1986

Tradition and Transformation in Arab Education: The Challenge for Saudi Arabia

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DIGEST

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A Digest presented to the Faculty
of the Graduate School of the
Lindenwood Colleges in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Art
in Multi Cultural Studies

1986

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the developments in education in the Arab world. It begins with a broad historical survey of traditional education in the Middle East. Traditional educational institutions are viewed in the context of the Islamic religious heritage and the various Islamic dynasties which developed throughout the Middle East. Then, the consequences of the Western influence on Arab education are explored. A brief history of Western colonial interests in the Middle East is given focusing on the effects of these colonial interests on the traditional educational programs. The Western impact began the process of modernization in the Arab world. Societies such as Egypt initiated broad-scale reforms in their educational institutions in order to transform their economic and technological infrastructures. Other Middle East Arab societies gradually followed in the footsteps of Egypt transforming their traditional educational programs and procedures.

Finally, an examination of modernization in education in Saudi Arabia is offered as a case study of how a specific Arab society is attempting to modernize its educational system while conserving its religious values and traditions. Various factors are isolated which have enabled Saudi Arabia to maintain its

religious heritage in the face of the rapid modernization of its educational institutions.

The conclusion of the thesis is that, at least in the case of Saudi Arabia, the modernization of education will take a different form from that taken in Western societies. In the West modernization was linked with the secularization of educational institutions. But in Saudi Arabia modernization in education has been conjoined with Islamicization in education. This has, so far, enabled the Saudi state to maintain Islamic values and norms in the midst of rapid modernization. It is predicted that basic Islamic values, institutions, and norms will endure in Saudi society despite major changes in the economic structure. This case may have implications for other Islamic societies which are rapidly modernizing.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Muhammad Lutfi Adeeb AL-Najami and Nadia Muhammad Mahmod Khalid, and to my husband, AL-Sharif Fadil Al-Ghalib, and my three sons, Abdullah, Jabar, and Hythem, without whose love and help this project would not have been completed.

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INTRODUCTION

Arabia! To the naive Westerner, the word conjures up visions of camels, bedouins, veils and petroleum. What many Westerners fail to realize, however, is that Saudi Arabia today bears little resemblance to the Arabia where T.E. Lawrence fought. Mud walls, adobe houses, and tents have been replaced by steel and glass. "The ship of the desert" now rides in the back of a Toyota four-wheel drive truck, and women are employed as radio and television announcers and commentators.

The primary reason for Saudi Arabia's rapid advancement into twentieth century technology is, of course, the Kingdom's abundant oil resources. In 1946 oil revenue was about ten million dollars; by 1981 oil revenue was approximately 104 million dollars, the largest of any Middle East oil-producing country (The Kingdom 1983: 139). This wealth has in turn presented the ruling family both with serious problems and great opportunities. The sudden expansion in the wealth of a country of only about eight million people, who are for the most part unaccustomed to Western industrialized values and life styles, could be a potential threat to the stability of a country which has been the protector of traditional Islamic values.

The House of Saud, however, has maintained stability by adhering to the spiritual values of Islam while taking advantage of Western technology. Saudi Arabia contains the two cities of Mecca and Medina, where Islam was born and where it matured under the Prophet Muhammad and where the Quran was revealed. In addition, Mecca houses the Kabah, the Islamic central shrine while the tomb of the Prophet and his mosque are in Medina. As the heartland of Islam, Saudi Arabia has an obligation to the 700 million Muslims throughout the world to preserve and perpetuate Islamic traditions and values, and the Saud family has attempted to follow this course.

As guardians of the Islamic faith, Saudi Arabia has faced a challenge in the education field: how to preserve Islamic values and traditions while teaching Western technology and other secular subjects. In this thesis the writer will focus on modern education in Saudi Arabia which has successfully combined Islamic values with a Westernized educational system.

The present cannot be divorced from the past; consequently, the historical background with respect to the development of a particular kind of educational system will be discussed. Historical developments in Saudi Arabia and the Middle East cannot be separated from religion, and so the Islamic religious tradition itself will be examined. Furthermore, the present as a

reflection of the past will be addressed in terms of educational trends in the Middle East and in Saudi Arabia with a discussion of the possibilities in the future.

Chapter II is concerned with the historical background of the Islamic dynasties which gave rise to traditional educational institutions in the Middle East as well as the rise of Islam. After the death of the Prophet Muhammad, two types of Islamic dynasties emerged: the caliphates from 632 A.D. to 1171 A.D. and the sultanates from 1250 A.D. to 1918 A.D. Under these dynasties, traditional Islamic education flourished in the mosques and the Madrasas (religious schools). The Abbasid Dynasty, in particular, is considered one of the Golden Ages of the Islamic Empire. Under Abbasid Rule from 750-1258 A.D., Baghdad was the major intellectual center for art, literature, philosophy, and science in the entire world.

However, the superiority of Arabic civilization was challenged in the sixteenth century. By this time, the West had experienced the Renaissance and the Reformation and was beginning to expand territorially. Chapter III discusses the impact of the West on the Middle East over the last four centuries, with primary emphasis on European influence on Arab education in the twentieth century. With the discovery of oil, Middle Eastern countries had the resources and the requirements for

developing technological education; traditional Islamic education was inadequate to serve their needs.

After discussing traditional and modern education in the Middle East in general in Chapters II and III, I will focus specifically on Saudi Arabia with respect to traditional and modern education in Chapter IV. More over, some historical background will be given regarding the rise of power of the House of Saud, the emergence of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the discovery of oil which made a modern educational system both a possibility and a necessity in the Kingdom.

Chapter V is devoted to a discussion of the relationship of Islam with twentieth century technology in Saudi Arabia. I will discuss the apparent contradiction between traditional Islamic values and modernization in Saudi Arabia. This chapter focuses on the Islamic tradition today and the possible future of Islam as it relates to science, social life, modernization, and education in Saudi Arabia. Of course particular emphasis will be given to the field of education.

It is the hope of this writer that anyone, after reading my thesis, will have gained some new insights into the history of and education in the Middle East and specifically education in Saudi Arabia.

CHAPTER II

Traditional Education in the Arab World

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TRADITIONAL EDUCATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

Any consideration of modern education in the Middle East must begin with a look at the history of the region. Educational institutions are a reflection of the society in which they exist as well as a reflection of the changes that that society has undergone in the past. Chapter II will focus on three areas: the inception and rise of Islam, the Caliphate and Sultanate Islamic dynasties, and traditional Islamic education, generally and specifically.

The impact of the life of Prophet Muhammad brought profound changes to the Middle East. Pre-Islamic society was polytheistic and nomadic; those who were illiterate were inspired by the oral traditions of the bedouins. After Muhammad's death, however, the messianic urgency to spread his message throughout the Arab world resulted in the creation of diverse educational institutions, some of which exist today. Education in the Middle East, particularly in Saudi Arabia cannot be divorced from religion.

The Prophet Muhammad was born of humble circumstances into a powerful tribe of the Queraysh in Mecca. Raised as an orphan by his uncle, Muhammad had no wealth or education until he was about twenty-five. His marriage to an older widow gained him an important

personal relationship as well as some means and experience with the caravan trade that dominated the Meccan economy. His call to be a prophet came when he was forty. He was not immediately well received, and very few people chose to follow him at first. During the final ten years of his life, Muhammad completed delivering God's message, and with the help of his growing number of followers, much of Arabia including Mecca accepted the religion he preached (Martin 1982: 5, Voll 1982: 13,14). During Muhammad's life time a new civilization was born that changed the history of the world.

After the death of Muhammad in 632 A.D. a split occurred among the Islamic followers; this schism was the result of a question over succession. Upon his death, Muhammad's followers were thrown into confusion because Muhammad had not designated a successor or how a successor should be chosen. Two primary candidates appeared: Abu Bakr who was the best friend of Muhammad and Ali who was Muhammad's son-in-law. The majority of the people of Medina chose Abu Bakr to be the first Caliphate of Islam. As a result, Ali's followers were very upset. From this time on, Islam was divided into two traditions: the Sunnis who followed Abu Bakr and the Shiites who followed Ali (Bates and Rassam 1983: 27, 41, 54, 60, Bucher 1984: 46-47, Esposito 1984: 15, 26,

Turner 1974: 55,64,84,87-89, Lewis 1966: 19,79,100, 171).

The Quran is a record of Muhammad's revelations from God. For Muslims the Quran is the literal word of God sent to Muhammad through the angel Gabriel. Although Muhammad was not educated, the language of the Quran is well beyond the range of an illiterate man, a fact which surprised many of his followers. The Quran is divided into 114 separate Suras which vary in length. The first half of the Quran is inspirational while the second half is concerned with legal and practical matters (Patai 1983: 2,8,45,52,70-71,87,97).

In addition to the Quran Muslims rely on the Hadith for guidance. The word Hadith means sayings or traditions, and for Muslims the Hadith, through anecdotes and stories about Prophet Muhammad, offers guidance to the Sunnah of Muhammad. The Sunnah is the practice of Muhammad, as reported by his companions, concerning Muhammad's deeds and approval (Martin 1982: 170).

The Hadith and the Quran form the basis for Islamic law which is known as the Shari'a or Divine Law. Because the Quran and the Hadith do not contain a comprehensive legal system, groups of religious scholars, the Ulama, interpreted and created a set of laws, the Shari'a which are still used today (Bates and Rassam 1983: 53).

Under Islamic law, four different Sunni schools were founded by the Ulama. Each of these schools was named after its founder and is regionally based. The four schools are the Hanafi, the Maliki, the Shafi'i, and the Hanbali (Enayat 1982: 3,10,67,71,79).

Having briefly discussed Islam, I will now trace the development of traditional education in the Arabic dynasties which existed from the seventh century until the twentieth century. From the seventh to the thirteenth century, the Islamic empires were dominated by the Caliphate political system. The Caliphate is the leader and is also known as Imam (leader of the Muslims). The Caliphate dynasties were the Rashidun (632-651 A.D.), the Umayyads (661-750 A.D.), the Abbasids (750-1258 A.D.), and the Fatimids (909-1171). With the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, the Caliphate dynasties came to an end. The Caliphate was replaced by the Mamlukes (1250-1517), and the Ottoman Turks (1412-1918 A.D.). The Caliphate emerged and expanded to incorporate the areas of North Africa, the Middle East, and part of South Asia (Martin 1982: 168, Bucher 1984: 15,82).

The Rashidun Dynasty

(632-661 A.D.)

The first Caliphs ruled from Medina in Arabia. They were known as the Rashidun, or rightly guided Caliphs, because they had been companions of the prophet

Muhammad. Abu-Bakr was the first Caliph ruling from 632 to 633; the second was Omar who ruled from 633 to 644; the third was Uthman who ruled from 644 to 656, and the fourth Caliph was Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, who ruled from 656 to 661.

Under their rule, Islam moved from the small community of Medina to an empire which included much of the Middle East. Abu Bakr, the first Caliph, sent armies into Syria and Iraq. Under Omar, Egypt, Syria and Iraq fell under Islamic rule. Persia collapsed shortly after Omar's death. In addition to the geographic expansion of Islam in this dynasty, certain reforms and innovations occurred. Omar guaranteed basic rights and freedom of worship to Jews and Christians in exchange for a poll tax.

Furthermore, to insure stability in his extensive empire, Omar appointed a judge for each province. In Uthman's time, the official version of the Quran which is used today was written down. The Rashidun dynasty was a time of much bloodshed. Three of the four Caliphs were assassinated. Only Abu Bakr died a natural death. The educational system at that time was focused on the Islamic religion, reciting the Quran, learning Muhammad's Hadith and Sunnah and also gathering in the mosques in order to study and learn the Islamic law (Martin 1982: 23, Bucher 1984: 46).

The Umayyad Dynasty

(661-750 A.D.)

The next period of the Caliphate was under the Arab dynasty that ruled in Damascus, Syria, known as the Umayyad Caliphate. This was a period of Arab rule and the gradual spread of the Arabic language and the Arab influence over the still existing languages and institutions of previous civilizations. The religion of Islam was adopted by many people in North Africa and the Middle East at that time (Martin 1982: 23, Bates and Rassam 1983: 164). This empire witnessed the building of great mosques in Damascus, schools, palaces and fortresses.

In this period the Arabic language developed in oral traditions, poetry, and in Islamic worship, eventually becoming an important literary language. Since the first dynasty of Islam, the Arabic Quran was the important key in the development of education. Soon, literature about the Prophet and different aspects of Islamic religion appeared. Muslim scholars wanted to broaden the base of the language by consulting the bedouins, the original Arabs who used pure Arabic, and by writing grammars and dictionaries (Enayat 1982: 13, 24,71,82,114,179,184).

