that result from the adoption of modern attitudes, value system, and institutions among and by elites and eventually by their followers rather than economic factors alone.

To clarify the notion of modernization, social scientists have focused on two major concepts: societal development and value transformation (Li, 1984:457-488). The former regarded modernization as synonymous with the concepts of economic development (Kidleberger 1977, Rostow 1960), industrialization (Rostow 1960, Brode 1969, Inkeles 1983), urbanization (Mitchel 1979, Lauer 1973, Inkeles 1983), and educational change (Anderson 1966, Roger 1969, Inkeles 1983); whereas the latter regards modernization as changes in individuals' values and attitudes in these major areas (Kahl 1968, Matt 1982, Inkeles 1983).

Many scholars who regarded modernization as societal development argue that the process of modernization has different consequences, for many aspects of social life. Some of these social consequences in turn, have an impact on a nation's political life (Huntington 1968 and 1977). Studies of modernization, for example, have demonstrated that economic development is associated with sharp increases in the general level of political participation (Burnham 1965, Pollocck 1982). These studies report strong relationships between aggregate socioeconomic measures such as per capita income, median level of education, and percentage of the
population in the urban areas, on one hand, and aggregate measures of political participation such as voting turnout on the other. Simultaneously, scholars conducting surveys of individual political participation consistently have reported that an individuals' social status, education, and organizational membership strongly affect the likelihood of engaging in various types of political activities (Loperato et al 1980, Segal and Knoke 1980, Kuo 1980, Dalton 1988).

Other scholars argue that value transformation is a prerequist for modernization. (McCleland 1961, Inkeles 1983). Inkeles, for example, argued that a society cannot expect to develop until the majority of its people holds modern values. Inkeles has formulated measures of individual modernity known as O-M scales. In different studies conducted by Inkeles and his colleagues, they indicated that education and factory employment are directly related to the procurement of modern values for individuals. The relationship has been generalized to encompass most developing countries.

Inkeles believes that the creation of modern values can be the result of human planning, and that socialization through modernizing institutions such as school and factory are of extreme importance in their emanation. In turn, through modernizing institutions, modern values of individuals lead to modern patterns of behavior. Democratic orientation and participation form one pattern of behavioral change (Inkeles 1983). Thus, such a society can naturally achieve modernization and development.
However, the modernization literature has been criticized on both conceptual and empirical grounds. Some critics have argued that modernization is the "agent of capitalism, compradore classes, multinational corporations, and other instruments of domination through which it will produce dependency" (Apter, 1987:28). Dependence produces a real flow of resources away from the less developed countries to the more industrialized capitalist societies. This happens because the monopoly structure of the world market acts to channel surplus value to the imperialist countries (Frank 1969, Dossantos 1970d, Amin 1976). For dependency theorists, development only takes place in the traditional or periphery societies when the forces of core capitalism are weakened by intracore conflict or world depression, and that balanced development in the periphery is only possible in the context of a break with core capitalism and the mobilization of socialist development (Frank 1969, Cardoso 1976).

In many dependency analyses the external situation of dependence is taken more or less as given and the main focus of the study is on the resulting internal processes of the dependent society. In contrast, others look at the causes of underdevelopment in terms of the world economy and its dynamics (Wallerstein 1974b, 1979, Amin 1976, Chirote 1977, Chilcote 1984, Bornschier and Chase-Dunn 1985).

Both criticized modernization theory in terms of its focus on internal, presumably independent, national dynamics instead of on penetration of peripheral national economies by large companies based in the most powerful states. This penetration distorts economic
growth and extracts resources which might otherwise be used for national development (Timberlake and Kentor 1983, Kentor 1981).

Others criticized modernization in terms of measurement. For instance, some critics have argued that the measures of modernity are more accurately described as measures of Western values (Armé 1977, Portes 1973). Others have criticized the assumed unidimensionality of the concept, the reliability of the scales, and the methods used (Gough 1977, Rau 1980). Still others have noted that much of the work on the relationships between modernization and modernity rests on observation of male subjects, the implicit assumption of research that ignores females is that the primary vehicle of value change within a culture is the changing values and attitudes of its male component (Klineberg 1973, Weisner and Abbott 1977).

These critiques imply very different contradictory hypothesis with the empirical studies that tested modernization theory in different developing societies. For example, on the societal level, these studies supported the modernization approach as the one that best fits the developing countries. Berrett and Whyte (1982), for example, conducted a study on the effect of modernization on Taiwan. The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between income distribution and foreign investment. Dependency theorists hypothesized that foreign investment decreased the income distribution and took more out than it put in. The result of this study showed that since foreign investment started in Taiwan, the income, which was very low, increased and the differences
between income of the people decreased. The findings of this study also showed that foreign investment in Taiwan did not take more than it put in as dependency theory hypothesized.

In a different study conducted by Li (1984), on the societal development and individual modernity in Taiwan, he found that there was a positive relationship between socio-economic development, and individual modernity. Also, Jones and Grupp (1983), found that socioeconomic change in the Soviet Union associated with the breakdown in traditional values, beliefs and behaviors of Islamic minorities. The results show change in the family size, family planning use, and attitudes regarding the role of marriage.

Some modernization studies suggest that exposure to modern institutions such as the school, factory and city tend to be associated with a breakdown in traditional values, beliefs and behaviors. This can be seen in the works of Inkeles (1983) six nation study. The results of this study show that individuals with the most exposure to modernizing institutions tended to score higher on a modernity scale. A sampling of modernity studies shows a similar link between modern institutions and individual modernity in many different national setting and social groups: school boys in Pakistan (Chazanfar, 1980), male parents in Ghana, India, and Brazil (Park, 1980), two generations of married men in India (Daykin and Hertel, 1978), and male workers in Tunisia (Sack, 1973).

The modernization approach in this study rests on purely endogenous factors to explain domestic processes of development in Kuwait. Although, nation states contact each other and are highly
influenced by international contexts, they are still viable social
units in their own right, and can be analyzed as such. This means
that aspects of internal can be interesting research materials in
themselves.

**Political participation**

Citizen participation in politics is one of the areas of
political sociology that has concerned many scholars for a long time.
For them, there are basically two types of political participation: conventional and unconventional. The former mostly is concerned with voting, campaigning, attending political meetings, contacting public officials, and expressing political interest in numerous conventional ways (Milbrath and Goel 1977, Verba et al. 1978, Segal and Knoke 1980, Goel 1980, Olsen 1980 and
participation on the other hand, is concerned mostly with sociopolitical movements and revolutions (Piven and Cloward 1977,
McAdam 1982, Jenkins 1985, Tilly 1984, Offe 1985, Goldstone 1986,
Tarrow 1988).

Most definitions of political participation, stress the
activity of private citizens designed to influence the decision-
making process at all levels of local, state, and national
government. Recently the concept has been broadened somewhat. Bill
and Leiden (1984:28), for example, define political participation as:

> a process whereby individuals engage in activity that
impinges directly upon the national power and authority
structure of society. This activity can be system
challenging or system supportive. System-supportive
participation exists when large numbers of individuals come to support an authority structure to which they have meaningful access and which represents their interests. As the process of participation develops and matures, the masses of people are continually brought into the decision making process, primarily at the grass roots level of society. Increasing social and political demands emanating from the lower and middle classes accompany this entire movement. The political elite will persistently both encourage and meet these demands for expanding representation.

However, most studies of conventional participation equate citizen participation in politics with the act of voting. Voting is the most visible and widespread form of citizen action but "it certainly is not the only means of citizen input. The public’s participation in politics is not limited to election periods, nor is voting necessarily the most effective means of influencing the political process" (Dalton, 1988: 35).

A rich set of cross national studies has explored the different forms of conventional political action in which citizen might participate (Milbrath and Goel 1977, Verba et al. 1978, Olsen 1982) These researchers find that various activities are not used interchangeably as many early analyses assumed. Instead as Dalton states (1988:36)

People tend to specialize in activities that match their motivations and goals. Specific kinds of activities frequently cluster together, that is a citizen who performs one act from a particular cluster is likely to perform other acts from the same cluster, but not necessarily activities from a different cluster. The clusters of activities are called modes of democratic participation.

From modes of democratic participation, several distinct modes of activity have been identified. Robinson (1952), for example, categorizes the differences between participation modes in terms of
"spectators", who regard elections as mass spectacles; "citizens", whose primary concern is how to vote; and "partisans", who seek to ensure the election of their candidates and party. Milbrath (1965: 17-22) divided the levels of political participation into three modes, namely: "spectators", "transactionals", and "gladiators". Recently, Milbrath and Goel (1977) extended Milbrath's typology by subdividing the active "gladiator" group into four modes of political participation, namely: "contact specialists", "communicators", "party and campaign workers", and "community activists".

In the early 1970's both Rush and Althoff (1972: 75-80) and Verba and Nie (1972: 73-81) attempted to construct relatively complete and precise models of political participation. Rush and Althoff developed a ten-level hierarchical model for political participation namely: "voting", "general interest in politics", "participation in informal political discussion", "passive membership in a quasi-political organization", "active membership in a quasi-organization", "passive membership in a political organization", "active membership in a political organization", "seeking political or administrative office"; and "holding political or administrative office". Verba and Nie emphasized types of political participation as the "the totally inactive", "the voting specialists" (who vote regularly but engage in no other political activities), "the parochial activists" (who contact governmental officials on minor local issues), "the communalists" (who participate actively in nonpartisan community organizations and programs), "the campaigners" (who are active in party and campaign affairs), and "the totally
active" (who do all of these things).

Bone and Ranney (1976) suggested a more refined typology for political participation. They identified six modes of participants: "organizational activists", "contributors", "opinion leaders", "voters", "non-voters", and "apoliticals".

More recently, Olsen (1982:48-51) proposed a more elaborate typology of political participation: "leaders" (persons who are directly involved in government), "activists" (persons who engage in organized political action within private organizations), "communicators" (persons who receive and communicate political information, interests, beliefs or values), "citizens" (persons who perform the expected responsibilities of citizens, but take no other part in politics), "marginals" (persons who have only minimal and transitory contacts with the political system), and "isolates" (persons who rarely or never participate in politics in any way).

The existence of different modes of political participation refer to the requirements political activities place on the citizen and the way the activities relate the individuals to the government. Some activities are very demanding, and may require a high level of sophistication, whereas other forms of political participation are fairly routine. These modes also differ in their goals.

Distribution of active citizens on the modes of participation are another factor that relates to participation. Previous studies of political participation suggest that very few people enact the modes of participation that requires considerably more effort by the individual, whereas most individuals enact the modes of
participation that requires less effort, such as voting. Olsen (1982:44), for example, found that the percentages of people falling into each of his six modes of participation are: leaders, 3 percent; activists, 14 percent; communicators, 13 percent; citizens, 30 percent; marginals, 14 percent; and isolates, 22 percent.

