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**Abstract**

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This book is the culmination of five years of research and experience that started in September 2011 when the author, Dr. Natasha Ridge, moved to the United Arab Emirates to head the Sheikh Saud Bin Saqer Al Qasimi Foundation for policy research. The author writes, “As I worked with Emirati students and read the Western newspapers and reports about the Gulf, I could not help but notice the vast gap between daily realities lived out by the people of the region and the way they were portrayed by the Western academics and the foreign press. In particular, the narrative of the oppressed Gulf female and the corresponding oppressive Gulf male rang increasingly hollow” (p. vii).

The author notes that gender as a unit of analysis seems to be of increasingly less interest to the West. In universities across the United States, Australia and Europe, women’s studies courses are in decline. As girls continue to surpass boys, discussions about girls’ education become passé and the academic rise of females, vis-à-vis males, is now common knowledge in the West. What is less known is that this rise is no longer confined only to these countries. Women and girls are outperforming their male counterparts in academic achievement and attainment across the globe, from Latin America to China to Eastern Europe. Nowhere, however, do gender gaps more greatly favor females than in the resource-rich countries of the Arabian Gulf (Fryer & Levitt, 2010; World Bank, 2013).

The rise of female attainment in the Gulf is a reality that does not resonate well with the Western narrative of the oppressed and disadvantaged Arab female. As such, this phenomenon is scarcely mentioned in academic articles and international agencies’ reports or in local policy documents of Ministries of Education (MOE). The author argues here in favor of expanding the definition of gender to encompass both men and women. She states, “The current framing of gender, as limited to women, obscures big-picture trends in gender dynamics and prevents policymakers and educationalists from being able to examine the wider range of issues now relating to gender” (p. 5). As we see girls becoming increasingly educated across the globe, we

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are also seeing stagnation and in some countries a decline, in both relative and real terms, in boys' educational attainment and employment figures (Autor & Wasserman, 2013; Baker & LeTende, 2005).

This book aims to address the issues of gender and education in the context of resource-rich monarchies of the Arabian Gulf. The book focuses on Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar, The United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Kuwait. Yemen is excluded as it does not share the same history and resources. These resource-rich Gulf States, while having different levels of natural resources, have all built impressive physical and social infrastructure using revenue derived from natural resources. All are struggling with the issue of low male participation in higher education and poor performance of males on international and national assessments.

The book begins with an overview of the development of mass education in each of the Gulf States, providing important historical, political, and cultural context. Chapter 2 examines the rise of girls in the region and their quantitative and qualitative success. Chapter 3 considers the role that the pursuit of modernity plays in perpetuating the current gender divide. Chapter 4 considers boys and their very different educational journeys since the discovery of oil. Complicating both the modernization and gender agenda, however, is the nationalization agenda that has come into a greater force in the last ten years. Chapter 5, therefore, examines how efforts to create jobs for nationals have created further disincentive for males in education. Chapter 6 examines the private pecuniary, nonpecuniary and social returns to education and explores how there are very real returns to education at all levels, making a strong case for males (and females) to continue their education. Chapter 7 concludes with a discussion about the continuing relevance of gender in the region in regards to education and the labor market in particular.

In Chapter 2, the author goes into detail to examine the root of the distorted image of women in the Gulf, portrayed as being veiled, submissive, of a luxurious harem, speechless, or oppressed with no identity. She shows how this occurs in academia, not just the daily press (p. 41), leading readers to believe that Muslim women everywhere are similar. This failure to distinguish between Muslim Arabs and non-Arab Muslims, as well as distinguish between Muslim Arab groups, can result in the creation of either dangerously inaccurate stereotypes (Bullock, 2002) or the call for cultural relativism wherein human rights violations are ignored in the name of culture and religion. Some of this is evidenced in the recently established Sharia courts of the United Kingdom (Waters, 2013). The Arab woman is framed as being oppressed by male-dominated societies with religious laws and (cultural) values that position her as less than a "full person, unable to make decisions about anything from marriage to public participation" (p. 41). However, conservative interpretation of Islam within the traditional Ulama discourse reflects only one interpretation of Islam and its views on women. Different interpretations of Islam are not accounted for in many international development reports, nor do these documents present the possibility that given the choice, some women may not desire a life aligned with Western projected preferences for female development (Sidani, 2005).