One important aspect of the Arabization of the Umayyads was the spread of the Arabic language which made slow progress in the first century of Islam. The

Arabic language was adopted in Syria, Palestine, and Iraq, where the population spoke Syriac, which is a Semitic language akin to Arabic. The Coptic language was used in Egypt; Spanish was used in Al-Andalus. In North Africa, Berber was a non-literary language; the Berbers adopted Arabic as the language of culture and religion, while retaining Berber as a spoken tongue (Bates 1983: 89-90, Patai 1983: 208). Pahlari, or the Middle Persian language also disappeared, but three centuries later started appearing again in its new Persian form, Farsi. In all parts of the empire, the Arabic language was the language of the Quran, and Arabic culture often became as attractive to non Muslims as to Muslims (Turner 1974: 82,84-86,125-126,141,176).

As a result of Arab expansion into non-Arabic speaking lands, the Arabic language changed from the classical stage, originally used by bedouins in the desert, to a much simpler, more flexible form. This new form of Arabic known as Middle Arabic was used in the garrison cities (Szyliowicz 1973: 54-56).

The culture of the pre-Islamic Arabs had been a literary one (as might be expected from a largely nomadic people for whom cultivation of the visual and plastic arts was difficult), centered on their fluent and expressive poetry (Massialas 1983: 5-7, Martin 1982: 45-46). Under the Umayyads literature flourished. Poetry was dominant, although prose tales of the tribes

of the old Arabs also were circulated. Political motivation was also important during the Umayyad period and was apparent in the work of the three greatest poets of that time. Al-Akhtal was a famous Arabic poet, whose poetry is still taught in Arabic schools today; he died in 710. Jarir, another famous Arabic poet always wrote about battles and lyrics; he died in 729. Finally, there was Al-Farazdaq, a famous poet and writer of his time; he died in 728. These poets were active at the courts of the Caliphs and their governors (Szyliowicz 1973: 51,52-53, Nakosteen 1964: 47, Esposito 1984: 183).

Also one of the most important factors during the Umayyad period was the collection and consolidation of the Hadith, on which much of Islamic law is based. By the end of the Umayyad period, a system of elementary education had been established in all Muslim lands and continued for centuries. The Umayyad dynasty ended when they were conquered by the Abbasids. One of the reasons for the decline of the Umayyad dynasty was the failure of the educational system to continue to produce the kind of imaginative strong and responsible leaders that were needed (Turner 1974: 82,84, Lewis 1966: 64-83,86, 96,100).

The Abbasid Dynasty

(750-1258 A.D.)

In 750 A.D. the Umayyad Caliphate in Damascus fell to the Abbasids. The Abbasidian Dynasty which was in power for over five hundred years is considered one of the Golden Ages of the Islamic Empire. The Abbasids established their own capital in Baghdad. They encouraged people of diverse traditions and cultures to come to Baghdad. While Europe was just emerging from the Medieval Ages, Baghdad was the center of enlightenment with an advanced civilization.

Under the rule of the Caliphate Harun Al-Rashid (803-822 A.D.), achievements in literature, art, philosophy, and science were made which deeply influenced European culture. Harun and his successors encouraged crosscultural exchanges of ideas in the academies they founded. At that time, Jews, Christians and secular intellectuals debated Muslims on religious and philosophical matters. In addition, Abbasid scholars studied and translated works from Greece, Persia, and India into Arabic. A famous philosopher at this time was Avicenna (Ibn Sina) who commented on Aristotle's works from an Islamic perspective (Martin 1982: 46, Enayat 1982: 15). During the Abbasidian dynasty tension existed between Sunni and Shiite Muslims, Arabs, Persians, Turks, and other ethnic groups. The various ethnic groups within the vast

Islamic Empire had a lasting affect on the Caliphate in Baghdad which started losing control over people and lands that were far away from the Capital. As more people became Muslims, the need to support one single imperial Caliph decreased. Furthermore, there was a contradiction between the egalitarian ideals of Muslim brotherhood and an imperialistic hierarchy (Voll 1982: 14).

At that time in Baghdad, classic governmental, educational and religious institutions, such as hospitals, academies of science, and schools called Madrasas, represented the development of the educational system. The classic schools of Islamic law and theology also increased. They were divided into four kinds of Islamic law schools which became accepted in Sunni Islam. The important oral tradition of sayings, the Hadith, attributed to the prophet Muhammad, was written down and codified. In the Abbasid Age, there were six orthodox collections of the Hadith the best known of which is the "Authentic" by Al-Bukhari (died 870 A.D.). Moreover, traditional religious disciplines such as law, Koranic studies, and studies of the prophetic traditions were formed and transmitted in mosque schools. Late in the Abbasid Age the madrasas were established. Well-known professors were appointed to the faculties of these institutions and were paid salaries, as people also were turning from learning in the mosques to

learning in the madrasas (Szyliowicz 1973: 51-52, Patai 1983: 250, Martin 1982: 24-25).

Although the early and middle Abbasid Caliphates gave all their attention to science, literature, medicine and the fine arts, the later caliphates did not do so because of conflicts with the Persians and Turks. With the Mongol invasion of Baghdad in 1258, the Abbasid Caliphate was destroyed. However, the dynasty was losing power and influence before the invasion. One possible reason for the decline was the unmanageable size of the Abbasid territory. The Abbasid empire stretched from Spain to India, an extensive area which was difficult to control.

The Fatimid Dynasty

(909-1171 A.D.)

The Fatimids were the leaders of the Shia' sect which emerged from Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law. In the Fatimid period the Imams of the Shiite ruled the Empire; they were also called Caliphs, and their powers were greater than the Abbasids. This dynasty was named after Muhammad's daughter Fatima, the wife of Ali. The Fatimids ruled Egypt and later, Syria. Unlike the Abbasid, the Fatimid Caliphate failed to assume control of the world of Islam. Unlike them, too, they remained the leaders of the sect which had brought them to power (Bucher 1984: 49, Lewis 1966: 111).

The first three Fatimid Caliphs reigned only in North Africa. Subsequently the Fatimids rapidly extended their power into Palestine, Syria and Arabia. The whole of North Africa was also under the Fatimid's power: Sicily, Egypt, Syria, and Western Arabia. In 1056-57 A.D. the Fatimid General succeeded in taking over Baghdad and in proclaiming the sovereignty of the Fatimid Caliph from the Abbasid capital (Patai 1983: 250, Bucher 1984: 49, Lewis 1966: 111-112).

Cairo, the Fatimid center, became an important political capital; its institutions of learning and culture rivaled Baghdad's. The mosque-university of Al-Azhar, the oldest university in the Middle East, was founded in Cairo at that time. Mosques and madrasas greatly expanded. Islamic education was encouraged, especially in Al-Azhar University. This university had started as a religious institution teaching the Quran, Hadith and Sunnah, writing, and reading in the Arabic language. Al-Azhar is one of the oldest universities of the world, characterized by a high level of teaching in the sciences of Islam, Sharia, medicine, physical sciences, and many other courses. Muslim students came from all over the world to go to Al-Azhar university for education and degrees (Tritton 1957: 198, Dunne 1938: 10-11). In 1171 A.D. the Fatimid dynasty ended with the Mongol invasion. The age of the Caliphates which had endured for over five hundred years came to an end.

The Empire After the Caliphates

As mentioned before, with the invasion of the Mongols, the classic age of the Caliphates came to an end. The Mongols swept into Russia, China, Central Asia, and the Middle East under the command of ruler Chingiz Khan, whose son captured Baghdad in 1258 A.D. The Abbasid Caliphate and Fatimids were destroyed, but after a few decades the Mongols became Muslims, and the Islamic civilization was established again. The leaders were called Sultans instead of Caliphs which means a high authority in governing.

From the thirteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, three politically independent regimes existed in the Islamic world. The Ottoman Turks were based in Istanbul, the Safavid Persians were based in Isfahan, and the Moghul Indians were centered in Delhi (Martin 1982: 49). Specifically, the Mamluke dynasty which came to power at the time of Ottoman rule as well as the Ottoman Empire itself will be discussed.

The Mamluke Sultanate

(1250-1517 A.D.)

During the Fatimid dynasty, soldiers began to be recruited from sources outside the old Muslim tribal groups. By the tenth century, a major source for new soldiers were the Turkish peoples of Central Asia. Some of them were mercenaries, but most of them were brought into the Middle East as slaves. These slaves became the

major element in the provincial garrisons, and their commanders gained a growing degree of independence from the Caliphate, although they maintained nominal allegiance. By the end of the tenth century, most of the empire was militarily and politically controlled by these provincial commanders. The soldiers were not native to the areas they controlled, and their primary link to the population was a common religion, Islam. With the decline of the Caliph, these former slave soldiers decided to fight the Mongols in order to preserve Islam. In the battle which was fought between the Mamlukes and the Mongols on Syrian-Palestinian lands in 1260 A.D., the Mamlukes defeated the Mongols (Voll 1982: 15, Bucher 1984: 5, Lewis 1966: 85,97,103,146, 161).

By the middle of the twelfth century the Mamlukes had taken Egypt and Syria. In Egypt, the Mamlukes encountered different ethnic and linguistic groups. As a result, they came to rely more and more on the ulama, and these religious leaders became increasingly involved in politics. In addition, the ulama were allowed total authority over religious practices.

The ulama as an educated group made important literary contributions in the form of historical writing. For example, one famous scholar of that period was Jalal al-Din-al-Suyut, who lived from 1445 to 1505 A.D. He wrote Islamic histories and studies of the

Quran which became widely accepted and valued in the Islamic world. Romances and stories were also written at this time, the most famous being The Thousand and One Nights which is still popular today (Szyliowicz 1973: 50-58, Patai 1983: 321-322, Voll 1982: 49).

The Mamlukes, however, could not keep control of Egypt. Internal conflict among the leaders resulted in a number of popular revolts in the cities and in the countryside. When the Ottoman Turks decided to renew the Islamic advance against the West, the Mamlukes were doomed. The Ottomans conquered Egypt in 1517 A.D. (Voll 1982: 49).

The Ottoman Sultanate

(1412-1918 A.D.)

The Ottoman Empire was founded in the late thirteenth century by the Ottoman Turks. It was a Sunni Islamic dynasty. This empire lasted until the beginning of the present century. The Ottoman Empire at the height of its expansion in the sixteenth century extended as far north as Austria in Europe and included Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Persia, Arabia, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

The Ottoman Turks made successful conquests because of their excellent military organization. The elite corps of the Ottoman army, known as the Janissaries, were recruited from forced levies of young Christians who were converted to Islam and rigorously trained in

the palace schools. Originally organized by Murad I, the Janissaries gained great power under the Ottoman Empire and made and unmade sultans. By 1600 A.D., however, Muslims, had begun to enter the Corp largely through bribery; membership in the Corps became largely hereditary while the conscription of Christians stopped (Voll 1982: 40).

Religious tolerance of non-Muslims was an important feature of the Ottoman dynasty. Following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Sultan Mehmed II gave special recognition to the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church; the patriarch had civil as well as religious authority over the orthodox Christians of the empire. Eventually, the millet system evolved in which members of various religious minorities were grouped into communities (millets) which were autonomous in spiritual, judicial, and administrative matters (Voll 1982: 19).

Under the Ottomans, educational institutions known as palace schools were established in order to provide well-trained leaders for the empire. These schools will be discussed at length in the next section. In addition, the number of madrasas greatly increased. Madrasas were found in every town of the empire. By the eighteenth century, there were 275 madrasas in Istanbul alone. These institutions did not offer the same standard of education; the madrasas for the elite

population were found in Istanbul while those of lesser quality were found in Bursa and Adrianople (Gibb and Bowen 1957: 148, Szyliowicz 1973: 65-66). Teaching was by the lecture method, and the works of Arab authors which had been translated into Turkish were studied.

The Ottoman madrasas were open to any student, rich or poor. Because there were no entrance requirements, no attendance requirement, no required courses, no examinations, and no formal graduation, the quality of students was very poor. In fact, many people enrolled in order to get free meals. Furthermore, the quality of the faculty declined. The system of appointment which was established in the sixteenth century provided positions for the ulama based on long education and merit. By the eighteenth century, however, it was common for untrained men to hold major teaching positions through nepotism (Voll 1982: 42).

As mentioned previously, the Janissaries, as well as the ulama, possessed great power over the sultans by the seventeenth century. There was corruption and bribery at the administrative level. Provincial posts could be purchased at a high cost. Meritocracy was replaced by nepotism. The sultans themselves had become lazy and ineffective.