Characteristics of the participants are as important as the distribution of active citizens on the modes of participation. The importance of the characteristics of the participants help us to:

interpret the meaning of political activism. For example, policy dissatisfaction conceivably may either increase or decrease the likelihood of political action. These two alternatives cast a much different light on the significance of participation; it might be an indicator of disapproval or popular support. Second, if citizen participation influences policy outcome, then the pattern of participation suggests which citizens are making their voices heard by policy makers and which interests are not represented. Finally, comparing the correlates of participation across nations and participation modes provides insights into the political process in each nation and the distinct aspects of each mode (Dalton, 1988:49).

However, for this study a number of individual items were included on the questionnaire. Beside the usual demographic variables, a variety of others were used to measure certain characteristics assumed to be associated with political participation. These characteristics include items related to political activity, political attentiveness, and organizational involvement. Therefore, the following definitions will be used as a basis for developing items to be included on the questionnaire:

Political activity: Defines as persons who perform the expected responsibilities of citizens, but take no other part in politics.

Political attentiveness: Persons who receive and communicate political information, interests, beliefs, or values.
Organizational involvement: Are those persons who engage in organized political action within private organizations.

Variables related to political participation

As mentioned, early modernization has consequences for many aspects of social life. Some of these social consequences, in turn, have an impact on a nation's political life (Nie et al. 1969: 361). Studies of social mobilization for example, have demonstrated that economic development is associated with sharp increases in the general level of political participation (Olsen, 1982:77, Miller and Schneider 1980:306-311, Verba and Nie, 1972:132).

These studies report strong relationships between aggregate socioeconomic measures such as per capita income, median level of education, and percentage of the population in the urban areas, and aggregate measures of political participation such as voting. Simultaneously, scholars conducting surveys of individual political participation consistently have reported that an individual's age, gender, ethnicity, race, religion, region, and organizational memberships strongly affect the likelihood of his engaging in various type of political participation (Jenning and Niem 1981, Sapiro 1983, Bennett 1986, Clymer and Frankovic 1981, Knok and Land 1975, Braungart 1981, Denney 1979, Pollock 1982, Beeghley 1986, and Asher 1988).

However, it should be noted that since this research is confined to Kuwaiti society, the most directly applicable literature concerning Kuwait or similar societies will be used. Scientific studies regarding political participation in Kuwait are very rare. As a result, studies examining this same subject in other cultures...
will be used to justify the chosen independent variables.

**Socio-demographic variables**

As mentioned previously among the many factors possibly influencing a citizen's decision to participate include the major ones identified by prior research: age, gender, socioeconomic status, residency, and organizational membership. These variables are believed to have different influences on the levels of political participation.

One of the most interesting socio demographic variables is age. Many scholars have found weak political interest in grade school age children (Hess and Torney 1967), a rise during the high school (Jennings and Niemi 1981), a very large drop in interest during young adulthood (Converse and Niemi 1971), followed by a rapid and substantial increase which is maintained throughout the mature years (Bennett 1984) followed by a reduction of interest sometime after retirement (Jennings and Niemi 1981, Bennett 1984).

It is generally agreed that participation rises gradually with age, reaches its peak and levels off in the forties and fifties and gradually declines above the sixties (Olsen 1980, Lipset 1981, Rogers 1985, Asher 1988, Dalton 1988). Those scholars believe that young adults participate the least in politics probably due to their concern with establishing a career. After marriage the arrival of children reduces political participation especially among young women (Sapiro 1983). Lowered interest in public affairs among those over sixty is attributed to lower education levels (Bennett 1985), disengagement (Converse and Niemi 1971), and
differential life expectancy (Bennett 1986).

Gender is also an important social determinant of political participation. Men are more likely to participate in different levels of politics than women (Olsen 1980, Inglehart 1981, Rogers 1985, Bennett 1986, Dalton 1988).

Most of the social scientists who studied gender and political participation found that women, especially older, lesser educated ones, are less likely to be politically interested than men (Bennett, 1986:69). Part of this gap may be attributable to the persistence of traditional gender roles among women raised at a time when politics was still a man’s business (Milbrath and Goel 1977). Others attribute these differences to childhood socialization (Sapiro 1983:89), and adulthood roles of homemaking and motherhood (Lane 1965:210-214). In addition, Dalton (1988:49) regards this gap as a result of differences in political sources such as education, income, and employment patterns which place women at a disadvantage in dealing with the world of politics.

Among other variables that related to political participation is socio-economic status. It is generally conceded that persons with higher socio-economic status backgrounds are more likely to be participating politically than those among the lower social orders (Nie et al. 1969, Huntington and Nelson 1976, Knoke 1979, Breeghley 1986, Bennett 1986, Asher 1988, Dalton 1988).

Education is regarded as one of the most important dimensions of socio-economic status. Many scholars believe that the number of years of formal education is the surest single predictor of political

Income is another dimension of socio-economic status. Many studies show that political participation tends to be higher among high income groups (Dahl 1971, Olsen 1980, Inkeles 1983, Beeghley 1986, Asher 1988). Milbrath cites three reasons for this situation: such groups tend to be better educated, they are more likely to perceive that they have a stake in politics, and they are more likely to interact with persons active in politics (1965:116-21), whereas Lane believes that the lack of resources, such as money and time, are behind the less participation among lower income groups (1959:233-234).


Another factor consistently found by earlier researchers to be related to political participation is type of residency. For them, environment plays a major role in shaping the orientation of its tenants. Their findings show that people in urban areas are more likely to become active in politics than persons in rural areas (Campbell 1962, Knoke and Lane 1975, Inkeles 1983). Lipset (1981:191) cites four reasons for participation by people in the rural areas: if their interests are strongly affected by government policies, if they have access to information about the relevance of political decisions to their interests, if they are exposed to social pressure demanding voting for example, and if they are not
pressed to vote for different political parties.

Cosmopolitanism is another variable that concerned earlier researchers in the studies of politics. It is assumed that cosmopolitanism is positively associated with political attitudes and behaviors (Dobriner 1958, Dye 1963).

Among other variables that related to political participation is membership in organizations. It is generally conceded that persons who are involved in organizational activities are more likely to participate in politics (Brown et al. 1980, Nie et al. 1969, Lipset 1981, Olsen 1980, Pollock 1982).

Generally, the previous studies show that age, gender, socio-economic status, residency, cosmopolitanism, and organizational membership influence a citizen's decision to participate. This researcher believes that the prior variables are general for every study of political participation, but every society has some specific characteristics. Some characteristics are rooted in the culture of the society and play important roles, whereas, others newly come to the society. Diwaniya and religiousity are two important variables that are rooted in the structure of Kuwaiti society and play important roles in the social life. Therefore, beside the prior independent variables, it is reasonable to include diwaniya and religiousity for the purpose of this study.

Variables related to Kuwaiti society

Informal groups (diwaniya):

Informal groups usually referred to as cliques or factions are a "fundamental unit of political action in many societies. The
informal group is dominant in southern European North African Middle Eastern and Latin American cultures" (Bill and Leiden, 1984:82).

In the Middle East, the most crucial units of interest aggregation remain informal groups. In Iraq, for example, this kind of collectivity is referred to as a "Shilla"; in Saudi Arabia, the term most often used is "bashka". The Egyptians also use the word "slilla" to refer to a group of approximately two to twelve members who socialize together and who work to help one another advance politically and economically. In Iran, the sociopolitical system is backed by a gigantic network of informal personalistic cliques referred to as "dawrah". In Afghanistan they refer to these informal groups as "dastah" or "hemser". The hemseri likes a group that forms and reforms as fellow villagers and homeowners aggregate to assist one another with social, economic occupational and political aims (Dubetsky 1976:433-451).

In Kuwait and the Arab Gulf states, they refer to informal groups as "diwaniya". It is an informal gathering where citizens from different classes and ages meet to discuss and determine important political questions. As Peterson states (1988:19):

"diwaniya is more than just a social gathering. The diwaniya is an institution in which personal relationships are maintained and strengthened, business is conducted and politics is discussed. Even in the official diwaniyas of government officials, subtle criticism can be expressed and public opinion on an issue gauged."

Since the discovery of oil in Kuwait and the existence of modernized institutions many traditional values and symbols of the society either disappeared or adjusted to fit the new situation.
Diwaniya is one of these traditional symbols that lost something of its catholic character, and began to reflect the stratification within the society itself (Farah 1987: 38). Apart from its socializing and opinion gathering functions diwaniya now support candidates for the parliament as well as "enforce the populist role of the assembly member" (Peterson 1988: 56).

In addition, the diwaniya extended their roles beyond parliamentary related activities to include other political arenas such as the university, community organizations, and political activities. Because of the roles that diwaniya play in modernizing Kuwait, it is reasonable to include this variable for the study of social change in general and political participation in particular.

Degree of religiosity

Before the breakout of World War I the Ottoman Empire was the legitimate representative state of Islam. After the defeat of the Empire in the war it was broken down into different countries.

In 1924, the last Caliph in Islam was deposed by Kemal Attaturk and the Caliphate was abolished. And in 1925 many Islamic symbols were banned in public along with those of other religious groups (Bill and Leiden 1984: 52). In addition in 1926 the Sharia was abolished, and in 1927 the Arabic alphabet was superseded by a latinized one.

However not all Muslims were enthusiastic about these changes. Many resisted them and began to organize themselves to return Islamic Caliphate and to reunite Muslim countries.

The most prominent of the Islamic puritanical movements
began the "Muslim Brotherhood" in Egypt. It was founded in 1928 by Hasan Al Banna. "Fidayani Islam" was another important organization that was founded in Iran. In other Muslim countries a variety of similar organizations were founded.

During the 1930s and 1940s these organizations became very strong with a large number of supporters throughout the Muslim world. As they became a real threat for the continuation of the established regimes in the 1950s, many of these organizations were dissolved, their leaders were assassinated, executed, and imprisoned.

After the traumatic defeat of the Arabs in the 1967 "Six Days War", the remainder of these organizations' leaders who were in exile or worked underground blamed nationalist and socialist movements for this defeat. They called for Muslims to return to Islam as the only solution for independence from the hegemony of the superpowers, and the only way to defeat their enemies. As stated by one Islamic leader:

Really I wonder what people expect us to do. Nasser put us under Russia's armpit. The Russians didn't want to help us, they wanted to dominate us. Then we were lied to and put in the 1967 war. Then Sadat comes and turns to America. The Americans did not want to help us, they exploited our longing for peace to make us give concessions to their pet dog Israel and humiliate us. And the prices went up and the thieves made fortunes and we said that's capitalism. And our rich Arab brothers did they want to help us. Did they care about all we had suffered for thirty years for the Arab Nation. No they wanted to measure out their rivals and dinars and keep Egyptian boys fighting for Palestine. To whom shall we turn for help if not to God. In him alone I will put my trust (Williams, 1980:83).

Time was on their side, and they began to organize people under the "soul searching" slogan. And in a few years these organizations spread all around the Muslim world. They encouraged
their supporters for participation in every dimension and level of social life. By the mid 1970s, most of the student organizations in the Muslim countries were controlled by them. Their activities also spread to include Parliament and Municipal elections. Consequently, they became "a very important element in the elections in Egypt Jordan and Kuwait" (Layne 1987: 11).