In her discussion of gender, education and modernity in Chapter 3 (pp. 61-79), Ridge points out that constant desire to be seen as the biggest or the best by governments in the region, as a whole and within, hinders substantive development across the region. This refusal to acknowledge any flaws or weaknesses in these countries prevents nations from addressing real issues such as the poor attainment and persistence of males in education. Although boys and men are a casualty of international and regional modernity and development discourse, it is important to note that girls and women are also negatively impacted by the same discourse. The neo-liberal view of development propagated by inter-governmental organizations such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the World Bank, and the World Economic Forum (WEF) (Scholte, 2005) does not allow for nuanced examinations of issues

surrounding gender. As the chief concern of these organizations is to enhance economic activities and GDP, there is little concern for the very real structural and social inequalities that women face across the region (Monkman & Hoffman, 2013; Stromquist, 2012). By reducing education to merely an input for growth and gender equity to enrollment rates or other easily quantitative measures, governments across the region are empowered to declare great success and gender parity (or greater) for women at all levels of education. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries are incentivized to make much of the fact that women are working in a mixed-sex environment, studying for whatever they are qualified, traveling without a male companion, and inheriting more than an eighth of their husband's estate, among other issues deeply embedded in Gulf societal structure.

As described by the author, the ruling elite of the Gulf are savvy politicians (p. 78). They know the language the West wants to hear regarding women and modernization, and they use this to their own advantage. At the 2013 bid in Paris for Dubai to host the World Expo, the committee was surprised by an address given by HRH Princess Haya, the wife of the ruler of Dubai. It was a shrewd and calculated move on the part of the government of Dubai to send a powerful message of modernity through using a woman. I would argue with the author, however, that Princess Haya was used because she was not a local Emirate girl. She is the daughter of King Hussein of Jordan, exempting her (somehow) from the GCC's conservative values and traditions for women. I also would argue with the author on the extent to which the descriptions of the foreign press and others reports do not really represent the reality of a huge sector of women who live in the largest country of the GCC, Saudi Arabia (KSA). In KSA, women are under the power of male guardianship and cannot in real terms make any decisions without male consent.

Women in the GCC, including KSA have made good use of the advantages access to education has provided them, however. Restrictions on women working, especially in the early years after the discovery of oil, meant that many bright and talented women, who in a different time or place might have been something else, became teachers. This has supported girls' academic success nationally since many studies indicate that students do better when taught by teachers from their own community (Hannum & Park, 2002; Shediak & Samman, 2010). I would add, however, that social control of the women's movement within local communities in the GCC prevents them from enjoying all that this success offers. This leaves them with lots of time but fewer choices in how to spend it besides studying. Boys, in contrast, are supported by cultural values to go out and explore things, leaving them with little time and energy to study! Also, as stated by the author, because men had far more employment options nationally from the beginning, very few went into teaching (p. 79).

In Chapter 4, entitled "Leaving the Boys Behind," the author outlines the globally shared phenomenon of females around the world (including the GCC) out-performing males in attainment and achievement. In Bahrain, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, girls both outperform and outlast boys across all levels of education. Boys also performed worse on all international assessments tests (PISA, TIMSS, and PIRLS) and country-level examinations (pp. 82-84). Different reasons are discussed: poor quality foreign teachers, the availability of quality private education attended by children of powerful people who no longer attend public schools (p. 161), and the work of international organizations, focusing on women and girls, portrayed as deprived of education and employment and held back by traditional, dominated societies. As a result, boys and men are neglected, marginalized, and primarily portrayed as hindrances and obstacles to be overcome, rather than people with their own unique set of problems. I would also add that some cultural elements, such as men's mistakes being tolerated and excused by parents and tribal leaders may strongly influence this phenomenon. As a result, boys are less interested in hard work.

In Chapters 6 and 7, pecuniary and non-pecuniary returns to education are discussed and research-based strategies to improve boys' education are outlined. Examples include improving the quality of teaching in preparatory and secondary boys' schools, introducing practical curricular subjects, and holding schools accountable for identifying and engaging at-risk students.

With 132 pages of references and years of searching, the author clearly invested so much in this valuable book that discusses issues hardly touched by local academics or local authorities. Dr. Ridge presents serious issues facing the educational systems in the GCC countries. Due to the nature of cultural issues discussed, however, some indigenous, home-grown causes may not be apparent. In addition certain generalizations that the author makes to the GCC countries may not apply to Saudi Arabia, the most conservative of all GCC countries.

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