While Europe was experiencing enlightenment, the Ottoman Empire was stagnating. After suffering defeat at Vienna in 1683 A.D., the Ottomans started to lose

territory. The Russo-Turkish wars of the eighteenth century cost Turkey the northern and northeast coasts of the Black Sea, Greece and Egypt.

The Ottoman Empire was further hurt in the nineteenth century by its trade treaties with France, England, the Netherlands, Russia, Austria, Germany and Italy. Because these treaties gave privileges to foreign diplomats and traders, Turkey was unable to control its own customs tariff. Importation of foreign goods hurt native industries. Turkey was also becoming financially dependent on Europe because of huge loans from abroad. The Ottoman Bank, founded in 1856, was the state bank but in the hands of the French and the English. Furthermore, the Armenian massacres of the late nineteenth century alienated world opinion about Turkey which became known as the "sick man of Europe".

The ultimate demise of the Ottoman Empire occurred at the hands of the Young Turks, a reformist and strongly nationalist group. In 1908 the Young Turks restored the Constitution of 1876 which provided for a Parliament. In 1909, the Parliament deposed the Sultan and put Muhammad V on the throne. Germany became actively involved with Turkish affairs; the Baghdad Railroad was built by the Germans who also reorganized and trained the Turkish Army. In 1914, Russia declared war on Turkey, and by 1917, Britain occupied Baghdad and Jerusalem. With the signing of a treaty in 1918 A.D.,

the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic dynasties ended (Voll 1982: 43-49, Ziadeh 1953: 155).

Traditional Islamic Education

As the Islamic tradition spread throughout the world, the education system became the key institution in socializing new converts in the tradition. It was also the key institution in creating social order in these dynasties. In this section I will discuss elementary education, higher education, and education for women in the Islamic world prior to the nineteenth century.

As early as the seventh century A.D. lessons were held in students homes; later these lessons were extended to the mosques which became the informal centers of education in the Islamic world. The teaching in these mosques were based on reading and recitation of the Quran and the Hadith. Since Muhammad's time the Quran has been considered the basis of all knowledge, and children have been taught how to write verses from the Quran. Later Koranic schools known as Kuttabs were provided; these Kuttabs were composed of circles of students around individual teachers at the mosque. Everywhere in the Islamic Empire children received an education in the mosque, and people became more interested in learning (Szyliowicz 1973: 54).

Elementary Education

Elementary schools were established early in the Islamic Empire for two reasons. First of all, the prophet placed a high value on education. He is recorded in the Hadith as saying, "A father can confer upon his child no more valuable gift than a good education" (Szyliowicz 1973: 58). Secondly, primary schools also provided a way to educate and socialize the diverse groups of Islamic converts. By the end of the Umayyad period, a system of elementary education had been established throughout the Muslim empire (Szyliowicz 1973: 54).

What did the student study in the elementary schools? Students had to memorize all or most of the Quran, learn fundamental religious practices, such as ritual washing, and study the Hadith. In addition, writing, reading, and elementary arithmetic were taught. The typical student began elementary school at six or seven years of age and remained in school for three or four years (Tibawi 1972: 21-25).

Because the Islamic Empire consisted of diverse language groups such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish speakers, problems arose when non-Arabic speaking students were taught the Quran using only Arabic. In Turkish parts of the Islamic Empire, elementary education was inadequate because of language problems. Although the Turkish and the Arabic language shared a

common alphabet and some vocabulary, the grammatical systems and syntactical structures were different. Turkish students had difficulty memorizing the Quran which was written in a foreign language, Arabic. Today, however, the Quran has been translated into many languages with the original Arabic on the same page as the translation.

Even though elementary education was valued, primary school teachers had a low status in Islamic society. One possible explanation for the low status of the teachers was a religious one. Why should teachers be paid to teach the Quran? (Szyliowicz 1973: 56). One scholar during this time compared women to teachers: "The rationality of women . . . . equals that of seventy weavers; that of a weaver equals that of seventy school teachers" (Szyliowicz 1973: 55).

However, teachers had great power in the classroom in using corporal punishment. They were expected to administer the stick frequently for infractions ranging from using bad manners to playing with dice. The punishment, on the other hand, was strictly controlled according to the student's age. Only students over the age of ten could be beaten between three and ten strokes. Furthermore, schools were regularly inspected to make sure that the children were not beaten too severely (Szyliowicz 1973: 53,55,58).

Informal Higher Education

Once the student finished elementary school, his options for higher education were limited to informal institutions. He could attend lectures given by scholars at mosques where the audience varied in size. Classes of 30,000 were not uncommon; one class reportedly had 100,000 students (Szyliowicz 1973: 59).

A second alternative was the Halka, where a circle of students surrounded a famous scholar at a mosque. By the second half of the eighth century, many circles had been established. Teaching positions were created for scholars in the big mosques. These appointments were made by the Caliph for life. Law was an important subject at the Halka and by the eleventh century, the four schools of law-the Hanafite, the Malikite, the Shafiite, and the Hanabalite - were established (Voll 1982: 15,24-25, Patai 1983: 331, Szyliowicz 1973: 61).

Formal Institutions of Higher Education

As the Islamic Empire continued to grow, the informal institutions were inadequate in meeting the demands of people. New formal institutions were created: the research center and the colleges (the madrasas, the masjid and the meshed).

The research centers were established by scholars who were interested in education or by rulers who were interested in promoting their own beliefs. There was more intellectual freedom in the mosques than in the

research centers because the latter often served as an instrument for propaganda (Waardenburg 1965: 99).

Starting in the eleventh century, various types of colleges were developed: the madrasas, the masjid and the meshed. The madrasas was the college of law. The masjid was another kind of educational institution which was called the Mosque College. It was a place of worship as well as a law school. Finally the meshed or the Shrine College was a kind of religious madrasas built next to a holy man's tomb (Szyliowicz 1973: 63). The first madrasa was established in the eleventh century in Naisabur, Iran. However, the most famous madrasas, which was founded in 1057 A.D., was called the Nizamiye in Baghdad. Unlike most madrasas, this school guaranteed no life tenure for its teachers (Makdisi 1961: 52, Szyliowicz 1973: 65).

The madrasas primary orientation was upon religious training. The subjects taught were divided into two branches of knowledge: the physical sciences which were rooted in ancient times and the communicative sciences which had developed in connection with Islam (Szyliowicz 1973: 65). There were some differences as well as similarities between these colleges. Although the masjid and the madrasas were institutions where the law of a particular school was taught, the masjid was also a place of worship. The similarities were that first they specialized in legal instruction, secondly, tenure was

for life, and thirdly, graduates became members of the ulama (Dodge 1962: 19).

However, the decline of the madrasas and their intellectual enlightenment began in the middle of the sixteenth century. Szyliowicz offers several reasons for this decline. Because the ulama looked down upon the teaching of non-religious subjects in the madrasas, there was little change or innovation in the curriculum. In addition, there was the Islamic definition of acceptable knowledge. Knowledge was defined as "acquiring as much of the accepted wisdom as possible". As a result, creative ideas were not forthcoming, and "intellectual stagnation" occurred (Szyliowicz 1973: 65, 66,70, Gibb and Bowen 1957:145).

The palace schools, however, which were established during the Ottoman Empire by Mehmed the Conqueror, had high standards. The Janissaries, the elite military corps mentioned previously, were trained in these schools. These schools were created to meet the growing demands for military leaders and able administrators in a rapidly growing empire. Since the Sultan of Constantinople was dissatisfied with the program of the officials, Mehmed decided to create affective institutions where officials could be trained. These schools admitted only non Muslims between the ages of ten to twenty years old. The students became slaves of the sultans and were intensely loyal to him. Students

were selected on the basis of physical and mental ability. The palace schools consisted of several preparatory and vocational schools. Students were assigned either to the Inner Service which was concerned with palace matters, or to the Outer Service. Students had daily classes in religious subjects, Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages, Turkish and Arabic literature, Turkish history, music, and mathematics. In addition, they had physical as well as vocational training. They also had courses in sewing, book binding, calligraphy and gold smithing (Szyliowicz 1973: 76-78).

The strength and quality of the palace schools was directly related to the power and ability of the Sultan. By the eighteenth century the Ottoman Sultans had become weak and were controlled by the Janissaries and the people who surrounded them at court.

The ruling class which was made up of graduates from the palace schools were no longer slaves but free Muslims. They obtained high positions not through merit but through bribery. As a result of this corruption, admission standards to the palace schools became lax, and admission to the palace schools was subject to political connections through the army and court cliques. As a result, the students and graduates of the palace schools had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Innovative ideas and attempts at reform

were discouraged, a fact which led to the eventual demise of the Ottoman Empire (Szyliowicz 1973: 78).

Education for Women

Prior to the twentieth century it was much more difficult for females than males to get formally educated in the Islamic world. Women were not subject to the rules and procedures of learning. Female education was considered in a different light. Although it was thought important to provide women with moral and religious instruction, the ability to read and write was not considered appropriate for women. According to an early saying, "A women who is taught to write is like a serpent who is given poison to drink" (Szyliowicz 1973: 58). This was no different from most traditional societies of the world including traditional western societies.

However, most wealthy families believed that women should be taught, and the parents started teaching their daughters privately. Female education focused on the Islamic religion, especially on the reading and reciting of the Quran. Later, female education became more and more important. In the medieval Islamic society in the twelfth century, the educational level of the ruling class which included women was high. An example of women's education at this time was shown in one story of The Thousand and One Nights. The woman character had studied grammar, poetry, the Quran, law, the tradition,

music, mathematics, philosophy, logic and rhetoric. She was also an accomplished musician and singer (Szyliowicz 1973: 74-75, Abbott 1946: 7). The Western reader may be surprised by the extensive knowledge females of the Islamic elite had in the 1400's, a time when their Western sisters lived in relative darkness.

To summarize, Muhammad and his impact upon the Arab world cannot be understated. During Muhammad's life time, a new civilization was born that changed the history of the world. Because of the need to convert non-believers, education became a prime value in the Middle East with the Quran being the instrument of instruction.

For Islam adherents, the Quran is the written word of Muhammad which serves as a guide to religious life. In addition, Muslims rely on the Hadith a collection of Muhammad's sayings. The Quran and the Hadith form the basis for Islamic law known as the Shari'a, which has four different Sunni schools.

The Islamic tradition and these legal schools affected Muslims and the development of their traditional education in the Arabic dynasties which existed from the seventh to the nineteenth century. These Islamic empires were dominated by the Caliphate political system. The Rashidun was the first Caliphate dynasty and was characterized by much bloodshed. Under the Rashiduns the official version of the Quran was

written down. After the Umayyad dynasty succeeded the Rashiduns, Islamic scholars collected and consolidated the sayings of the Hadith into one volume. Furthermore, by the end of the Umayyad period, a system of elementary education had been established in all Muslim lands and continued for centuries. The Umayyads were conquered by the Abbasids, under whose rule one of the Golden Ages of the Islamic Empire flourished. Prior to the Abbasids, education had focused on Islamic religion. Under the Abbasids, however, education was expanded to include secular subjects such as science, literature, medicine and the fine arts. Later Caliphates, on the other hand, did not concentrate on education because of the conflicts with the Persians and Turks (Itzkowitz 1962: 82-83).

With the Mongol invasion of Baghdad, the Abbasid Caliphate was destroyed. The Fatimid dynasty was the time of a cultural revival in Baghdad and the expansion of institutions of learning. At that time, the University of Al-Azhar was founded in Cairo, the Fatimid center. Mosques and Madrasas greatly expanded, and Islamic education was encouraged, especially in Al-Azhar University which began as a religious institution. These religious institutions taught the Quran, the Hadith, and Sunnah, as well as writing and reading in the Arabic language. The Fatimid dynasty and the age of

Caliphate which had endured for over five hundred years ended with the Mongol Invasion.

The Caliphate was replaced by the Mamlukes; these Mamlukes were slave soldiers who became strong during the Ottoman Empire. The Mamlukes took over Egypt and Syria but could not keep control of Egypt. Internal conflict among the leaders resulted in a number of popular revolts in the cities; consequently, the Ottoman Turks were able to conquer Egypt and assume control. During the Ottoman dynasty which lasted until the end of World War I, new educational institutions in the form of palace schools were established to train military leaders.

The education of females was largely neglected in the Islamic world; an educated female was considered a threat to the status quo. A minority of women, however, did receive an extensive education, particularly during the Abbasid dynasty; the families of the ruling class hired tutors for their daughters.

Throughout these diverse empires, traditional Islamic education was very important. Traditional Islamic education moved from the mosque to the madrasas, the elementary schools, and universities. As the Islamic Empire continued to grow, the mosques were inadequate in meeting the demands of people, and therefore new formal institutions were created: the research centers, the colleges, the madrasas and the

elementary schools. Thus, with the creation of the educational institutions previously mentioned, Islam and Muhammad's message were effectively dispersed.