By the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s, they participated in different movements and uprisings. For example people in Iran succeeded in overthrowing the oldest Empire and replaced it with an Islamic state. In addition there were different attempts for such revolutions in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Afghanistan, Morrocco, Algeria, Tunisia, etc.

Today Islamic movements in general, and "radical Islam perhaps, are the strongest and most deeply rooted in the masses" (Hudson 1986: 148). They are spread in universities, mosques, religious welfare organizations, etc. throughout Muslim society.

In Kuwait, Islamic movements resurfaced for a number of reasons. The failure of secularism after the defeat of Arabs in the 1967 "six day war", and the Islamic revolution in Iran which "not only galvanized the whole religious movements in the Arab world, but, although it was of different creed, sect, and nature, it also fanned the flames of the resurgence of Islamic to replace all the failed decadent "ism" (Alshayeji, 1988:214). Therefore, the religious organizations became more active on different levels. At Kuwait University, for example, the competition on controlling the Student's Union that once was between nationalist groups is today between Islamic
groups. And for eleven executive years the Islamic Brotherhood group has controlled the union. Their activities are also very clear in schools, colleges, voluntary organizations, mosques, etc. Finally on the leadership level of participation, Islamic movements succeeded in the 1980 general election to control almost twenty percent of the seats in the parliament (Gavrielides 1987).

On the grass root level and under the "going back to soul" slogan, people in Kuwait as other Muslim countries began to go back to the Islamic principals. Women, for example, put on Islamic dress, and started to go to mosques, and attend Islamic lectures. Men, on the other hand, begun to practice the daily Islamic duties such as praying, fasting, reading the holy book, etc.

Because of the crucial roles of religiosity this researcher believes that it is reasonable to include this variable for the study of political participation.

Based on the foregoing discussion, this researcher hypothesized that:

HYP. 1. Cultural contact - as measured by cosmopolitanism, listening to foreign broadcasts, and listening to news and political programs from these broadcasts - will be positively related to political participation.

HYP. 2. A positive relationship will exist between the degree of religiosity and political participation.

HYP. 3. Persons who are involved in formal, and informal organizations "diwaniya" activities will participate in politics.

HYP. 4. Males, older, more educated persons will participate in politics more than females, younger, and less educated persons.
HYP. 5. Socio-economic status positively related to political participation.

HYP. 6. Academic major and types of residency, will be positively related to political participation.

Summary and conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter has been to portray political participation in Kuwait as consequences of modernization. As studies of modernization demonstrated "as a nation becomes more modernize, it becomes more developed economically, this in turn alter the structure of the society" (Deutsch 1961, Burnham 1965). The relative size of the upper and middle classes become greater, larger numbers of citizens are concentrated in urban areas, and the density and complexity of economic and secondary organizations increase. These social changes imply political changes. A greater proportion of the population finds itself in a life situation which leads to the development of an articulate public opinion and a demand for more chances of participation. Therefore, different modes of political participation emerge. Because of the sophistication and diversity of these modes, people tend to participate in activities that match their motivations and goals. Thus, the more the society goes through development, the more new modes of political participation emerge, and the more is the chance for people to choose activities.

In the case of Kuwaiti society, modernization and social changes have effected many aspects of the society. Changes occurred on both societal and individual levels. Different institutions such as schools, and factories, were established. The foundation of these institutions, increased citizens demands for political freedom
and participation. The Kuwaiti government responded positively to these demands, and a constitution was founded to protect citizens political freedom, and chances for political participation. This move opened opportunities for different segments of the society not only to participate in politics, but to influence events.

Therefore, this study will examine the effects of socio-demographic variables among citizens on political participation. The socio-demographic characteristics are believed to affect participation on account of modernization. To the extent that modernization takes place in a society, the latter is likely to experience social change. Increased participation in the political process is one outcome of these changes.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The research design:

To answer the questions regarding political participation in Kuwait, a sample of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students at Kuwait University were administered a test instrument that was designed to measure the students’ political attitudes and behaviors. This section will outline the methods and procedures employed in conducting the research study.

The sample:

Many social scientists believe that it is not always appropriate to study a specific subject through public opinions to generalize the outcomes (Campbell and Stanly 1963, Cook and Campbell 1979, Muller 1977, Kidder 1981). They argue that some times it is more appropriate to study specific group or strata in the society to generalize the research conclusions. To choose a specific group or strata for the purpose of generalization "depends on the judgment of the expert who knows the population and who can readily spot the typical case" (Muller, 1977:370). For example, in a highly stratified societies a specific strata such as the elites opinions might be more appropriate for predicting outcomes of a phenomenon than studying public opinion of all stratum and groups of the society. In different studies that related to the future stability of a system, elites for example, play
more crucial roles than the ordinary people. This case is very obvious in the Islamic Revolution in Iran (Skocpol 1986, Eisenstadt 1986, Abrahamian 1986); Revolution from Above (Trimberger 1986); The English Revolution (Goldstone, 1986). Therefore, extrapolating the attitudes and behaviors of the elites and political leaders can result in interesting and valid predictions of the possible range of future events.

At present, one of the most important issues in the Middle East in general and Kuwait in particular requiring a future study approach, is democracy and political stability of these countries. Among the citizens, the questions range from identification of elites and administrative, to the analysis of the whole range of backgrounds, educational, religious, socioeconomic, political, and ideological characteristics, and the relations between these and the consequences for society leadership, policies, decision making, and political action.

Therefore, many of these countries attempt to socialize the future elites and leadership with new values such as participation, citizens' rights, equality, social justice, democracy.... to avoid any future political problems. The Kuwaiti government, for example, believes that the process of development and social change needs leaders with higher education and experiences in the political and social issues, besides the academic education, to meet the managerial and leadership needs of the society it is seeking to creates; attempts to plan its higher educational system in accordance with estimates of future needs. Thus, at the university, they trained the students on issues that are related
practically to the society that when they graduate and hold leadership positions within the administrative, they can cope with potential problems easily.

Due to the fact that elites constitute the administrative body of the state in Third world countries, their attitudes and behaviors are important to understand political events. Universities are one very good sources of these elites.

Therefore, the sample for this investigation was drawn from students, both male and female, at Kuwait University in May 1988. Kuwait University is the single university in the country. It is considered an elite university because it is Kuwait's only source of highly educated people outside of those who study abroad. Today's graduates of this university are among the future leaders of Kuwait. Their attitudes and behaviors will determine the course of Kuwaiti political development in the years to come. To understand the future course of change in Kuwaiti society it is therefore important to understand the political attitudes and behaviors of the students.

Of the 12,907 students enrolled in the university during the time that this study was conducted, 8378 were enrolled in Art colleges, and 4529 were enrolled in Science colleges. There were 3023 males and 5355 females enrolled in the Arts colleges, and 2035 males and 2494 females enrolled in the Science colleges. In addition, there were 6451 Kuwaiti and 1927 non-Kuwaiti students enrolled in the Arts colleges, whereas the number of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students enrolled in Science were 2692 and 1837 respectively (Kuwait University, 1988).
A stratified sample of nine percent (977) of the total number of the students enrolled was conducted. The sample was based on gender: 363 males, and 614 females; and nationality: 730 Kuwaiti, and 247 non-Kuwaiti students. It was also proportionately distributed by college with 635 subjects being drawn from Arts and 362 from Science. Classes in these seven colleges were selected at random and all students in the classes were given a self-administered questionnaire to be answered and returned during a given class period. The number of males and females and the number of Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis were proportioned by randomly discarding excess questionnaires.

Political participation:

A number of individual items were included on the questionnaire. Demographic variables such as sex, age, father's occupation, father's education, mother's occupation, mother's education, family income, level of education, academic major, and type of residency, were used to measure certain characteristics assumed to be associated with political participation.

Political participation includes the orientation of citizens towards politics, as well as their actual political behavior that seeks to influence or to support governmental decision-making including the selection of the governmental personnel and or actions they take. Items related to various aspects of political participation were: political attentiveness, political activity, organizational involvement (see Appendix).

The following definitions were used as a basis for developing the dependent variables to be included on the questionnaire:
Political attentiveness:

This refers to 1) knowledge of the political system, 2) following the governmental affairs and political issues through mass media, 3) talking politics with family, neighbors, and friends; and 4) having an interest in politics.

Political activity:

This is measured by 1) registration to vote and voting in recent elections, 2) displaying a political button, sticker or other sign, 3) contributing money and time for the candidates; 4) trying to change the vote choice of other students.

Organizational involvement:

This variable was measured by 1) being a member of organization/s, 2) doing volunteer work or holding office in the organization/s, and 3) participating directly in some kind of political activity conducted by a voluntary interest association.

Construction of scales:

To construct scales of various aspects of political participation, the researcher used factor analysis to discover patterns among the variations in values of 13 individual items of political attitudes and behaviors. This technique provided an efficient method of discovering predominant patterns among a large number of variables. As was indicated by Kim and Meuller (1986), "factor analysis is purely a statistical technique indicating which, and to what degree, variables relate to an underlying and undefined factor" (p. 56).
From 13 individual items of students' political attitudes and behaviors entered into factor analysis, only 11 items were found to be really central to the study, whereas the remaining two items were found to be insignificant and were therefore excluded in order to extract the initial factors.

For the total sample (977), three patterns of political participation were identified by factor analysis. They have been labeled as:

1 - political attentiveness
2 - political activity
3 - organizational involvement

For each item in the political attentiveness scale, the responses were scored from 0 to 2 with a "very attentive" as the highest score, and "non-attentive" the lowest score. For scales 2 and 3 responses were scored from 0 to 1 with 1 being "active" and "member of organizations", and 0 being "non-active" and "not a member".

The political attentiveness scale:

The scale of political attentiveness consisted of six items derived originally by Nie et al (1969) and Olsen (1980) who identified two types of political attentiveness that affect attitudes and could be used to measure political participation, i.e., mass media and social contact. The responses were scored from 1 to 3 with a 3 being high degree of political attentiveness and a 1 being low degree of political attentiveness. These included:
1 - Do you follow the account of political and governmental affairs in general? Would you say you follow them: Rarely, from time to time, regularly

2 - What about newspapers? Do you follow accounts of political and governmental affairs in the newspapers: Rarely, from time to time, nearly every day.

3 - What about magazines? Do you read about public and governmental affairs in magazines: Rarely, from time to time, about once a week.

4 - What about on the radio or television? Do you listen to/watch account of political and governmental affairs through radio and TV: Rarely, about once a week, nearly every day.

5 - Generally speaking, would you say that you are personally interested in politics: Not interested, a little, very interested.

6 - How often do you discuss public issues with your family and friends: Rarely, sometimes, every day.

The computed reliability coefficient of the six items of the political attentiveness scale yielded an alpha equal to .7544 which indicated a high degree of internal consistency among six items in the political attentiveness scale.