CHAPTER III

The Impact of the West on Arab Education

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THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON ARAB EDUCATION

Although Arab civilization had been in contact with Western Europe since the time of the early Islamic dynasties, a shift in the relationship between the two worlds occurred in the sixteenth century. During the Islamic dynasties, Arabs ruled Western European populations in Egypt, Spain, and Sicily; their civilization was scientifically and culturally superior to that of the West.

By the sixteenth century, however, the West had renewed itself, having experienced the Renaissance and the Reformation. The West had made technological advances in almost every field and was, for the first time, technologically and scientifically superior to the Arab world. In fact, by the twentieth century, the West influenced the whole world economically, politically, and culturally.

For the last four centuries Arab education has been molded and changed by the West. The French occupation of Egypt in the late eighteenth century gave rise to the creation of the first public school system in the Middle East. The Egyptian school system served as a model for other Arabian countries and Westernization on all levels of education began; curiously, it was able to coexist

with the Islamic traditions. In addition to discussing the educational impact of the West on Arab education, the consequences of this influence will be addressed.

European Expansion in the Sixteenth Century

At the beginning of the sixteenth century European expansion was of a new type. It began with French negotiations and alliances with the Ottomans against their enemy, the British. These negotiations transformed the alliance into a trade pact, giving rights and privileges to French traders in the Ottoman territories. French penetration developed rapidly. They established posts and Consular missions in both Syria and Egypt. Other countries followed later: the English (1580), the Dutch (1612), the Italians (1911-1912) and other powers. During the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, European trade grew steadily, and different colonies of traders settled in the ports and other towns of Syria and Egypt. The Arabic areas were affected commercially by English, French, Dutch and Italian traders (Lewis 1958: 166, Georgiana 1963: 36-40).

Western Impact On Egypt

A great change came with the occupation of Egypt in 1798 by Napoleon Bonaparte. The Ottoman Mamluke were defeated, but the French were able to occupy the country for only a short period of time. Although their occupation was brief, the French had a tremendous cultural and social influence on Egypt and the Arab

world. The French brought in teams of scientists and other investigators to explore Egypt. They introduced medical techniques and other technological items to Egyptians. Through this experience the Arabs became directly aware of the great changes which had been developing in the West. In addition, France gained a position of military and economic superiority over the Arabs in Egypt. Eventually, however, the British drove the French out of power in 1801, leaving Egypt once again as independent but affected deeply by Western influence (Hussein 1948: 33-34).

Muhammad Ali, a Turkish leader who was the self-appointed ruler of an Arab state that included Egypt, Syria and Arabia briefly, established headquarters in Cairo in 1805. Because Muhammad Ali was aware of Western technology and military superiority, he tried to Westernize the Egyptian economy and the traditional Islamic institutions. To do this, Muhammad Ali relied upon French and British technical expertise to develop the Egyptian military and economic technology. But in doing so the Arab economy became increasingly dependent upon the West, and from the mid-nineteenth century until 1956, Western powers, especially the British, were able to maintain a strong presence in Egypt (Martin 1982: 28, Lewis 1958: 166-167). In order to create a new Westernized army, Muhammad Ali established a centralized educational system which began with military training academies. He

also wanted to educate the civilians, so, by 1835, he had founded schools for medicine, administration, agriculture, and industry. The educational system expanded to include high schools to prepare students to join the different higher education facilities which were established.

In a short period of time, Muhammad Ali had a full public educational system that covered the three basic levels of education. The first level was elementary; the second was high school; the third was college. Muhammad Ali's educational system laid the foundation for the public educational system of Egypt, the first in the Arab world. Eventually Egyptian educational models influenced the other Arab states. Also as early as 1809, Muhammad Ali started sending Egyptian students to study abroad (Nashabi 1979: 36,37). Szyliowicz states that Muhammad Ali also established an extensive network of higher technical schools of different types (Szyliowicz 1973: 103-104).

Muhammad Ali, however, encountered difficulties in hiring teachers for the institutions he had created. Because there was a shortage of Egyptian teachers, he used Western teachers. Muhammad Ali was not satisfied with the uneven qualifications of these western teachers and the fact that they wanted large salaries. Another problem was that few of the European teachers knew Arabic, and interpreters had to be hired, further increasing the cost of foreign teachers. A third

difficulty for Muhammad Ali was the independence of these foreign teachers; Ali was unable to tolerate persons over whom he had no control (Patai 1983: 271, Tibawi 1972: 50,51, James 1966: 33).

For these reasons the decision was made to train native Egyptians as teachers, and students were sent abroad for this purpose. In 1826, twenty-eight Egyptians were being educated in Europe as teachers. By 1849, an additional 321 Egyptians were in Europe studying the arts, engineering, administration, agriculture and science (Patai 1983: 27, Tibawi 1972: 50-52). In addition to the Egyptian educational institutions Muhammad Ali created, different types of foreign schools were established in Egypt during this period and became successful. The first type was the missionary school which was supported and operated by French Catholics. Later, British, German, and American priests established religious schools. In those conservative schools European education was available, but with an emphasis on religion. The second type were the ecoles libres gratuites et universelles, non-denominational institutions sponsored by the French who lived in Egypt at that time. A third type was the minority school, organized and run by the local Greek, Jewish, or Armenian communities. After 1840, the most effective of these minority schools were the Jewish institutions in which European languages and culture were taught. These institutions produced highly Westernized graduates who

entered and achieved great success in the professions, business, and government service. All of the different types of schools above were established in Syria and Palestine as well (Szyliowicz 1973: 112, Algar 1978: 313, Shalapi 1954: 127, Akrawi 1949: 16,42).

Western Impact on Education in the Arab World in the Twentieth Century

Samir Ahmed Jarrar indicates that the outbreak of World War I and the consequent defeat of the Ottomans created a new reality in the Arab world (1983). The age of colonialism, which started in some Arab countries as early as the 1830's when France took over Algeria, then Morocco and Tunisia, intensified with the end of World War I. The League of Nations established the British mandate over Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq. The French mandate was established over Syria and Lebanon. The Arabian Gulf, Egypt, and the Sudan fell under British control (Jarrar and Massialas 1983: 20-21).

The period between the two World Wars strengthened the influence of the French and British control over the educational system of the area. Teaching methods and examination systems were borrowed largely from the French and British. This strong reliance on Western educational models alarmed many Arab leaders who were becoming increasingly nationalistic.

Western schools in the Arab world developed rapidly. By the time of World War I, there were around 675 American schools at all levels with 34,317 students,

178 British schools with around 12,800 students, and 500 French schools that served 59,414 students. A small number of German, Italian, Swiss, Danish, and Russian schools were also in existence. Some religious minorities had their own schools. Among them were the Greek, Russian, and Jewish schools (Szyliowicz 1973: 19). Missionary schools also existed in great numbers at this time. These missionary schools did not attract Muslims but did serve the needs of the Eastern Christian minorities such as the Druzes, the Copts, the Armenians and Greeks (Bucher 1984: 22). Since these schools taught European languages and ideas, their students were employed by Western businesses, and a new social class loyal to the West emerged - the modern city merchants who had moved to major commercial centers.

Between 1930 and 1967, many Arab countries became independent: Iraq, 1932; Egypt, 1936; Syria and Lebanon, 1941; Jordan, 1946; Libya, 1951; Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco, 1956; Kuwait, 1961; Algeria, 1962; and South Yemen, 1967 (Lewis 1966: 182-183). As a result of the withdrawal of educated Westerners in positions of power, the educational system of these under developed countries underwent radical changes in order to educate their own populations in large numbers.

The 1950s and early 1960s were the years of educational explosion in the Arab world; the expanding educational systems were imported from the West with little, if any, relevance to the local needs and ways of

life and the level of development of these countries. The educational structure was designed to feed into university education. Long term educational plans of three to eight years duration started to emerge in the Arab world as early as the 1950s. By the mid-1970s nearly all the Arab countries had development plans that included the educational sector (Jarrar and Massialas 1983: 21-22).

In 1957 a cultural unity agreement was signed by Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, the purpose of which was to meet their development needs in education. Meetings among these Arab states were formalized with the help of the Unified Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Arab League of Economic and Social Development (ALECSO) (Voll 1982: 59, Tibawi 1972: 84-86, Massialas and Jarrar 1983: 102, Szyliowicz 1973: 146, 219, 230). The meetings resulted in the creation of the Arab Cultural Unity Charter. The Charter attempted to develop equal educational standards in the Arab world by means of coordinating the educational structure. The educational standards were to be uniform in the following areas: curricula, text books, evaluation procedures, admissions requirements, certificate equivalencies, teachers training practices, and the administration of educational institutions (Rahman 1966: 53, Voll 1982: 59-60).

Higher Education

As more Arab countries regained their independence from the West, many of them proceeded to found their own universities. By 1975, there were about forty-seven universities, of which forty were modern secular and seven were religious, while two contained both religious and modern faculties. The universities were distributed nationally as follows:

Universities in the Arab World

1975

1. Algeria	3	8. Morocco	2
2. Egypt	11	9. Saudi Arabia	6
3. Iraq	6	10. Somalia	1
4. Jordan	1	11. Sudan	3
5. Kuwait	1	12. Syria	3
6. Lebanon	5	13. Tunisia	1
7. Libya	3	14. Yemen	1
		Total	47

(Szyliowicz 1973: 200, 209).

In addition, there were over one hundred colleges and institutes of higher education outside the university system which made the total enrollment 425,000 in 1970 in comparison to 27,000 students in 1945 (Akrawi 1979: 44-46, Szyliowicz 1973: 200, 209, Bashshur 1980: 88-89). One reason for the rapid development in the founding of new universities was the desire of the newly independent states to train the necessary manpower for their administration and for their economic, social, and

cultural development. Thus, the university became an important status symbol for the new states. Another major reason for the rapid university expansion was the growth of primary and secondary education which resulted in the need for more institutions of higher learning.

There were several different tendencies in the development of the institutions of higher education (Issawi 1963: 100). One important tendency in Arab education was the creation of new religious universities. Secondly, the independent colleges of Islamic law and religion became part of the modern universities. Such was the case with the Colleges of Sharia (Muslim law) of Baghdad and Damascus. A third tendency, as Matta Akrawi explains, was the reform of curricula on the university level, specifically called the reform of Al-Azhar University (Akrawi 1979: 46-50). Beginning in the 1870's, Egyptian thinkers and religious teachers instituted a series of laws which introduced curricular and organizational reforms (Efrat 1968: 25, Qubain 1966: 29-30). The most radical of these laws, passed in 1961, aimed at eliminating differences between Al-Azhar's graduates and those of other institutions by establishing a common curricula for all schools.

Al-Azhar was changed into a modern institution with new administrators and placed under government control. English was the language of instruction used in the schools of engineering and medicine. In 1968, Al-Azhar contained the following schools: Jurisprudence and

Islamic law, theology, Arabic studies, business and administration, engineering, agriculture, medicine, Institute of Languages and Translation, and the Higher Institute of Islamic studies (Szyliowicz 1973: 282, Crecelius 1966: 31-50). Although many of these schools reflect modernizing influences from the West, Al-Azhar is still committed to the teaching of Islamic theology and practices to all its students.

There have been both negative and positive consequences on Arab education as a result of Western influence. On the professional level the Arab educational administrator faced two related difficulties: a shortage of qualified teachers of science and technology, and secondly, inadequate teaching material in Arabic. Other difficulties in Arab education were created directly by Western influence. Since both the French and British were the major colonial powers in the Middle East, they developed two sets of educational policies, one used largely in the countries under French control and the other used in these under British control. This confusing development affected legal, administrative, and curricula usages. As a result, the administration of Arabization in Rabat followed the British system in establishing uniform policies in schools, colleges, and universities (Tibawi 1972: 214-215).

Aside from the negative results of the European influence on Arab education, there have been some

positive aspects. Prior to the adoption of the British education system in all Arab countries, lecturing was the common mode of instruction in universities because of overcrowded conditions. This method of instruction did not reflect one of the best features of traditional Islamic education - the personal contact between the teacher and the student. However, the tutorial system, one of the characteristics of British education, was introduced as part of the uniform adoption policy in the universities, a method which insures close contact between student and instructor. In spite of its educational appeal, the tutorial system is not as widely used as the lecture method in Arab universities because of its expense.

The teaching standards in Arabic and Islamic subjects in the best Arabic universities are as high as in any European or American university. Also, like the lower schools, the universities use examinations to evaluate their students.