The political activity scale:

The political activity scale consisted of three items and was developed by Nie et al (1969) and Pollock (1982) to measure the extent of political participation among citizens. The students were asked to answer either "Yes" or "No" with an affirmative response representing participation and a negative response representing no participation in politics. The three items were:
1 - Do you vote in student or other political organizations' elections?

2 - Have you ever been active in student, parliamentary or other organizational campaigns. That is, have you ever worked for a candidate, contributed money, put some stickers on your car or any other activities?

3 - Have you ever tried to influence the vote choice of others?

The computer reliability coefficient of the three items of political activity scale yielded an alpha equal to .6997, which indicated a good degree of internal consistency among all three items in the political activity scale.

The organizational involvement scale:

The organizational involvement scale consisted of two items. These items were developed by Nie et al (1969), Verba and Nie (1972), and Pollock (1982) to measure involvement in organizations. The students were asked to answer either "yes" or "no" with an affirmative response representing involvement in organizational activities, and a negative response representing non-involvement in organizational activities. In addition, the number of organization variable was dichotomized. the students were scored from 1 to 2 with 2 being involved, and 1 being non-involved. These included:

1 - Are you currently a member of any organization?

2 - If yes, how many? One more than one.

The computed reliability coefficient of the two items of the organizational involvement scale yielded an alpha equal to .7924, which indicated a high degree of internal consistency
among all items in the organizational involvement measure.

**Independent variables:**

A variety of demographic and social variables were collected by using the students' questionnaires. In addition, several scales were used, i.e., a religiosity scale, cosmopolitan scale a socio-economic status scale.

Some of these independent variables had undergone arbitrary coding, which was necessary for both descriptive analysis and statistical analysis. Sex, a dummy variable, was coded so that males received a score of 0 and females a score of 1. Similarly, nationality was coded so that Kuwaiti students received a 1, and non-Kuwaiti students a 0. Age was dichotomized. Students who were born before 1968 were coded as 0, and students who were born after 1968 received a 1. Residence area was also dichotomized into urban and received a score of 1, and urbanizing and received a 0 score. Academic major was dichotomized to "Art" and "Science". Students who were in art, commerce, education, law and Sharia colleges were labeled as "art" and coded as a 1, whereas students who were in science, engineering, and medicine colleges were labeled as "science" and coded as 0. Similarly, level of education at the university was dichotomized. Respondents in the first and second years at the university were considered "juniors" and coded as 0, while respondents in the third and fourth grades at the university were considered "senior" and coded as a 1.

On the variable "being a member of organizations", members were coded as 1 and non-members as 0. Similarly, visiting informal
organizations frequently were coded as 0 for "no" and 1 for "yes". Listening to foreign broadcasts, "broadcasts" in general and to political programs and news "programs" in particular was coded as 0 for "no" and 1 for "yes".

The same procedure was used for respondents' socio-economic status, cosmopolitanism, and degree of religiosity. Socio-economic status scale is compounded of levels of father's and mother's education, father's and mother's occupations and family income. Respondents were scored "high SES" with a 1 score and "low SES" with a 0 score. Degree of religiosity, as a continuous variable, was scored from 0 to 3 with "very religious" at the highest of the scale, and "non-religious" at the low end of the scale. Cosmopolitan scale was dichotomized to "cosmopolitan" with a 1 score, and "non-cosmopolitan" with a 0 score.

The religiosity scale:

Eleven items were used to measure the degree of religiosity. This scale was originally developed by Putney and Middleton (1978) and redesigned by Shelash (1985). The responses were scored from 1 to 4 (strongly agree to strongly disagree) on the Likert scale with very religious being a high score and less religious being a low score. Three items were scored negatively to avoid stereotyped responses. The items included:

1 - I have a duty to help those who are confused about religion.

2 - Even though it may create some unpleasant situations, it is important to help people become enlightened about religion.

3 - There is no point in arguing about religion because there is little chance of changing people's minds about religion.
4 - I believe the world would really be a better place if more people held the views about religion which I hold.

5 - I believe the world problems are seriously aggravated by the fact that so many people are misguided about religion.

6 - My ideas about religion are one of the most important parts of my philosophy of life.

7 - I find that my ideas on religion have a considerable influence on my views in other areas.

8 - Believing as I do about religion is important to being the kind of personal I want to be.

9 - If my ideas about religion were different, I believe that my way of life would be very different.

10 - Religion is a subject in which I am not particularly interested.

11 - I very often think about matters relating to religion.

The computed reliability coefficient of the eleven items of the religiosity scale yielded an alpha equal to .7529, which indicated a high degree of internal consistency among the eleven items in the religiosity scale.

The cosmopolitanism scale:

Two items were used to measure individual cosmopolitanism. This scale originally was developed by Dobriner (1969). It was hypothesized that cosmopolitan students tended to be more involved in politics than non-cosmopolitans. The responses were scored from 1 to 4 with very cosmopolitan being a high score, and non-cosmopolitan with a low score. These items included:

1 - Generally speaking, news commentators on radio or TV who give personal interpretations of the news and human interest stories are more listening to than commentators who just give the news straight.

2 - International events are important largely because of the way they affect my society.
The computed reliability coefficient of the two items of the cosmopolitanism scale yielded an alpha equal to .7089 which indicated a high degree of internal consistency among these two items in the cosmopolitanism scale.

**The socio-economic status scale:**

Measures of socio-economic status have been empirically linked to a wide variety of attitudes and characteristics found in society. In this study, father's education and occupation, mother's education and occupation, and family income were included to tap this source of variation, following the hypothesis that the higher the level of education, occupation and family income of the respondent's father and mother, the more he/she participates in politics. As for the father's and mother's education variable, this variable was measured by the respondent reporting the highest achieved level of education of their fathers' and mothers'. These levels were ordered as follows: 1) does not read and write, 2) reads and writes, 3) elementary level, 4) intermediate level, 5) high school level, 6) university level, and 7) graduate level.

Family income was measured by family annual income. The responses ranged from "less than 3,000 KD" to "17,000 and over" (1 KD equals about $3.35).

For the father's and mother's occupations variable, this variable was measured by the respondent reporting the occupation of his/her father and mother. These occupations were ordered according to the United Nations Standard. These occupational
areas include: 1) professional, 2) administrative or managerial, 3) clerical, 4) sales, 5) service, 6) hunter or fisherman, 7) laborer, and 8) retired or deceased. In order to achieve construction of the socio-economic scale, these variables were computed. The computed reliability coefficient of the five items of the socioeconomic scale yielded an alpha equals to .6734 which indicated a high degree of internal consistency among these items in the socioeconomic status scale.

Other independent variables:

Other independent variables included were sex, age, type of residency, college and university level, visiting informal organizations, membership in formal organization, listening to foreign stations, and listening to news and political programs.

1) Level of education and academic major. As for the college and university stage variables, these variables were measured by respondents reporting their colleges and their stage at the university. It was hypothesized that a person's level of education and academic major are positively associated with political participation.

In terms of analysis of the items of university stage, these items were broken down into two categories: juniors which include the first two years and seniors which include the remaining years. In addition, colleges were broken down into two categories: Art and Sciences. The first one includes colleges of Art, Education, Commerce and Social Studies, and Law and Sharia. Science includes Engineering and Computer science, Medicine, and Physics and chemistry.
2) Visiting informal organizations (diwaniya) is another important variable for the studies of political participation in the Middle East in general, and Kuwaiti society in particular. Kuwait is a traditional society which is in the process of development and modernization. Therefore, many of the traditional symbols and values of the society disappeared, whereas others were adjusted to fit the new situation. In Kuwaiti society, there are informal organizations in every neighborhood. In the past, these Diwanyahs used to be a place that people gathered every night to discuss issues related to the community and play some games after a long day of work. After the discovery of oil and the existence of the parliament, beside the traditional roles, they became involved in other activities such as political activities. Thus it is reasonable to include this variable for the study of social change in general and political participation in specific. Respondents were asked to answer whether they visit these informal organizations. We hypothesized that the more people visit informal organizations the more they participate in politics.

3) Cultural contact consists of two independent variables, listening to foreign stations such as B.B.C, Voice of America, Monte Carlo, etc., and listening to the news and political programs specifically from these stations. These stations reflect many democratic ideas and values of the developed countries. In a long turn, this could affect listeners political attitudes and behaviors. Students were asked if they listen to foreign stations often and to report on the types of programs that they prefer to
listen to foreign broadcasts. It is hypothesized that students who listen to foreign broadcasts and listen to news and political programs tend to participate in politics more than those who listen to other programs.

**Analysis of the data:**

The data for this research were analyzed in three stages: 1) descriptive analysis of the independent variables, 2) description and scaling of items relating to each of the three attributes of political participation (i.e., political attentiveness, political activity, and organizational involvement); and finally, 3) testing the hypotheses of the study by using multiple regression analysis.

The first stage of the analysis involved the descriptive analysis of the independent variables. For the purposes of this study, sex, age, type of residency, level of education, academic major, socioeconomic status, college/university stage, listening to foreign broadcasts, listening to news and political programs, religiosity and local-cosmopolitan scales have been chosen as relevant characteristics of the study respondents. The frequency distributions of these variables were examined and discussed by using the means, and standard deviations of the items.

The second stage involved using principle axis factoring and orthogonal rotation. The factors were examined for interpretability within the context of this study and the most appropriate factors were selected as a composite measure of each of the three attributes under investigation.
The final stage of the analysis involved testing the hypotheses here, using multiple regression to test the significance of the relationship between political participation scales and the independent variables. In addition, because of the differences in the social and cultural backgrounds between Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students, a separate analysis will be used for each.
CHAPTER IV

Findings

The research findings are presented in two sections. The first section begins with a descriptive analysis of sample characteristics of the study respondents. It provides an important understanding of the sample of 730 Kuwaitis and 247 non-Kuwaitis and also provides an aid to the interpretation of multivariate analyses to determine variables associated with differences between Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students regarding participation in politics.

The second section will test the hypotheses developed in Chapter I. Multiple linear regression analysis was used to test the research hypotheses. This procedure allowed examination of the relative predictive power of a set of independent variables. The three measures of political participation were regressed on the following independent variables: age, sex, socio-economic status, types of residency, level of education, academic major, listening to foreign broadcasts, listening to news and political programs from foreign broadcasts, visiting informal organizations (diwaniya), being a member of formal organizations, cosmopolitanism, and degree of religiosity.
The descriptive analysis

The descriptive data reflects the attributes of the respondents' sample. These attitudes are presented as three broad categories: the demographic characteristics of the respondents, social and cultural characteristics, and the subjects' response to the items on the three levels of political participation, i.e., political activity, political attentiveness, and organizational involvement.

Demographic characteristics of the students:

Demographic characteristics are those attributes which are ascribed to, or acquired by the individual. This study includes the following demographic characteristics: sex, age, nationality, residential area, academic major, year of study at the university, socio-economic status, and degree of religiosity.