Another result of Western influence on Arab education is the new foreign universities that have been developed in the Arab world: the American University of Beirut, the University of St. Joseph also in Beirut, the American University at Cairo, the small Jesuit establishment in Baghdad, and Al-Hikmah University, which has been absorbed into the University of Baghdad (Tibawi 1972: 222, Massialas and Jarrar 1983: 237,243). These universities as well as the national universities

all use the Western methods of teaching and examinations.

On the other hand, modern Arab education has retained many elements that existed in traditional Islamic education. Today students study the Quran as well as modern educational subjects including psychology and technology. Technology, of course, is the key to the economic and social development of Arab society but unfortunately, it is the least developed field of study, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

In conclusion, although Europeans had been in the Middle East from the earliest dynasties, the eighteenth century marked a new type of European expansion - colonization. As a result of trade agreements between the French and the Ottoman rulers, France was able to gain a foot hold in Egypt and eventually occupy that country under Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798. With the French occupation of Egypt, the Arabs became aware of the superiority of Western technology.

Eventually, the French were defeated by the British. After the French withdrawal from Egypt in 1805, Muhammad Ali, a Turkish leader, became the ruler of an Arab state that included Egypt, Syria, and Arabia. Muhammad Ali wanted to make sweeping changes in the Arab world by westernizing the Egyptian economy and the traditional Islamic institutions. In a short period of time Muhammad Ali had a full public educational system. Muhammad Ali encouraged the proliferation of different

type foreign schools in Egypt: the missionary schools, the eclose libres gratuites et universelles, and the minority school. The graduates of these foreign schools became highly successful professionals, businessmen, and government employees.

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were periods of colonial expansion in the Middle East. France occupied Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Syria and Lebanon. The British occupied Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, the Arabian Gulf, Egypt, and the Sudan. As a result, the educational system in the occupied countries reflected Western trends in the teaching methods and the systems of examination.

Between 1930 and 1967, however, the occupied countries in the Middle East became independent and instituted reforms in the educational field. The 1950's and 1960's, in particular, were a time of equalizing educational standards throughout the Arab world, as well as expanding the number of educational institutions.

CHAPTER IV

Changes in Education in Saudi Arabia

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN EDUCATION IN SAUDI ARABIA

As one of the richest and most rapidly developing countries in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia faces the dual challenge of modernizing its educational system to combat the high rate of illiteracy (estimated to be at 85 percent), and to train Saudis for technical and professional positions in the work force while simultaneously preserving its traditional Islamic culture. The development of a Saudi modern educational system was necessary because the existing traditional educational system with its specialized religious orientation was not suitable for a modern economy. Except for one or two small institutions which provided secular education, schools in the Kingdom were religiously oriented and stressed knowledge of the Quran and the Hadith with special emphasis on the memorization of the Quran. Secular subjects except for basic arithmetic, reading, and writing were not taught in these traditional schools.

In Chapters II and III I addressed the subject of traditional and modern education in the Middle East in general. In this chapter I will focus on the development and characteristics of modern education in Saudi Arabia with some reference to the traditional

education of the past. In addition, some historical background will be given regarding the rise to power of the Saud Family, the emergence of Saudi Arabia as a Kingdom, and the discovery of oil which made a modern educational system both a possibility and a necessity in Saudi Arabia. This chapter will also discuss specific areas of modern education in Saudi Arabia. Teacher training, higher education, vocational and technical training, adult education, female education, special education, and two research and government institutes which have been established to reinforce the modern educational system in Saudi Arabia.

Geography of Saudi Arabia

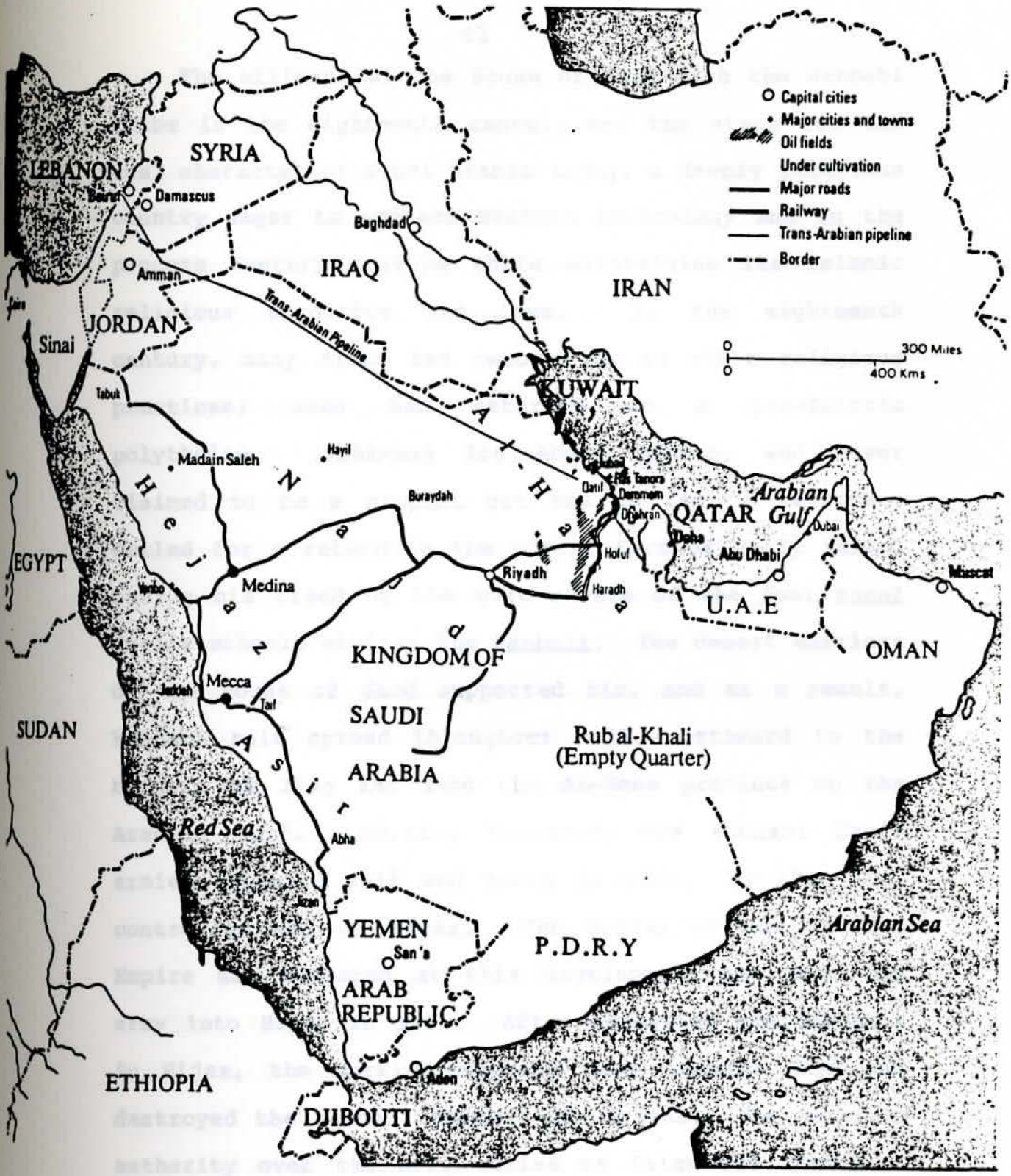
Saudi Arabia takes its name from the Saud Family which has ruled since the mid-1700's. Saudi Arabia extends over four-fifths of the Arabian Peninsula and is in a strategic location stretching from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba. It shares borders with Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, the Yemen Arab Republic, and the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen. It faces Iran across the Arab Gulf and Egypt, the Sudan, and Ethiopia across the Red Sea. It is separated from the Sinai Peninsula by the Gulf of Aqaba (Lacey 1981: 5-6).

Saudi Arabia which has one of the hottest and driest climates in the world has an area of 830,000 square miles with a population estimated at 8,000,000. The people of Saudi Arabia, like other Arab countries,

have adopted Islam as their religion and Muhammad as the Prophet of Islam. These Muslims speak and write Arabic, the Language of the Quran. The economy of Saudi Arabia depends primarily on oil. Riyadh, with a population of approximately one million people, is the Capital City; Jeddah, the most important port city in Saudi Arabia has a population of one million also. Mecca is the holy city to which Muslims from all over the world make an annual pilgrimage known as the Hajj. The population of Mecca is approximately 425,000 (Samovar and Porter 1980: 100, Ministry of Agriculture and Water 1983: 10-11).

The History of Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is not a new state. Its existence as a sovereign political entity dates back to 1744 A.D., thirty-two years before the the British colonies in America declared their independence. In that year, the head of the House of Saud, the present ruling family, formed an alliance with Muhammad Ibn Abdul-Wahhab, founder of an Islamic fundamentalist movement that came to be called by the name of Wahhabism. The House of Saud and its descendants ruled over the independent principality of Najd which stretched eastward across the peninsula to the shores of the Persian Gulf. Although Najd existed as an independent state with nominal allegiance to the Ottoman Empire, the province of Hijaz which included the holy cities of Mecca and Medina was dominated by the Turks and their Arab representatives (Tibawi 1972: 178).


Capital cities
Major cities and towns
Oil fields
Under cultivation
Major roads
Railway
Trans-Arabian pipeline
Border
300 Miles
400 Kms
LEBANON
Beirut
Damascus
SYRIA
Baghdad
IRAQ
IRAN
Amman
JORDAN
Trans-Arabian Pipeline
Sinai
Tabuk
KUWAIT
Madain Saleh
Hayil
Buraydah
Qatif
Ras Tanura
Dammam
Dhahran
Arabian Gulf
QATAR
Dubai
Doha
Abu Dhabi
Muscat
EGYPT
Yenbo
Medina
Riyadh
Hofuf
Haradh
U.A.E
OMAN
KINGDOM OF
SAUDI
ARABIA
Mecca
Jeddah
Taif
SUDAN
Rub al-Khali
(Empty Quarter)
Red Sea
Abha
Jizan
YEMEN
San'a
P.D.R.Y
Arabian Sea
ARAB
REPUBLIC
Aden
ETHIOPIA
DJIBOUTI

The alliance of the House of Saud with the Wahhabi tribe in the eighteenth century set the stage for the dual character of Saudi Arabia today: a deeply religious country eager to embrace Western technology and in the process Western culture while maintaining its Islamic religious tradition and laws. In the eighteenth century, many Arabs had become lax in their religious practices; some had returned to a pre-Islamic polytheism. Muhammad Ibn Abdal Wahhab, who never claimed to be a prophet but was in fact a reformer, called for a return to the purest form of early Islam, basing his creed on the most severe of the four sunni Muslim schools of law: the Hanbali. The desert warriors of the House of Saud supported him, and as a result, Wahhabi rule spread throughout Najd, northward to the borders of Iraq and into the AL-Hasa province on the Arabian Gulf. Turning Westward, the Wahhabi Saudi armies captured Taif and Mecca in 1803. By 1806 they controlled all of Hijaz. The Sultan of the Ottoman Empire was outraged at this development and sent his army into Hijaz in 1811. After defeating the Wahhabis in Hijaz, the Turkish-Egyptian army invaded Najd and destroyed the Wahhabi capital of Dariyah. The Sultan's authority over the holy cities of Islam was restored. Indeed, for many years, Turkish and Egyptian influence over both Hijaz and Najd went unchallenged (Mansfield 1981: 37, Tibawi 1979: 178-179).

The Saud family set about restoring the ruined Wahhabi state; they made a new capital of Riyadh building strong walls around the town and constructing a palace and a new mosque. However, a new challenge to the House of Saud arose in north Najd, known as Jabal Shammar after its principal tribe. Here the Rashid family of the town of Hail seceded from the Wahhabi overlord and succeeded in establishing themselves as a powerful rival of the House of Saud. For some fifty years there was continuous fighting between the two factions until 1891 when Abdul Rahman, head of the House of Saud, was forced from Riyadh to take refuge with the ruler of Kuwait, AL-Sabbah. His eldest son, Abdulaziz AL Saud, commonly known as Ibn Saud, went with his father to Kuwait. As an adult, Ibn Saud proved to be one of the most remarkable leaders in the long history of the Arab people (Mansfield 1981: 38).

Abdulaziz, a formidable horseman and warrior, was capable of inspiring allegiance from the disparate tribal factions who lived in Saudi Arabia at that time. In 1902, Abdulaziz succeeded in recapturing Riyadh in a daring night attack using only forty men. Abdulaziz' alliance with the Wahhabi movement resulted in the creation of the first colony of Ikhwan (brothers) in 1902. He realized that the Arab achievements in the past had been inspired by religious fervor. The first colony of Ikhwan was a military settlement involved in cultivating the land and dedicated to the service of

Allah and the Amir (the Prince). Within a decade, one hundred similar colonies were founded, providing Abdulaziz with a strong army which would eventually conquer most of the Arabian Peninsula. Rashid power in the city of Hail declined and by 1913, Abdulaziz was able to occupy the Turkish-province of Hasa (Mansfield 1981: 39, Voll 1982: 173).

In Western Arabia, however, Abdulaziz faced a formidable opponent, the Sharif of Mecca who was Hussein Ibn Ali, thirty-seventh in line of descent from the Prophet Muhammad and a member of the Hashemite family in Arabia. Hussein, Sharif of Mecca, was also King Hussein of Hijaz, the Hashemite Kingdom. Although the Hashemite lands were under British protection, Abdulaziz wanted to take over this independent Hashemite land. In 1926 the Wahhabi forces entered Mecca, and by December, Hijaz belonged to the House of Saud. Abdulaziz appointed his son Faisal to be viceroy of the Hijaz. In that same year, Abdulaziz became the first of his family to receive the title of King. On September 18, 1932, the dual Kingdom of Hijaz and the Sultanate of Najd were officially unified as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Mansfield 1981: 57, Wilfred 1975: 10,14-20).

Ibn Saud (Abdulaziz) was determined to use the Western technology which would strengthen his country and make life easier for his people. In advocating the use of modern technological advances such as the radio, the car, the airplane, the telegraph and the telephone,

Ibn Saud saw no conflict with the principles of Islam, but many of his more fanatical religious followers did. He told the Ulama (religious scholar) of Najd who came to see him that there were "Two matters the radio and the motor car which I will not discuss because I am convinced of their great importance to me and to my country, and that they are permissible according to Islam" (Mansfield 1981: 60, Voll 1982: 173, Esposito 1984: 63,104).

When the Hijaz and Najd became united under Ibn Saud, the new country was very poor in resources. Its main source of revenue was from the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina by Muslims from different parts of the world. With the discovery of oil, however, in the 1930's, Saudi Arabia became a wealthy country and could easily afford many sweeping changes. Ibn Saud and his successors advocated bringing the Kingdom into the twentieth century (Tibawi 1979: 179).

Aramco, an American based oil firm, which was one of the first companies involved in Saudi oil production made a major contribution with schools, hospitals, roads and a model farm in the Kharj district south of Riyadh. In addition, a comprehensive plan was made to raise the living standards and provide schools and clinics for the majority of Saudi who were still in poverty. To do this many foreigners were imported to run these services such as Syrians, Palestinians, Sudanese and Indians. The fact that American oil companies developed Saudi

Arabia's major natural resource has influenced modern Saudi society. Aramco helped to train young Saudis, and the American connection extended to fields outside petroleum. By the 1960's, the great majority of Saudi Arabia's Western educated technocrats were the product of American universities in contrast to the Gulf states where the majority studied in Great Britain (Mansfield 1981: 67,68).

After Ibn Saud's death in 1953, his son, Prince Saud, became King. Saud, like his father, was dedicated to the idea of progress. He had water piped across the desert to supply the farms; he built more schools and hospitals which were staffed by Egyptians, Palestinians and other Arabs, and he improved the facilities for Muslim pilgrims. However, King Saud was not an effective political leader, and on March 25, 1958, he handed over his powers to the Emir Faisal, his youngest brother. King Faisal focused on health and education as the areas which needed reform. He provided free medical treatment and medicine for the Saudis, both inside and outside the Kingdom. Furthermore, he provided free education on all levels and sent thousands of students abroad at government expense (DeGaury 1966: 148,150, 156,157).

Faisal's diplomatic skills and political abilities enhanced the prestige of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom. He had plans to develop the economy and educational institutions throughout the Kingdom. Hence, his tragic

assassination on March 25, 1975, by a mentally unstable nephew was a major political catastrophe for Saudi Arabia and the world (Mansfield 1981: 99-100, Voll 1982: 173, Esposito 1984: 107-108, 128).

King Faisal was succeeded by his brother Khaled in 1975; another brother Fahad became Crown Prince and First Deputy Prime Minister. Because King Khaled had little experience in diplomacy and administration, overall responsibility for the country's policies was left to Crown Prince Fahad. Beset with heart problems, Khaled died in 1980, and Fahad became King. King Fahad continues to be a voice of reason in a troubled area. Like his grandfather Ibn Saud, he is determined to uphold Islamic law and traditions while taking advantage of twentieth century technology (Holden and Johns 1981: 267, Esposito 1984: 110, Voll 1982: 285).

Traditional Education

As indicated in Chapter II on traditional education in the Arabic world, education was centered on the mosque and restricted to recitation and memorization of the Quran and the Hadith. Educational facilities existed in the two parts of the Saudi Kingdom before World War I. Hijaz had traditional Muslim schools and religious circles in the mosques of Mecca and Medina. Najd too had Muslim schools. In addition, a rudimentary school system had been established by the Turks during the last decades of their rule. Official figures

published in 1915 recorded 78 state primary schools in Hijaz (Rauf 1964: 15-30).

The only institutions which provided secondary education were few, however; these institutions were the Falah schools. The word Falah translates as "success" in Arabic. The first Falah school was founded in Jeddah in 1901 by Muhammad Ali Zainal Alireza in defiance of the Ottomans who did not like to see their subjects educated. These Falah schools were free and graduated many of the ministers and administrators in Saudi Arabia today (Lacey 1981: 188). Saudis who wished to continue their education had to go outside Saudi Arabia to obtain a university degree.

In Abdulaziz time, there was no formally organized school in Riyadh. Abdulaziz's sons and nephews learned the Quran in "a simple mud room" under the supervision of an Ulama (religious teacher). Memorizing was the major element of traditional Arabic education and even today, Arabic children are not encouraged to debate or question educational authorities unlike their Western counterparts (Lacey 1981: 176).

With the unification of Hijaz and Najd, Ibn Saud adopted the Sharia, the Holy Quran and Muslim traditions as the legal basis for this country. He also recognized the need for more schools and a modern school system which would teach technology as well as religion. Abdulaziz in creating a Kingdom also instituted reforms in the educational system which would train personnel

for his government; the traditional schools were not equal to this task.

When Saudi Arabia became a Kingdom, its economy was dependent on fees charged to international pilgrims in Mecca and Medina; therefore, the building of new schools was on a limited scale. The directorate of education selected a few Saudis to study in the neighboring countries, particularly, Egypt, in order to teach in the new schools. In 1935, the number of students studying abroad was 705, including 383 in Egypt, 259 in Syria, 46 in the United States and other countries including England (Philby 1955: 328). In 1937 a special preparatory school was established in Mecca where Egyptian teachers prepared students for the equivalent of the Egyptian secondary school certificate (Tibawi 1979: 179-180).

Saudi Arabia as one of the Middle East oil-producing nations during the first half of the twentieth century was exploited by the major international oil companies that had developed its oil fields. Foreign oil companies were free to use the oil reserves under concessions granted between 1901 and 1935. These agreements required the companies to pay only a nominal royalty - an average of 21 cents a barrel - to Saudi Arabia. In return, the oil companies were exempted from taxes and were given free rein to determine production and pricing policy. During and after World War II, however, inflation reduced the purchasing power of the

fixed royalty payments given to Saudi Arabia. By the early 1950's Saudis had renegotiated their agreements providing that oil production profits be divided on a 50-50 basis with the oil companies. These agreements resulted in raising payments to between 70 and 80 cents per barrel and between 1948 and 1960 increased the revenues of Saudi Arabia almost ten times, from nearly $1.4 million to $150 million (The Kingdom 1983: 170). In time, oil production began to make money for the oil trade economy which encouraged the needs for manpower and education.

Modern Education

With the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia Abdulaziz and his successors were guaranteed vast wealth with which to expand and institute reforms in Saudi education. Although World War II interrupted educational progress in Saudi Arabia, the 1950's were a decade of rapid change. In the late 1940's the Kingdom's educational system was only concerned with classical Arab education which was restricted to the study of Arabic, the Quran, the Hadith, and Arab history. In 1948, however, an industrial school in Jeddah staffed by Egyptians was established which taught theoretical as well as practical subjects appropriate to a trade school in keeping with the dual traditions of secular and religious education which characterize modern Saudi education. In 1949 a College of Islamic law was established in Mecca to train Qadis, Islamic

judges, and Imams, religious teachers. In 1952, a teacher's college with an Egyptian staff was opened in Mecca (Tibawi 1979: 179-180).

In 1953 the directorate of education was replaced by the Ministry of Education. Although the Ministry of Education is the primary source of educational supervision and reform, other departments play a lesser role in education today: the General Presidency for Female Education, the Ministry of Defense, and the religious colleges and the Institutes Administration (The Kingdom 1983: 189,193,195).

The Ministry of Education at the present time is divided into two branches: one for males and one for females. The Ministry oversees operations on every educational level: elementary, intermediate, and secondary schools as well as colleges, universities, technical schools, and literacy programs (Bagader 1978: 1-10, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 38-41).

The Ministry of Education was founded in response to the economic and social consequences of the discovery of oil, resulting in Saudi Arabia's new wealth. Because the traditional schools did not offer courses in secular subjects essential to the operation of an oil based economy, the Ministry of Education was forced to turn to other Arab countries, especially Egypt, for teaching staff to man the new schools. The seeds for educational reform which had been planted in Abdulaziz reign came to fruition under King Saud and Faisal.

In the late 1950's the literacy rate of the Saudi people was no more than five to ten percent. Conscious of this fact the Saud government increased the allocation for education by twenty four percent and reduced appropriations for defense. The late 1950's and the 1960's was a time of heavy construction of new schools and increased enrollment on all levels: primary, secondary, and university as well as vocational training and adult literacy programs (Bagader 1978: 5-7, Moorman 1978: 14, Samovar and Porter 1979: 101-102).

From 1958 to 1968 the number of primary schools in the state system tripled to 1,544. The number of students attending these schools rose from 91,787 to 329,127. The student-teacher ratio fell from 28:1 to 23:1. In 1958 there was just one secondary school; ten years later more than 6,000 students were in high schools (Holden and James 1981: 258-259). The Special Education Department of the Ministry of Education also developed schools for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the mentally retarded (The Kingdom 1983: 190, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 40-41). In 1980, there were 1,432 males and 488 females enrolled in special education with a total of 898 teachers (Abdul-Wasei 1983: 218).

In the field of higher education the first university was founded at Riyadh in 1957 with a College of Arts with nine teachers and twenty one students; today it is the largest university in Saudi Arabia (Mansfield 1980: 129,144,212, Tibawi 1979: 183). Under

Saud, the first vocational school was established in Riyadh in 1962, and by 1964, vocational schools were found in seven other cities (Tibawi 1979: 184).

The Saud government confounded the Muslim community when they decided to educate women in the schools they were building. The opening of seven primary schools for females in 1960 started the trend to educate females on all levels. By 1967, three nursing schools for women had been opened (Holden and James 1981: 259-260).

Saudi Arabia's educational explosion began with Saud and has continued up to the present in Fahad's reign. The statistics which follow show the rapid growth in schools and enrollment between 1974 and 1980. Although there were 4,000 schools in 1974, the number of schools had doubled to 8,000 by 1980. The enrollment went from 300,000 to 1,500,000 students in the same time period and the number of teachers increased from 40,000 to 80,000. In higher education the combined number of students and teachers rose from 10,000 in 1974 to 50,000 in 1980 (The Kingdom 1983: 187, Qadi 1981: 29-52).

The areas of teacher training, higher education, vocational education, adult education, special education, and female education will now be discussed in greater detail. In addition, two institutions which fall outside these areas, the Institute of Public Administration and the Saudi Arabian National Center for Science and Technology, will be considered.

Teacher Training

Recognition of the need for trained teachers began prior to the unification of the Kingdom with the founding of an elementary training school in Mecca in 1931. In 1949 another elementary training school or "art school" was established in Medina. By 1962, half of the teachers in Saudi schools were Saudis, a fact which led to the creation of more training schools including schools for intermediate and secondary school training (Mansfield 1980: 144, 212).

The Ministry of Education had relied on the universities and four-year colleges in Riyadh and Mecca for training of intermediate and secondary school teachers. But these institutions proved inadequate to meet demands for large numbers of trained teachers. As a result, a two-year training program was started at the Science and Mathematics Center at Riyadh, and by 1983, teacher training had expanded to include the establishment of a junior college system (The Kingdom 1983: 186, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 38-39).

Teachers in Saudi Arabia, like their American colleagues, are not accorded the respect that was given to them in the past. It is only at the university level that teaching is considered prestigious. As a result, in recent years, there has been a "brain drain" with the best teachers moving to positions in government, business, and industry, as well as teaching positions in

developed countries (Szyliowicz 1973: 310, Fallon 1980: 70).