Sex: As shown in Table 3, the means and standard deviation for the dummy variable are .628 and .483, respectively. This figure is a reflection of sampling procedure designed to include approximately equal percentages of both male and female students at Kuwait University.

Nationality: This table also shows that the mean and standard deviation for Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students are .747 and .345, respectively. This figure is also a reflection of sampling procedure designed to include approximately equal percentages of both Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students enrolled in Kuwait University during the second semester of 1988.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>St. deviation</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political attentiveness scale</td>
<td>1.204</td>
<td>.424</td>
<td>0-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political activity scale</td>
<td>.494</td>
<td>.403</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational involvement scale</td>
<td>.216</td>
<td>.378</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiousity scale</td>
<td>2.235</td>
<td>.383</td>
<td>0-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan scale</td>
<td>.392</td>
<td>.406</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic status scale</td>
<td>.364</td>
<td>.298</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.466</td>
<td>.499</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.628</td>
<td>.483</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>.747</td>
<td>.435</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic major</td>
<td>.656</td>
<td>.475</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of education</td>
<td>.408</td>
<td>.492</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residency</td>
<td>.729</td>
<td>.445</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational membership</td>
<td>.269</td>
<td>.444</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwaniya</td>
<td>.267</td>
<td>.443</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening to foreign broadcasts</td>
<td>.468</td>
<td>.499</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening to news and political programs from foreign broadcasts</td>
<td>.385</td>
<td>.487</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Age: Table 3 indicates that the means and standard deviation for age are .466 and .499, respectively. This indicates that about 53% of the sampled students are between ages 18 and 20, and 47 percent over 20 years age.

Residential area: Table 3 also shows that the mean and standard deviation for residential area are .729 and .445, respectively. This indicates that around 73% of the students live in urbanized areas, whereas 27% of them live either in urbanizing or rural areas. One can notice that in Kuwait it is very difficult to distinguish between urbanized, urbanizing and rural areas. This can be attributed to the size of the country which is about 10,000 square miles, and the rapid change and expansion in road construction connects most of the areas together.

Academic major: This table also shows that the mean and standard deviation for academic major are .656 and .475, respectively. This indicates that about 67% of the students are enrolled in art colleges, whereas 34% are in science colleges.

Level of education at the university: Table 3 also indicates that the mean and standard deviation for level of education at the university are .408 and .492, respectively. This indicates that 40% of the students are juniors, while 60% of them are seniors.

Socio-economic status: Table 3 also shows that the mean and standard deviation of socio-economic status are .364 and .298, respectively. This indicates that 64% of the students are from the middle class, whereas 36% are from the higher class. This is a
reflection of Kuwaiti society which in reality has two classes, i.e., middle and high classes, and most of the population are in the middle class.

Other characteristics:

With regard to the continuous variable religiosity, the mean and standard deviation are 2.235 and .383, respectively. This indicates generally high religiosity among the student sampled. This reflects a common phenomenon in a modern Islamic society such as Kuwait, whose youth are strongly influenced by the current Islamic movement occurring throughout the Middle East.

Social interaction is a key element in the transmission of norms, values, attitudes and behaviors. Five items were included to measure respondents’ exposure to new and modern ideas. These include: listening to foreign broadcasts, listening to news and political programs, visiting informal organizations, being a member of formal organizations, and being cosmopolitan.

Table 3 shows that the mean and standard deviation for listening to foreign broadcasts are .468 and .499, respectively. This indicates that almost 50% of the students listen to one or more foreign broadcasts frequently. This reflects the willingness of the respondents to contact the culture of other societies especially the developed nations.

The mean and standard deviation for listening to news and political programs from foreign stations are .385 and .487, respectively. This indicates that from 47% of the students who listen to foreign broadcasts, 39% of them listen more to news and political
programs, whereas 8% listen to social and cultural programs. This indeed, in the long term will effect political attitudes and behaviors of the students towards more democratic values.

The mean and standard deviation for diwaniya are 0.267 and 0.443, respectively. This indicates that 27% of the respondents visit diwaniya, whereas 73% do not. This is a reflection of the nature of society that men usually spend most of their time, especially at night, in diwaniyas, whereas only a very small percentage of females visit women's diwaniyas.

Table 3 shows that the mean and standard deviation for organization are 0.269 and 0.444, respectively. This indicates that about 27% of the students are members of one or more than one organization. Compared to diwaniya as a traditional informal organization, and its adjustment to fulfill the modernization processes, people begin to spend their time more in newly founded organizations than in the informal ones. This reflects the process of change that occurs in the society. Kuwaiti people whom once used to visit informal organizations now work voluntarily in modern organizations.

The items in the cosmopolitan scale are intended to measure the degree of interaction between the individual and the large world. The mean and standard deviation for cosmopolitanism are 0.392 and 0.406, respectively. This indicates 39% of the students are cosmopolitan compared to 61% who are non-cosmopolitan. These percentages show that the process of modernization is influencing the students to look at their society in a global perspective,
rather than a local perspective.

The third category of descriptive data includes the subjects' response to the items on three levels of political participation: political activity, political attentiveness and organizational involvement. These three levels of political participation measure the political attitudes and behaviors of the students.

**Political activity**

Three items, voting in student organizations and other organizations, influencing the vote choice of others, and being active in students' parliamentary or other organizational campaigns, were used to measure political activities of the students. The statements have been recorded so that a high score on any item reflects being highly involved in political activities, while a low score reflects non-involvement in political activities. The mean and standard deviation are .494 and .403, respectively. This indicates that approximately 50% of the students are involved in different types of political activities.

**Political attentiveness**

Six items, accounts of political and governmental affairs in the newspapers, accounts of political and governmental affairs in general, accounts of political and governmental affairs through TV or radio, interest in politics, accounts of political and governmental affairs in magazines, and discussing public issues with family and friends, are used to measure the political attentiveness level. The mean and standard deviation for political attentiveness are 1.204 and .424, respectively. This indicates
generally high political attentiveness among the students sampled. This reflects a common phenomenon in a society that has begun the process of modernization in general and democracy in particular whose citizens believe that observing governmental affairs is important for the success of democracy.

**Organizational involvement**

Two items are used to measure involvement in organizational activities. The mean and standard deviation for this variable are .216 and .378, respectively. This indicates that approximately 22% of the students are members in one or more organizations.

**Data analysis:**

The explanatory analysis of the data occurred in two stages. First, variables believed to be related to political participation were factor analyzed to determine underlying scales. The second step employs a multiple regression analysis to build a model that would explain the variation in respondents' political attitudes and behaviors.

**Factor analysis:**

Before deciding on the proper technique for the scale construction, it is imperative that we examine the assumptions of the bivariate normal distribution for the following items:

1) accounts of political and governmental affairs in general, 2) accounts of political and governmental affairs in the newspapers, 3) accounts of political and governmental affairs through TV or radio, 4) accounts of political and governmental affairs in magazines, 5) interest in politics, 6) discussing public issues with
family and friends, 7) voting in students' and other organizational elections, 8) influencing the vote choice of others, 9) being active in students' parliamentary or other organizational campaigns, 10) being a member of an organization, 11) belonging to organizations that take stands to influence government action, 12) discussing social or political issues with colleagues and friends, 13) and reading political magazines. The assumptions concern: 1) the normality of the distribution of each item, 2) the linear relationship between any two items, and 3) the absence of heteroskedasticity.

In this study, item 1 to 6 are ordinal variables, whereas the remaining items are categorical variables, except for item 10 which is interval. Item 10 and 13 contain low frequencies at the higher end of the distribution, implying the presence of somewhat larger skewness in these items. Therefore, these items had been recoded in order to reduce their skewness and problem of restricted range.
Table 4. The Rotated Factor for the Total Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Following the accounts of political and governmental affairs in the newspapers.</td>
<td>.77884</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following the accounts of political and governmental affairs in general.</td>
<td>.75350</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following the accounts of political and governmental affairs through TV or radio.</td>
<td>.73799</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having interest in politics.</td>
<td>.68752</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following the accounts of political and governmental affairs in magazines.</td>
<td>.60321</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussing public issues with family and friends.</td>
<td>.51279</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote in student organizations (and other organizational) elections.</td>
<td></td>
<td>.82349</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence the vote choice of others.</td>
<td></td>
<td>.81497</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active in students', parliamentary or other organizational campaigns.</td>
<td></td>
<td>.68840</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of organizations.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.90439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of organization(s).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.88898</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.37649</td>
<td>1.76746</td>
<td>1.31126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT of VAR</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUMPCT</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alpha</td>
<td>.7544</td>
<td>.6997</td>
<td>.7924</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Next, a factor analysis was performed to identify the underlying dimensions of political participation by factor analyzing the given set of items using the principal components method. The use of factor analysis is preferable because the inspection of the correlation matrix may not always reveal a clear pattern(s) of high correlations between items which may help define scale(s). Factor analysis is a powerful tool for data reduction and scale construction. It is useful in that many of the measures of reliability and construct validity can be computed by using the information obtained from factor analysis (Heise and Bohnstedt, 1975).

In order to test for the existence of subscales in the political participation related variables, a principal component factor analysis was performed using orthogonal (varimax) rotation. Three identifiable factors emerged from this analysis with eigenvalues greater than one (Table 4).

One will note that the variables in the first factor deal with issues involving students' exposure to mass media and social contacts. These include: 1) following account of political and governmental affairs in newspapers, 2) following accounts of political and governmental affairs in general, 3) following accounts of political and governmental affairs through TV or radio, 4) having interest in politics, 5) accounts of politics and governmental affairs in magazines, and 6) discussing public issues with family and friends. Table 4 shows that six items load greatly on factor 1. This factor will be referred to as political attentiveness.
The computed reliability coefficient of the six items of political attentiveness scale yielded an alpha of .75, which indicates a high degree of internal consistency among six items in the political attentiveness scale.

The second factor which emerged from the rotated factor solution deals with issues related to behavioral involvement in political participation. This includes 1) voting in student and other organizational elections, 2) influencing the vote choice of others, and 3) being active in students', parliamentary or other organizational campaigns. These three items loaded greatly on this factor. This factor will be referred to as political activity. The computed reliability coefficient of the three items of the political activity scale yielded an alpha equal to .69, which indicates a high degree of internal consistency among all three items in the political activity scale.

The items in the third factor are related to the respondents' involvement in political and voluntary organizations' activities. These include: 1) being a member of organizations, and 2) belonging to a number of organizations that take stands to influence government actions. The factor will be called organizational involvement.

The estimated reliability coefficient of the two items in the organizational involvement scale produced an alpha equal to .79, which indicates a high degree of internal consistency between the two items in the organizational involvement scale.

Statistical analysis:
Regression analysis was used to test the hypotheses described earlier. Since there are three dependent variables representing three modes of political participation among Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis, it was decided to construct a regression model for the combined population and two others for the two represented populations. The differences in the social and cultural backgrounds between Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students suggest that there may be differing sets of influences on the two groups.