In the early 1970's less than half the teachers in Saudi Arabia were Saudis, with four out of five teachers in the primary schools of Saudi nationality. Although the number of Saudi teachers increased from 1975-1980 by over fifty percent, large numbers of foreign instructors, particularly in mathematics, science, and English at the intermediate and the secondary levels will be needed in the rapidly expanding school system. At present Egyptians, Jordanians, and Palestinians make up most of the foreign faculty (Abdul-Wasei 1983: 39-43, The Kingdom 1983: 195, AL-Zaid 1982: 101).

As an indication of the rapid increase in the number of teachers in Saudi Arabia, some figures are worth mentioning - in 1970, there were 23,118 teachers; in 1974, there were 37,942 teachers. The number of teachers had almost doubled by 1979 to 70,468. As the demand for teachers became greater, the number of teachers increased, from 104,524 in 1983 to 119,888 in 1984 (Tibawi 1972: 183).

Higher Education

As mentioned previously, the University of Riyadh was founded in 1957. Originally founded as a College of Arts, Riyadh University now includes schools of science, commerce, pharmacy, agriculture, engineering, education and medicine. The medical school which was founded in 1969 has a special agreement with the University of

London which staffs the medical faculty at Riyadh University. Admission requirements, particularly to the schools of engineering and medicine, are stiff; a minimum score of 75 percent in science in high school is needed to enter these schools (Moorman 1978: 14, Munro 1974: 3-8).

In 1961 the Islamic University, a religious institution, was established in Medina; and in 1963 another College of Islamic law was established in Riyadh. These institutions will be discussed in Chapter V.

That same year the College of Petroleum and Minerals was established in Dahran, later to be upgraded to university status. Starting with only one hundred students, the College of Petroleum and Minerals has attained an international reputation and acquired university status in 1975. By 1980, student enrollment had grown to over 3,000. Today, students from other Arab countries are enrolled in the college in greater numbers than in the other universities. The college offers majors in three areas: science, engineering science, and industrial management; English is the language of instruction.

At the College of Petroleum and Minerals students are required to use the data processing center which houses an IBM 370/145, the most sophisticated computer in Saudi Arabia. With a collection of over 40,000 scientific and technical books and over 1,000 major

technical journals, the library at the College of Petroleum and Minerals is one of the best equipped technical libraries in the Middle East. As a reflection of the college's commitment to excellence, Shaikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, the Saudi Oil Minister, serves as Chairman of the Board of Trustees (Moorman 1978: 13-16, The Kingdom 1983: 206-207, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 134-135).

Another university was founded in Jeddah in 1967, King Abdulaziz University. The university began with 98 students including thirty females, all concentrating on mathematics and science. In 1969, a college of economics and administration was added to the university, and over thirty students were sent to study for higher degrees in Britain and the United States. Now there are seven universities offering degrees in all fields in Saudi Arabia (Tibawi 1979: 184-185, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 132-137).

Even today Saudi students are sent abroad on scholarships for graduate and post-graduate studies. In 1967, there were more than one thousand Saudis studying in the United States and half as many in Europe and Egypt (Holden and Johns, 1981: 260). In 1981 there were 13,000 Saudi students studying in American universities (Mansfield 1981: 186). These students receive free tuition, books, room and board, and a stipend of $300 a month for incidental expenses (Patai 1981: 322, Abdel Atti 1962: 19,30).

The universities of Saudi Arabia offer attractive benefits to foreigners wishing to teach in Saudi Arabia. King Saud University in Riyadh offers positions for English language teachers. Full professors can make up to $50,000 annually, and fringe benefits include monthly transport and housing allowances amounting to up to $11,000. Furthermore, the University supplies round trip tickets for four people from and to the home country and pays moving costs along with educational costs for up to four children. Also the family can receive free medical and dental care as well as severance pay equaling one months salary per year of service. Since salaries in technological fields are equal to those in the arts, Saudi Arabia has had no difficulty in securing the services of capable experts, who are attracted by the challenge of teaching and working for a number of years in Saudi Arabia.

The trend, however, is to replace foreigners with natives, or at least with Arabs from other countries, so that eventually oil installations, technical plants, factories, universities, etc., will be staffed by Arab personnel on all levels. This development is aided, not only by the growing number of students in Arab universities, but also by the parallel increase in the number of Arab students enrolled in foreign universities (Patai 1983: 327, Qadi 1981: 29,30,52).

By 1977 higher education had achieved the highest rate of growth in the number of students and teaching

staff as compared with other levels of education. The Saudi government has had a policy to support higher education and to expand trained Saudi personnel to run the country (Abdul-Wasei 1983: 115,142,153).

The number of graduates, male and female, from the universities and Female Colleges during 1981/82 was 7,540 against 5,530 in the preceding year, an increase of 36.4 percent. The number of students enrolled in the universities and Female Colleges during the academic year of 1982/83 showed a 16.8 percent increase to 75,118 students, of which 24,480 were female students accounting for 32.6 percent of the total against 31 percent in the preceding year (Annual Report 1983: 108, Moorman 1978: 14). The universities still continue their scholarship programs under which Saudi students are sent abroad for Masters and Ph.D. degrees, particularly in fields of specialization needed by the country. The following table will show the ratio of students to teachers in higher education mentioned in the above discussion (Annual Report 1983: 68, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 206-207).

TABLE A

HIGHER EDUCATION IN SAUDI ARABIA

Source: Ministry of Higher Education

Institutions	Students		Teaching Staff	
	1981/82	1982/83	1981/82	1982/83
King Saud University	17,861	20,061	1,822	2,132
King Abdulaziz University	18,028	20,546	1,257	1,386
University of Petroleum & Minerals	2,841	3,400	594	560
King Faisal University	1,814	2,209	544	648
Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University	7,143	8,757	760	926
Islamic University, Medina	3,271	3,395	379	396
Umm Al-Qura University, Mecca	6,278	7,721	785	985
Girls Colleges	7,054	9,029	802	895
Total	64,290	75,118	6,943	7,928

Vocational and Technical Education

As a reflection of the fact that economic change had outpaced social change, the Saudis in the 1960's were forced to import vast numbers of foreigners to staff their economic operations. The legal requirement that 75 percent of a company's employees must be Saudis was impossible for most companies to fulfill. To meet this need, the government opened the first vocational training school in Riyadh in 1962. By 1964 other

vocational schools existed in Mecca, Jeddah, Dammam, Buraydah, Hasa, Qasim, and Medina (Holden and Johns 1982: 258-259). Today the development plan calls for graduation for 1,500 students yearly from technical education institutions (AL-Zaid 1982: 99).

For those students not wishing to attend academic secondary schools, the large number of secondary vocational schools run by the Ministry of Education trains future Saudi technicians. These graduates also have the option of attending the Royal Technical Institute in Riyadh for two years of additional technical training. In addition, to meet the needs of students of low educational level, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has created thirteen centers to train these students as artisans and craftsmen (The Kingdom 1983: 190, AL-Mursafi 1984: 19,22-23, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 93).

Two outstanding technical schools were established at Hofuf and Riyadh in 1966. Saudis can study automotive, electro, machine tool and metal mechanics, at the Royal Technical Institute in Riyadh and the Hofuf Technical Training School. The Royal Institute of Riyadh which is the Kingdom's largest technical institute is the best equipped technical institute in the Middle East.

All Saudis who have finished primary or intermediate school may enroll in the technical schools. As a way of preparing students for technical training,

two periods a week are devoted to manual work in the primary and intermediate schools (The Kingdom 1983: 206-207, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 93, AL-Zaid 1982: 90).

Interestingly enough the Saudi government has offered technical training to female Saudis since 1975. Between 1975 and 1980, the four training centers at Riyadh, Jeddah, Mecca and Hasa showed an increase from 550 female students to 1,200 female students (The Kingdom 1983: 197, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 226-227, Sadeq 1965: 30-35).

The oil companies as well as the government have been involved in vocational and technical training. The Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) has taken an active role in technical education by training technicians for employment. Aramco schools in Dahran, in particular, have provided training programs for a considerable number of its employees, as well as general classes in bookkeeping and clerical work (Philby 1955: 328).

Adult Education

Citizen concern for Saudi Arabia's large illiterate population grows with its burgeoning oil economy. Prior to 1949, efforts were made to teach adults to read the Quran and learn the basic religious teachings. However, this program only taught adults to read, not to write. Soon, night schools were established where adults learned to write as well as read. Abdullah AL-Qardwi, an educational reformer, established a school system in

the southern part of Saudi Arabia which focused on teaching religion to adult illiterates (Hamidi 1975: 20, Bagader 1978: 8-15).

By 1950, the demand for adult education had increased to the point where the government established the first public night schools for adults to learn reading and writing. These schools were for males only and included the teaching of Islam and the memorization of the Quran (Abdul Rahman 1972: 148-152, Bagader 1979: 5).

In 1954 the Department of General Culture was created and attached to primary education; adults followed the primary school curricula, and at the end of six years, the could earn a primary school certificate. By 1958 the Department of General Culture had become an independent entity whose goals were to create texts and programs for adult learners. Intermediate night schools were established in 1962 to enable the graduates of adult primary schools to continue their education. These schools attracted many government employees particularly those in the service fields: policemen, social workers, and agricultural workers (Abdel Wahhab 1970: 44-45). In addition, the Saudi Renaissance Movement, Al-Nahdha al-Saudiyyah which was founded in 1963 by Iffat, King Faisal's wife, provides free literacy classes for females as well as classes in hygiene, child care, typing and foreign studies (Lacey 1981: 368).

Today the literacy program, which is confined to evening classes, is based on two phases: the mokafah and the motabah. The mokafah level runs for two years and is the equivalent to grades 0-4; classes are in session for eight months at a time. In the first year, students attend classes for twelve hours each week. In the second year, students attend classes for eighteen hours per week. Courses in reading, writing, arithmetic and religious instruction are given in this phase. The second phase, motabah, is the equivalent of a 5-6 grade degree and also extends for two years. Designed to help adults maintain literacy and consolidate their newly acquired skills, graduation from this level provides adults with a primary school certificate which enables them to improve their economic and social lives (Bagader 1978: 6-7). In 1983, there were 139,215 students enrolled in literacy programs; 84,215 were males and 55,000 were females (The Kingdom 1983: 213, Annual Report 1983: 107).

Literacy programs have also been created for Saudi women. Ninety-nine schools have been built to accommodate the older illiterate women, and as an indication of their desire for self improvement, 383,000 women were enrolled in these schools in 1980, producing a total of 89,000 graduates (The Kingdom 1983: 198, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 196).

Special Education

The Special Education Department, which is a separate branch of the Ministry of Education, is responsible for educating the blind, the hearing and speech impaired, and the mentally retarded. In 1980, there were 1,432 males and 488 females enrolled in special education with a total of 898 teachers (The Kingdom 1983: 190, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 218). The special education schools, the Colleges of Light and the Colleges of Light and Hope, are divided according to need. The Colleges of Light serve the blind as well as the hearing and speech impaired, and the Colleges of Light and Hope serve the mentally retarded (AL-Shamikh 1930: 10-15).

There are two types of colleges for the blind. While both use the Braille method in instruction, one is academic and the other is vocational. The blind students who are enrolled in the academic schools follow the same curricula as normal students in the public schools: six years of primary school, three years of intermediate and three years of high school. Upon graduation at eighteen years old, the blind student earns a certificate equal to the one awarded his sighted counterparts. Work skills are taught in the other type of school for the blind. In these schools, there is no age restriction, and at the end of six years the blind student is equipped to join the work force with minimal literacy and a practical skill such as making clothes,

caning furniture or cleaning. In 1980 there were 571 students enrolled in ten colleges for the blind (Abdul-Wasei 1983: 40-41, Abdul Rahman 1972: 32-40).

Saudi children who are hearing and speech impaired enroll in the special schools at four years of age. After two years of pre-school, they have six years on the primary level, three on the intermediate, and three on the high school level. A minimum I.Q. score of 70 is required for entrance, and boarding is an option for these students. While everything is free, the hearing and speech impaired children are given monthly payments as motivation to do well in school. Class size ranges from five to ten students with two teachers assigned to each class. In 1980, there were 898 students enrolled in nine colleges for the hearing and speech impaired (AL-Zaid 1982: 63-64, Abdel Atti 1962: 20-23, Abdul-Wasei 1983: 41,110,111-113).

Schools for the mentally retarded offer a boarding option for the students; no more than five retarded children per family are admitted to these schools. Class size is restricted to five students with two teachers per class. In 1980, there were 451 mentally retarded students enrolled in the six Colleges of Light and Hope (Abdul-Wasei 1983: 101-113).