The dependent variables political activity, political attentiveness, and organizational involvement were regressed on 12 independent variables: age, sex, academic major, level of education, residency, socio-economic status, listening to foreign broadcasts (broadcasts), listening to news and political programs from foreign stations (programs), degree of religiosity (religion), cosmopolitanism, visiting informal organizations often (diwaniya), and being a member of organizations (organization).

Table 5 shows the results of the multiple regression for the total population. This table shows that visiting diwaniyas often, and being a member of organizations have a large direct effect on political activity and positively significant (beta = .22 and .27, respectively, p < .01), and this table also shows that broadcasts, sex and religion are positively significant and have a moderate influence on political activity. (The standardized effects of diwaniya and organization are approximately two times greater than the effects of broadcast (beta = .10, p < .01), and three times greater
than the effects of sex (beta = .08, p < .05), and religion (beta = .07, p < .01). Table (5) also shows that broadcasts, programs, and cosmopolitanism are the strongest predictors of political attentiveness (Beta=.19, .16, and .14 respectively, p< .01). The standardized effect of broadcast, programs, and cosmopolitanism are approximately three times greater than the effects of the other positive and significant variables: academic major (beta = .09, p < .01, organization (beta = .08, p < .01), SES (beta = .06, p < .05), and religion (beta = .06, p < .05).

Table 5 indicates that diwaniya, program, cosmopolitanism, broadcast and residency are positively and significantly associated with organizational involvement. This table also shows that age and religion are negatively and significantly associated with organizational involvement. Table 5 shows that diwaniya, programs, and cosmopolitanism are the strongest predictors of organizational involvement (beta = .13, .12, .11, respectively, p < .01). The standardized effect of diwaniya, programs, and cosmopolitanism are approximately two times greater than broadcast (beta = .07, p < .05), age (beta = -.07, p < .05), residency (beta = .06, p < .05), and religion (beta = -.05, p < .05). Finally, this table indicates that the selected predictors explain about 18 percent ($R^2 = .175$), 16 percent ($R^2 = .164$) and 10 percent ($R^2 = .101$) of the total variation in political activity, political attentiveness and organizational involvement, respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Political activity</th>
<th>Political attentiveness</th>
<th>Organizational involvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE b</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.080*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic major</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of education</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residency</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcast</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>0.102**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>0.077</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.074**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitanism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwaniya</td>
<td>0.200</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.220**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>0.287</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.271**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R²: 0.175** 0.164** 0.101**

* Significant at p < 0.05 one-tail test
** Significant at p < 0.01 one-tail test
Generally speaking, the findings of this table partly support the hypotheses that: 1) persons who are involved in formal and informal organizations' (diwaniya) activities will participate in politics, and 2) cultural contact as measured by cosmopolitanism, listening to foreign broadcasts, and listening to news and political programs from foreign broadcasts will be positively and significantly related to political participation.

As suggested earlier, the difference in political participation between Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students may be due to differences in the social and cultural backgrounds. To see if the differences in social and cultural backgrounds make any difference in political attitudes and behaviors, two multiple regression analyses are conducted for Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students.

The two multiple regression analyses shown in Table 6 illustrate the predicted variables associated with the dependent variables, political activity, political attentiveness and organizational involvement of the Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students.

Table 6 shows that organization, diwaniya, broadcasts, religiousity and academic major are positively and significantly associated with political activity among Kuwaiti students, whereas organization, level of education, religion and SES are positively and significantly, and age, residency and academic major are negatively and significantly associated with political activity among non-Kuwaiti students.
The results in Table 6 indicate that organization, diwaniya, and broadcasts are the strongest predictors of political activity among Kuwaitis, respectively (beta = .27, .22, and .11, p < .01); while organization, religiosity, and age are the strongest predictors of political activity among non-Kuwaitis respectively (beta= .22, .21, and .21, p< .01).

Table 6 shows that broadcasts, programs, academic major, cosmopolitanism, organization and religion are positively and significantly associated with political attentiveness of Kuwaiti students, whereas broadcasts, programs, and cosmopolitanism are positively and significantly associated with non-Kuwaiti students.

The results in Table 6 also reveal that broadcast, programs, academic major and cosmopolitanism are the strongest predictors of political attentiveness of non-Kuwaiti students (beta = .22, .21, and .21, respectively, p > .01); whereas, broadcasts, programs, and cosmopolitanism are the strongest predictors of political attentiveness of non-Kuwaitis (beta = .22, .21, .21 respectively, p< .01).

This table also indicates that diwaniya, programs, and cosmopolitanism are positively and significantly associated with organization involvement of Kuwaitis, whereas residency is the only significant and positive variable that is associated with organizational involvement of non-Kuwaiti students.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Political activity</th>
<th>Kuwaiti (N=730)</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Organizational</th>
<th>Non-Kuwaiti (N=247)</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Organizational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE b</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE b</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>.088*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.070</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.090**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic major</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.074**</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>.127**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.137</td>
<td>.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.108</td>
<td>.055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>.053</td>
<td>.060*</td>
<td>.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadcasts</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>.112**</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>.183**</td>
<td>.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>.034</td>
<td>.148**</td>
<td>.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.078*</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.058*</td>
<td>.056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitanism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.116**</td>
<td>.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwaniya</td>
<td>.194</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>.226**</td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.116**</td>
<td>.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>.297</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.274**</td>
<td>.124</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.167**</td>
<td>.298</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R2  | .188** | .166** | .137** | .312** | .204** | .078* |

* Significant at p < .05 one-tail test
** Significant at p < .01 one-tail test
The results in Table 6 indicate that diwaniya, programs and cosmopolitanism are the strongest predictors of organization involvement of Kuwaitis (beta = .25, .15 and .12, respectively, p < .01), whereas residency is the only predicted variable for non-Kuwaiti students (beta = .15, p < .05). Finally, this table indicates that the selected predictors explain 19 percent ($R^2 = .188$), 17 percent ($R^2 = .166$), and 14 percent ($R^2 = .137$) of the total variation in political activity, political attentiveness, and organizational involvement, respectively, among Kuwaiti students. It also indicates that the same predicted variables explain 31 percent ($R^2 = .312$), 20 percent ($R^2 = .204$) and 8 percent ($R^2 = .078$) of the variation in political activity, political attentiveness and organizational involvement, respectively, among non-Kuwaiti students.

From the results of Table 6, one can note that there are many similarities as well as differences between the two groups. The variables listening to foreign stations, listening to news and political programs, cosmopolitanism, and being a member of organizations are highly associated with the modes of political participation for both groups. The more a person listens to foreign broadcasts, listens to news and political programs, has cosmopolitan outlooks, and becomes a member of organizations, the more likely he/she is to participate in some modes of politics.

The regression models differ, however, on several variables. Visiting diwaniya, degree of religiousity, and type of residency are highly associated with the modes of political participation, but
have different influences on the two groups. For example, diwaniya is highly related to Kuwaitis', whereas it does not have any influence on non-Kuwaitis' modes of participation. Degree of religiosity has a strong influence on non-Kuwaitis' participation, whereas its influence is moderate on Kuwaitis' modes of participation. Residency is strongly associated with non-Kuwaitis, whereas it has no influence on Kuwaitis.

These differences can be attributed to the cultural and social backgrounds of the two groups. For instance, diwaniya is highly related to two modes of political practices: political activity and organizational involvement for Kuwaitis, while it does not have any influence on non-Kuwaiti students. As mentioned earlier, diwaniya is one of the traditions of Kuwaiti society. It is a gathering place for Kuwaitis, whereas non-Kuwaitis rarely visit any of these diwaniyas. Residency on the other hand is highly related to two modes of political participation among non-Kuwaiti students; it is negatively related to political activity, which indicates that non-Kuwaitis who live in urbanizing areas are more active in election campaigns and voting turnout. This variable is strongly, positively and significantly associated with organizational involvement. This means that non-Kuwaiti students who live in urbanized areas are more involved in higher degrees of political participation. This variable is not associated with any modes of political participation among Kuwaitis because most of Kuwaitis live in urbanized areas.
In sum, the findings of this table indicate that Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students share some similarities as well as differences between them. These differences can be regarded as relating to the differences in social and cultural backgrounds of the two groups.

The findings also partly support the hypothesis that was presented in Chapter II. This means that some of the predicted variables highly influence some modes of political participation, whereas others have a moderate or weak influences on these modes.
CHAPTER V

Summary, discussion, and conclusion

Unlike other countries in the region, Kuwait has experienced a tremendous increase of political participation since the 1960s. Different studies have interpreted this phenomenon to be the outcomes of development and modernization (Al-Ebraheem 1975, El sheikh 1973, Gavrielides 1987). For them, when modernization occurs in a society, the socio-demographic characteristics of individuals are likely to undergo social change such as increased participation in social and political life. Others believe that the roots of participation are embodied in the cultural characteristics of Kuwaiti society (Al-Naqeeb 1987, Al-Rumaihi 1977). They argue that this goes back to the 1920s and 1930s political movements that demanded more freedom and more chances of participation for the citizens.

The purpose of this study was to examine and explore the impact of socio-demographic characteristics of citizens on political participation. Different socio-demographic variables were used for this purpose. This chapter will discuss the findings of the study by using modernization as a theoretical framework. The implications and limitations of the study will also be discussed.

Findings and discussion

This section discusses participation of the two groups of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti students in politics separately rather than taken together to avoid overgeneralization of the findings. Although some
researchers have attended to the differential influences of socio-demographic variables on participation among nations, most studies in the field have generalized their findings to all countries.

As clearly seen in Figure 1.1 and subsequent figures, there are differences in the influence of socio-demographic variables on the process of political participation among nations. This fact indicates the effect of development and modernization on the process of political participation.

The importance of the modes of political participation is also highlighted here. Many empirical studies have treated these modes as basic principal factors in participation. Citizen in each society have their own way of participating in politics. The distribution of these different modes of political participation differs from one political system to another. Some regimes encourage widespread participation, while others limit active involvement to only a few (Almond and Verba, 1980).

The modes of political participation:

In this study, the modes of political participation and their relationship to socio-demographic variables were investigated. Three different modes of participation were derived through factor analysis of the relevant variables, these include: a political activity scale, a political attentiveness scale, and an organizational involvement scale.
Political participation among Kuwaiti students:

The correlates of the modes of political participation among Kuwaiti students are displayed in Figure 1 (A B C). The arrows connecting socio-demographic characteristics of the citizens and the modes of political participation indicate that these characteristics influenced the modes of participation differently. For example, the arrows connecting the organization, diwaniya, and political activity indicate that political activity increases significantly with organizational membership, and visiting diwaniya frequently. This means that citizens who are members of voluntary organizations, and who visit diwaniya frequently, are more active in election campaigns, voter turnout, and working to influence the choice of others.

The other variables in Figure 1 (A) exert some influence on political activity, but their influences are fairly moderate. Generally, there is a modest positive relationship between broadcasts, degree of religiousity, and political activity. Major academic increases political activity slightly.
Figure 1: Political Participation Among Kuwaiti Students
Political attentiveness is a more demanding activity than simply political activity, and so, different patterns of causal factors emerge in Figure 1 (B). This figure indicates that political attentiveness increases significantly with broadcasts and programs. This implies that citizens who listen to foreign broadcasts in general, and to news and political programs from these stations are more likely to follow the accounts of governmental and political affairs, and discuss political issues with their neighbors and friends.

The other variables in this figure influence political attentiveness but their effects are moderate. In general, there is a moderate and positive relationship among major academic, cosmopolitanism, organizations, and political attentiveness. Degree of religiousity increases political attentiveness slightly.

Finally, the predictors of organizational involvement are presented in Figure 1 (C). This mode of political participation requires a great deal of initiative and sophistication from the participants and as a result, males, and more organized citizens, with cosmopolitan outlook are more likely to be involved in organizational activities.

This mode of participation is distinct from the political activity and political attentiveness modes because organizational involvement is generally not a partisan activity. In fact, in many instances participants are drawn to political groups to do their
activities. In the case of Kuwait, the absence of political parties encourage citizens to participate in organizations, so they can practice their political activities with others who share the same ideology.

Figure 1 (C) indicates that organizational involvement increases significantly with diwaniya and programs. This implies that citizens who visit diwaniya frequently and who listen to news and political programs from foreign stations are more involved in the activities of voluntary organizations.

The other variables in Figure 1 (C) exert some influence on organizational involvement but their effects are fairly moderate. Generally, there is a moderate positive relationship among cosmopolitanism, sex, broadcasts, socio-economic status, and organizational involvement. This indicates that females and citizens with high socio-economic status who listen to foreign broadcasts, and who have a cosmopolitan outlook are more involved in organizational activities than others. This figure also indicates that there is a negative relationship between age, degree of religiosity, and organizational involvement. This suggests that older students with a low degree of religiosity tend to be more involved in organizational activities.

The findings summarized in Figure 1 partly support the belief that certain socio-demographic characteristics of the citizens influence the process of political participation. For instance, membership in organizations, visiting diwaniya frequently, listening to foreign broadcasts, and listening to news and political
programs, strongly affect the modes of political participation, while degree of religiosity, academic major, cosmopolitanism, sex, and socio-economic status have moderate influences on the modes of political participation.

In sum, the findings of this study indicate that the modes of political participation of Kuwaiti citizens vary according to socio-demographic characteristics. Some of these variables influenced all modes of political participation, whereas, others affected some. Organizational membership, and cultural contacts, for example, strongly influenced the three modes of political participation, while, degree of religiosity, diwaniya, cosmopolitanism, major academic, sex, age, and socio-economic status influenced only some of the modes of political participation.

These influences are assumed to be consequences of modernization processes which take place in the Kuwaiti society over the last thirty years. Previous studies of modernization, for example, demonstrated that "economic development alters the structure of a nation" (Nie et al 1969:808). As a nation becomes more modern, different types of institutions and organizations emerged. These organizations and institutions are "complex, autonomous, and coherent, and are able to absorb and order the participation of new groups" (Huntington 1987:40). This leads to a new move toward social mobilization in the society. The relative size of the middle and upper classes become greater, and larger numbers of citizens become concentrated in the urban areas. These give rise to increased literacy which in turn leads to increased political

As mentioned earlier, Kuwaiti society experienced very rapid and radical modernization and other social changes. These processes affected most aspects of the society. New institutions emerged, people moved to urban areas, intensive educational programs were developed, and new jobs were founded. Citizens found themselves in a situation which encourages involvement in different types of activities. Therefore, many of them attended voluntary organizations, and started to extend their activities beyond the social ones to include the political.

The process of modernization also encouraged citizens to learn about other nations. For them, it was very important to know about the social and political life of other nations, particularly the developed ones. Therefore, they started to contact these nations through the mass media and through travelling abroad.

The process of modernization also affected many of the traditional symbols and values of the society. Some of these traditional values and symbols disappeared, while others such as diwaniya were adjusted to fit the new situation.

Since the discovery of oil and the beginning of modernization process that led to the rise of literacy, citizens begun to read more about religion. In the past they used to go to mosques and listen to traditional Islamic scholars. With the spread of literacy, they began to look at Islamic ideology through the interpretation of other intellectual Muslims around the world. This has created a new outlook towards the role of Islam in social and political life.
Based on modernization theory and the findings of this study, one can conclude that the socio-demographic characteristics of the Kuwaiti citizens, which developed through the process of modernization for the last thirty years, had a strong impact on the process of political participation. This is very clear when we look at the influences that the socio-demographic variables have on the modes of political participation. Some of these variables such as organizations, cultural contacts, and cosmopolitanism, first appeared through the process of modernization. Others, such as socio-economic status has been changed during the process of social mobilization that happened in the society after modernization occurred. When these variables were regressed on the modes of political participation, we found that their influence was significant. Therefore, one can assume that modernization affected the social and political life in Kuwaiti society, and this in turn led to more participation in politics.

**Political participation among non-Kuwaiti students:**

The correlates of the modes of political participation among non-Kuwaiti citizens are displayed in Figure 2 (D E F). The arrows connecting socio-demographic characteristics and the modes of political participation indicate that these characteristics influenced the modes of political participation differently. For example, the arrows connecting organizations, age, level of education, degree of religiousity, and political activity, indicate that political activity increases significantly with organizations, age, level of education, and degree of religiousity.
This implies that older respondents who are members of organizations and have a high degree of religiosity, are more active in election campaigns and voter turnout, and work to influence the vote choice of others more than the other respondents.

The other socio-demographic characteristics exert some influences on political activity, but their influences are fairly moderate. Generally, there is a moderate positive relationship between academic major, socio-economic status, and political activity. Residency is negatively related to political activity. This indicates that non-Kuwaiti respondents who live in urbanizing areas are more active in election campaigns, voter turnout, and work to influence the voting choice of other students than respondents who live in urbanized areas.
Figure 2: Political Participation Among Non-Kuwaiti Students
Political attentiveness is a more demanding activity than "political activity", and so a different pattern of variables emerges in Figure 2 (E). This figure indicates that political attentiveness increases significantly with broadcasts, programs, and cosmopolitanism. This implies that respondents who listen to foreign broadcasts in general and news in particular from these stations and who have cosmopolitan outlooks are more likely to follow the account of governmental and political affairs, and discuss political issues with their neighbors and friends than other respondents.

Figure 2 (F) indicates that organizational involvement only increased significantly with type of residency. This implies that respondents who live in urbanized areas are more likely to be involved in organizational activities.

In general, these findings partly supported the belief that certain socio-demographic characteristics of individuals influence the process of political participation. For instance, membership in organizations, age, level of education, degree of religiousity, broadcasts, programs, cosmopolitanism, and residency strongly influenced the modes of political participation, whereas, academic major, and socio-economic status had a moderate influence on these modes.

As mentioned earlier, most of the non-Kuwaiti students came from other Arab countries. These countries have experienced the process of modernization for a long time. Therefore, it is not strange that the socio-demographic characteristics of the two groups
influenced modes of participation differently. Thus, these differences can be attributed to the time that development and modernization took place in Kuwait and these Arab countries.

Beside selected variables from previous studies, two variables were suggested by this researcher as reasonable for the study of political participation: degree of religiosity and diwaniya. For many researchers, degree of religiosity is one of the obstacles to development in Third World countries. The findings of this study show that this variable influences political participation positively. This can be attributed to the nature of Islam, and the way people approach it. For Muslims participation in politics has been decided by Islamic law and principles. These law and principles encourage Muslims to be more active in social and political life. For example, Koranic and "Sunna" (Prophet words and acts) teachings focus on political participation as one means of keeping political leaders and the political system from deviation. To accomplish that, these laws and principles gave the right of political participation to every individual Muslim in the society whether male or female (Behishti and Bahonar 1981, Siddiqui 1987, Khomeini 1988).

After increases in literacy, Muslims began to read about Islam from different sources. This led them to approach their religion in different ways than their predecessors. Therefore, the new understanding of Islamic principles, and the defeat of Arabs in the "six day war" in 1967, propelled people towards Islam as the only source of power and independence. Thus, it is not strange to see
that degree of religiosity influenced the modes of political participation.

Diwaniya is the other variable that influenced some of the modes of political participation strongly. This indicates that the traditional role of diwaniya extended to include new roles. Involvement in political affairs is one of these new roles. Findings show that diwaniya strongly affected "political activity" and "organizational involvement" among Kuwaitis. This suggests that informal organizations in general, and diwaniya in particular, are important variables in the study of political participation in the Middle East society.

In general, the findings of this study show that (1) there are relationships between socio-demographic variables and political participation, (2) some variables influenced all modes of political participation, whereas, other influenced some of these modes, (3) there are differences between Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti respondents in participation in politics; and (4) there is an association between some elements of modernization and political participation.

This study began by raising the questions concerning the socio-demographic characteristics of political participants in Kuwait. Therefore, different explanatory variables were selected from previous studies on this topic, and from the theoretical framework. When standardized multiple linear regression coefficients were examined, all the chosen socio-demographic variables were found to be important predictors of political participation. Some of these
variables strongly influenced all modes of political participation, whereas, others influenced only some modes of political participation. This can be attributed to the "sophistication and complexity of politics" (Dalton, 1988). In the past, some elites of specific societies used to make political decisions for the whole society. The role of citizens was limited to voting and simple political activities. With the emergence of various types of political institutions, the spread of literacy, and democratic ideas worldwide, different modes of political participation were founded. These modes were different in their demands, for example, some of these modes required more time and activity than others. Because of the great numbers of activities (citizens appear to concentrate their attention on a few topics of direct personal relevance or interest (Dalton, 1988:27). Thus, it is not reasonable for all citizens to participate in all modes of political participation. In addition, there are other reasons beside the huge amounts of activities that led people to choose specific modes of participation. Sophistication of the modes of political participation, for example, is another reason. Some of these modes require participants who are highly experienced in politics. "Political leaders" mode (Olson, 1982), for example, requires persons who are engaged in social and political activities, and who have long histories of experience in politics. These requirements are not conditional to specific societies. Therefore, the differences in the influences of socio-demographic variables can be attributed to the diversity of the modes of political participation, the
sophistication of the modes, and the correspondents between these modes and the interests of participants.

Moreover, the socio-demographic characteristics of the two groups influence modes of political participation differently. Most of the socio-demographic characteristics of non-Kuwaiti students, for example, affect the modes of political participation more strongly than did the socio-demographic characteristics of Kuwaitis. This can be attributed to the cultural differences of the two groups.

As mentioned earlier, most of the non-Kuwaiti students originally came from Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. These countries have experienced development and modernization for long time. They have gone through the process of urbanization, educational growth, and political change and development since Nineteenth century. Egypt, for instance, has had democracy and political participation since the beginning of 20th century. Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, and Jordan, have gone through the process of political change and development since 1920s. These changes affected the respective societies differently. Citizens experienced new ideas. In the long turn, a new culture was created.

In the case of Kuwait, change and modernization occurred from late 1950s. Before that, Kuwait was a traditional society that "lacked most of the basic necessities" (Ismael 1982:24). Therefore, the experience of modernization in Kuwait is very recent. Thus, the differences between Kuwaitis and other Arab countries on the process of modernization is wide. This explains the differences in the
degree of impact that the socio-demographic characteristics of the two groups had on the modes of political participation. This in turn, indicates that modernization is associated with political participation.

In conclusion, one can note that the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents affect political participation due to modernization. To the extent that modernization take place in a society, socio-demographic characteristics of the people are likely to experience social change. Increased participation in the political process is one outcome of this change.

**Implications**

Studies of modernization demonstrated that the process of development drastically change the social structure of a society. Change in the social life of the citizen is one of the consequences of this development. These social changes imply political changes. Many of the citizens find themselves in life situations which lead to "increased political information, political awareness, sense of personal political efficacy, and other relevant attitudes" (Nie et al 1969:808). These changes in attitudes, in turn, lead to increases in political participation in the society on different levels. In addition, these studies reported that an individuals' social status and organizational membership strongly affect the likelihood of his engaging in various modes of political activities (Almond and Verba, 1980).

However, modernization theorists focus on two types of change i.e societal change and individual modernity. They argue that "individual
modernity produces the behavioral change necessary for institutional changes and national development (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). Individuals express these attitudes and behaviors change by joining voluntary organizations, voting, reading newspapers, and other behaviors rated as modern. Inkeles defines modern man as individuals with specific characteristics such as "1) openness to innovation, 2) disposition to form and hold opinions, 3) democratic orientation, 4) planning habits, 5) belief in efficacy, 6) belief in a calculable world, 7) stress on human dignity; 8) faith in science and technology; and 9) belief in distributive justice" (Inkeles, 1969:210).

In the case of Kuwaiti society, Kuwait has experienced extensive and rapid development and change on the societal level. Through the increase of education, Kuwaiti citizens adopted new values which are different from their values, and new for the society. Kuwait University for example, is one of the educational institutions that supplies the society with a cadre of future leaders with more modern ideas especially political ideas such as democracy, equality, participation. At the university, students acquire their political orientations and patterns of political behavior through various levels and types of political participation. This is a part of a continuing process of socialization and a crucial factor in influencing their future participation as the future leaders and administrations of the society.

Therefore, in this study, Kuwait University students can be understood as the future administrative body of the state. State in this concept defines as "administrative and bureaucracy" (Skocpol,
1986). One essential feature in this concept is that the state is defined on the basis of relationship, not on the basis of individual characteristics.

To say that state based on relations does not reveal very much unless the nature of these relationships is specified. There are differing views on the composition of the most essential relations that determine the state. These relationships can be defined within administrative leaders or between political leaders and administrative leaders as in many structural analysis. Conflict within state elites could weaken the state, severe political crises are liable to occur (Trimberger 1978, Eisenstadt 1978, Skocpol 1986).

However, in this study, it was assumed that although experience of political participation at the university is likely to influence the students attitudes toward future political behavior, the nature of their personal and social characteristics are important. A student's social characteristics such as his socioeconomic status, his age, sex and degree of religiousity, whether he lives in urban or rural areas, whether he belongs to organizations, whether he contacts other developed countries culturally, and so on, are all likely to influence his/her political behavior. Different studies in this field suggest that the political behavior of the individual is determined by interaction of the individual's basic social characteristics and the specific situations with which he/she is faced (Lipset 1967, McKenzie and Silver 1968). Therefore, for the purpose of this study, it was hypothesized that through different elements of modernization, the students acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviors which
may "contribute to the maintenance or replication of a given system, to its transformation or to its total destruction" (Easton and Dennis, 1969:66).

Although this study is not focusing on the future of politics in Kuwait directly, it presents some knowledge for those who are interested in that. More studies need to be conducted on the socio-demographic characteristics of the citizens. More attention need to be given to social variables such as sects and tribes of the citizens.

**Limitations**

Since this is a pioneer study in dealing exclusively and in depth with the process of conventional political participation in Kuwait, it may be considered an immature study in this field. Future research should concentrate on specification, comparability, and more important variables, such as sect and tribes of the responds. These are only few suggestions for future research. If such studies take place in Kuwait or other societies in the region where relatively little is known about political participation, it will be a great contribution to our understanding of the process of modernization and the future of political stability in these societies.
Appendix 1

Political Attitudes And Behaviors Of Kuwait University Students.
Questionnaire
Department of Sociology
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210-1099

By Yoosuf Ali
Spring 1988

*****
1. In what year were you born?

2. Sex
   1 - Male 2 - Female

3. Nationality
   Kuwaiti Non-Kuwaiti

4. Marital Status
   1 - Married 2 - Unmarried

5. If you are married, do you have children?
   1 - No children 2 - 1-2 3 - 3-4 4 - 5 and above

6. Do you have a job besides school?
   1 - Yes 2 - No

7. Level of study: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th Graduate

8. What is your major area of study?

9. Residential area:----------------
10. Father's occupation:
   1 - Professional    2 - Administrative or managerial    3 - Clerical
   4 - Sales    5 - Service    6 - Hunter or fisherman
   7 - Laborer    8 - Retired or deceased

11. Mother's occupation:
   1 - Professional    2 - Administrative or managerial    3 - Clerical
   4 - Sales    5 - Service    6 - Laborer    7 - Housewife
   8 - Retired or deceased

12. Father's educational level:
   1 - Does not read and write    2 - Read and write    3 - Elementary
   4 - Intermediate    5 - Secondary    6 - University    7 - Graduate

13. Mother's educational level:
   1 - Does not read and write    2 - Read and write    3 - Elementary
   4 - Intermediate    5 - Secondary    6 - University    7 - Graduate

14. Family's yearly income (Father's and mother's income)
   Less than 3,000 KD    3,000-4,999 KD    5,000-8,999 KD    9,000-
   12,999 KD    13,000-16,999 KD    17,000 KD and over

15. How frequently do you read the newspapers?
   1 - Daily    2 - Occasionally    3 - Rarely
16. Which magazine do read most (choose only one)
   1 - Al-Reazi    2 - Al-Talia    3 - Sout Al-Khaleeg    4 - Sout-Alfan
   5 - Al-Mojtama    6 - Other

17. Do you listen to foreign radio stations in Arabic language besides Arabic stations, such as BBC, Voice of America, etc.?
   Yes    No

18. If yes, which of the following programs do you listen to most?
       Cultural   News & political programs   Social programs

19. Are you currently a member of Students Union, or Scientific Society, or public organizations such as: Artists’ Society, Sport Clubs, Cultural Social Society, Social Reform Society, and Women Cultural Society.
   Yes    No

20. If yes, how many?
       A. 1    B. 2-4    C. More than 5

21. If no, have you ever been a member?
       Yes    No

22. If you are or were a member of organization(s), do they take stands or discuss public issues or try to influence government actions? Yes    No
23. Do you visit diwaniya?
   Yes    No

24. Have you ever been active in student, parliamentary or other organizational campaigns? That is, have you ever worked for a candidate, contributed money, put some stickers on your car or any other activities? Yes    No

25. Do you vote in student organizations or other organizational elections? Often   Rarely   Never

26. Have you ever tried to influence the vote choice of others?
   Yes    No

27. How often do you discuss public issues with your family or friends? Every day   Sometimes   Rarely

28. Have you ever worked with other students to influence a decision that you thought was against the interest of students?
   Yes    No

29. Generally speaking, would you say that you are personally interested in politics? Very interested   A little
    Not interested
30. How often do you discuss social or political issues with colleagues and neighbors? A little Sometimes Often

31. If "often" or "sometimes" what do you discuss?
Social issues Political issues Both

32. Which of the following problems do you think face the Arab nations? inflation unemployment moral decline poverty terrorism crime war others

33. Do you follow the accounts of political and governmental affairs? Would you say you follow them: Regularly From time to time Rarely

34. What about newspapers? Do you follow accounts of political and governmental affairs in the newspapers: Nearly every day From time to time Rarely

35. What about on the radio or television? Do you listen to/watch accounts of public affairs: Nearly every day About once a week Rarely

36. What about magazines? Do you read about public affairs in magazines: About once a week From time to time Rarely
37. Who is Sulaman Khater?
   Arabian writer       Former Prime Minister of Turkey       Egyptian combatant

38. Who is Ortega?
   Prime Minister of Cuba       African combatant       Prime Minister of Nicaragua

39. Who is Mandela?
   Former candidate for the Presidency of the USA       African combatant       European poet

40. When was Palestine captured by Zionism?
   1917       1936       1948

41. Who are the Sandinistas?
   African insurgents       Nicaragua's rulers       Religious group in Europe

42. What is Panama?
   Capital of Argentina       Country in Latin America       African country

43. Who is Jamila Bohraid?
   Tunisian combatant       Writer from Morocco       Algerian combatant
44. Who is Shokry Al-Koatly?

Lebanese combatant  Former President of Syria  Syrian writer

Finally, please respond to each of the following statements by circling whether you strongly agree (SA), somewhat (A), somewhat disagree (D) or strongly disagree (SD).

45. International happenings rarely seem as interesting and important as events that occur right in the society in which one lives.

SA  A  D  SD

46. Generally speaking, news commentators on radio or TV who give personal interpretations of the news and human interest stories are more worth listening to than commentators who just give the news straight.

SA  A  D  SD

47. International events are important largely because of the way they effect my society.

SA  A  D  SD

48. Many personal relationships and contacts with other people in the local community are essential in life today.

SA  A  D  SD

49. The most rewarding organizations a person can belong to are local organizations serving local needs.

SA  A  D  SD
50. My local community is one of the finest communities in Kuwait.  
SA A D SD

51. Meeting and knowing many people is extremely important in  
establishing myself in the community.  SA A D SD

52. Kuwait and Al-Ahmadi cities have their place, but when you get  
right down to it, the local community is the backbone of Kuwait.  
SA A D SD

53. News about my country is generally more interesting than  
international news.  SA A D SD

54. I have a duty to help those who are confused about religion.  
SA A D SD

55. Even though it may create some unpleasant situations, it is  
important to help people become enlightened about religion.  
SA A D SD

56. There is no point in arguing about religion because there  
is little chance of changing other people’s minds.  
SA A D SD

57. It doesn’t really matter what an individual believes about
58. I believe the world would really be a better place if more people held the views about religion which I hold.
SA A D SD

59. I believe the world's problems are seriously aggravated by the fact that so many people are misguided about religion.
SA A D SD

60. My ideas about religion are one of the most important parts of my philosophy of life.
SA A D SD

61. I find that my ideas on religion have a considerable influence on my views in other areas.
SA A D SD

62. Believing as I do about religion is important to being the kind of person I want to be.
SA A D SD

63. If my ideas about religion were different, I believe that my way of life would be very different.
SA A D SD

64. Religion is a subject in which I am not particularly interested.
SA A D SD
65. I very often think about matters relating to religion.

SA    A    D    SD
Reference List