Education for Women

Before 1960 education for females was available only through two channels: home tutorials or a private school. Dar-el-Hanan, the House of Affection was a

primary school founded in Jeddah in 1956 by Queen Iffat, King Faisal's wife. The King supported his wife's wishes for female education and in 1960, the government decided to offer education to females by opening seven primary schools with an enrollment of 5,204 students. In addition, it initiated a program for training twenty female teachers in Riyadh at the Kulliyat, the Girl's College of Education. The demand for these schools was so great that by 1963, the number of schools had grown to sixty with an enrollment of 19,139. At the same time, 261 teachers were trained (Tibawi 1979: 182, Patai 1983: 275,277,322,325, Lacey 1981: 365-366). Of the 900 teachers in these schools, one sixth were Saudis and the rest were Palestinians, Jordanians, and Egyptians.

King Faisal's program to educate Saudi females met with opposition from many Saudi traditionalists. In 1962 the citizens of Buraydah, the second largest city in Najd, opposed the opening of their first female school because their women would be taught "loose and wicked ways". King Faisal did nothing for two years and then decided to go ahead with the building of the school. As a result, five hundred angry Buraydah citizens came to Riyadh to protest. Upon meeting the protesters King Faisal asked them to find one quote from the Quran to support their contention that females should not be educated. The traditionalists failed to find a quotation. Consequently, Buraydah had its girl's school (Mansfield 1980: 227). However, in the first

year there was only one student, the head mistress' daughter (Lacey 1981: 369).

Although there is nothing in Islam forbidding coeducation, segregation of the sexes exists on every educational level except the pre-school level. At the universities there are separate female campuses. Females desiring classes in subjects not offered by female professors use closed circuit television to hear lectures by male professors. The female students have access to phones and may ask the lecturer questions. Employment of females at the university is restricted to nursing positions or teaching of girls (Moorman 1978: 14).

Mansfield points out that he was told that female students work harder and achieve more than male students (Ahmad 1975: 10-25, Habday 1978: 10-30). This phenomenon can partially be explained by the fact that more of the brighter male students study abroad. The other reason given Mansfield for the female superiority was that the men had many more distractions than the women; for the women learning provides the only avenue to the outside world (Mansfield 1981: 228, AL-Zaid 1982: 101, The Kingdom 1983: 196,205).

In spite of major advances in the field of education, Saudi women have been restricted in employment options to jobs in which they have no contact with men. Women doctors have been restricted to the treatment of children and other women. In addition,

secretarial jobs have always not been preformed by Saudi women because of the necessity of mixing with men. Unfortunately, one of the most likely professions for women - nursing - is still held in low esteem because nurses must have contact with men (Mansfield 1981: 227). Today, however, employment opportunities for females exist in such non-traditional fields as newspaper writing, and radio and television announcing (Massialas and Jarrar 1983: 247).

In 1970 Saudi Arabia had one of the lowest student female to male ratios in the world. To alleviate this condition, Princess Sara, daughter of King Faisal and Queen Iffat, founded a welfare society for women, AL-Nahda-Alkhayriyah. When asked about the society ten years later, Princess Sara said,

> "The society was formed to improve the quality of life for our women by changing age-old habits and customs - changes that would conflict with Islam, such as adult literacy classes, vocational skills, day-care centers, and hygiene clinics." (National Geographic, Vol. 158, Sept. 1980, 319).

Today all levels of schooling are open to Saudi women including correspondence courses. Besides the traditional fields of education and religion, university women are now studying business administration, agriculture, medicine, and medical technology. Only pharmacy, architecture and engineering are restricted to males (Massialas and Jarrar 1983: 247, Almursafi 1984: 47).

Recent statistics demonstrate the growth of female education since 1979. The number of female students at the different levels was 700,209 in 1982/83, accounting for 39.3 percent of all students against 38.5 percent in 1981 and 25.3 percent in 1979/80. Furthermore, in 1982/83 the increase in female teaching staff was 15 percent, thereby improving student/teacher ratios to 15:1 against 16:1 the previous year. The ratio of male education remained unchanged at 17:1 (Annual Report 1983: 108).

The following table compares the school years of 1981/1982 with 1982/1983 illustrating the ongoing educational expansion in Saudi Arabia.

TABLE B

Educational Trends in Saudi Arabia[a] by Level and Sex

	1981/82			1982/83		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Number of Students						
Kindergarten	35,326	19,675	15,651	41,202	22,657	18,545
Primary Education	998,308	600,891	397,417	1,073,528	637,117	436,411
Post Primary Education	409,567	261,668	147,899	450,230	285,189	165,041
Higher Education	64,290	44,368	19,922	75,118	50,638	24,480
Special Education[b]	2,196	1,519	677	2,341	1,609	732
Adult Education[c]	146,192	90,708	55,484	139,215	84,215	55,000
Total	1,655,879	1,018,829	637,050	1,781,634	1,081,425	700,209
Number of Teachers						
Kindergarten	1,487	20	1,467	1,583	19	1,564
Primary Education	55,015	31,975	23,040	59,844	33,524	26,320
Post Primary Education	27,314	16,580	10,734	30,113	17,465	12,648
Higher Education	6,943	5,410	1,533	7,928	6,104	1,824
Special Education	843	619	224	813	601	212
Total	91,602	54,604	36,998	100,281	57,713	42,568

TABLE B (Continued)

Educational Trends in Saudi Arabia[a] by Level and Sex

	1981/82			1982/83		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Number of Institutions						
Kindergarden	244	16	228[d]	324	46	278[d]
Primary Schools	6,287	4,083	2,204	6,792	4,277	2,515
Post Primary Schools	2,522	1,744	778	2,818	1,894	920
Higher Education						
College and Higher	72	61[e]	11	73	61[e]	12
Institutes						
Special Education	27	18	9	27	18	9
Total	9,152	5,922	3,230	10,034	6,300	3,734

The above letters in the Table symbolize:

[a]Excluding vocational and technical education and professional institutes run by the various ministries other than Ministry of Education.

[b]Specially designed for the dumb, deaf and blind.

[c]Literacy schools.

[d]For both male and female children

[e]Including sections for female students. (Abdul-Wasei 1983: 71-74).

The Institute of Public Administration

The Institute of Public Administration, which is involved in educating government employees, offers training programs and seminars to government employees on various levels. Consultation services are available for those employees who are encountering problems within their work environment. Field and office research as well as development of documentaries are additional services carried out by the Institute (Abdul-Wasei 1983: 33-39).

Due to an increased demand for the training programs and consultation services offered by the Institute, it has expanded greatly in recent years. In 1982-83, for example, there were 8,474 participants in the various programs compared to 7,899 in 1981-82. Participation in the seminars offered by the Institute increased from 642 to 745 for the same time period (Annual Report 1983: 109, AL-Mursafi 1984: 16-17).

As an indication of the emerging female work force, special programs for Saudi female employees and graduates were offered for the first time in 1983 to meet the requirements of government offices employing female staff, such as the female sections of the universities. These programs focused on training in computers, data processing, personnel and finance (The Kingdom 1983: 122, Annual Report 1983: 110, Unesco 1984: 24-26).

The research department at the Institute has increased its output as well in recent years. In 1983 thirty research projects covered such diverse subjects as evaluation of administrative regulations in Saudi Arabia public finance, law and budget development. In the previous year there were only sixteen research projects. Additionally, the number of teachers at the Institute increased by 21 percent over the previous year to 370 teachers in 1983 (Annual Report 1983: 110, The Kingdom 1983: 122-123, Sadeq 1965: 20-30).

Saudi Arabian National Center for Science and Technology

Another aspect of the modern change in Saudi Arabia is the development of the Saudi Arabian National Center for Science and Technology (SANCST). As the center for scientific research SANCST coordinates the activities of agencies working in the research field and provides the latest information in the various scientific specializations. Close cooperation agreements with the industrialized countries have benefited the Center in terms of Western expertise and knowledge; in addition, the Center gives grants to foreign researchers and scholarships to Saudi students interested in science and technology (AL-Mursafi 1984: 44-45).

As a result of an agreement between the United States and the SANCST to develop solar energy in Saudi Arabia, the Solar Village project was initiated in 1984,

the purpose of which is to supply electricity to two villages near Riyadh by using solar energy. Additional agreements with Canada, the Republic of China, Korea, and the Federal Republic of Germany have produced other projects ranging from the construction of an observatory to the manufacturer of single cell protein. By 1984, the Center had supported and financed 141 research projects (Annual Report 1983: 111, Kisnawi 1981: 22-27).

To conclude, the history of modern education in Saudi Arabia began with the unification of the Kingdom in 1932 under King Abdulaziz known as (Ibn Saud) who saw the need for technical training and secular curricula if he was to bring the Kingdom into the twentieth century. Prior to the discovery of oil in the late 1930's, however, Saudi Arabia's economy was dependent upon the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and was therefore limited. As a result the government was restricted as to the number of schools it could build, but it did start sending students abroad for Western education. After the discovery of oil, the Saudi Kingdom was able to increase the educational budget, but this program was interrupted by World War II. Until the late 1940's, moreover, the educational system in Saudi Arabia was basically traditional, restricted to the study of the Quran, Arabic, the Hadith and Arabic history.

With the founding of an industrial school in Jeddah, the first step to modern education was taken. The 1950's and 1960's under Ibn Saud, and

his sons Saud and Faisal were a time of rapid growth and expansion on all educational levels: primary, intermediate, secondary, university, technical education, teacher training, literacy and special education.

Perhaps the most radical change in the education system was in the field of female education. With strong support from her husband, King Faisal, Queen Iffat founded the first primary school for females in Jeddah in 1956. She introduced literacy programs to females through the Saudi Renaissance movement. Although there was initial resistance to educating females, today Saudi females have a wide variety of educational options open to them.

According to a 1983 government report, the educational programs instituted and maintained by the government are enthusiastically supported by the Saudi people. At present, the Saudi government under King Khaled is focusing on two major areas. The first is increasing the number of primary and intermediate schools which are necessary to teach literacy to a large illiterate population. The other area of concentration involves improving the quality of education in the curricula, the methods of instruction, the teaching facilities and the courses (Annual Report 1983: 108).

One cannot consider modern education in Saudi Arabia today without recognizing its dual character:

religious and secular. In the next chapter I will discuss how Islamic traditions are maintained within the framework of modern education.

CHAPTER V

The Maintenance of Tradition

CHAPTER V

THE MAINTENANCE OF TRADITION

When asked to describe Saudi Arabia, Muhammad, the oldest son of King Faisal by Efat, replied, "Saudi Arabia is not a country. It is an idea. It is a commitment to a pure and uncluttered vision of God" (Lacey 1981: 516). It is this commitment to religion that enables the Saudi people to withstand the negative psychological pressures which come from moving so rapidly into the twentieth century. The technological revolution took 300 years in the West; in Saudi Arabia, however, it took 50 years.

Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani, the Kingdom's oil minister, also commented on Saudi Arabia's importance as the guardian of Islam when he stated: "If I have to say one thing that this Kingdom stands for, above all others it's not oil. But we will never run out of Mecca and Medina" (Lacey 1981: 9). Mecca and Medina are the holiest places for Muslims who constitute 700 million people in the world (The Kingdom 1983: 94). Mecca is the site of the Kabah, Islam's central shrine, and Medina houses the Prophet Muhammad's tomb and his mosque.

As keeper of one of the world's major religions, Saudi Arabia has done an admirable job in balancing Islamic traditions with Western technology. As a

rapidly developing country, Saudi Arabia has managed to avoid secularization which has so often accompanied the process of modernization in other countries throughout the world. In this chapter I will discuss modernization in Saudi Arabia with respect to secularization and the history of Islam as it relates to three areas: science, social life, and education. Particular emphasis will be given to the field of education.

History of Islam

Historically, Arab intellectuals in Mecca accepted neither Judaism nor Christianity before Muhammad's time. They awaited a new Arab prophet so that they "may be better guided" than the Jewish or Christian communities. However, the Arab's were slow to see Muhammad as the prophet for whom they had been waiting eagerly.

The Prophet encountered so much resistance to his teachings from the Queraysh in Mecca that he, along with two hundred followers, was forced to flee to Medina in 622 A.D. While in Medina, the Prophet assumed the diverse roles of judge, civil administrator, and warrior, winning several victories against the Queraysh and the supporters, among them the Medinese Jews. By the time the Prophet died in 632, he had established a religion that replaced Christianity in most of Asia and Africa and after his death a large part of the then civilized world (The Kingdom 1983: 75, AL Khuli 1981: 36,47,106).

Muslims believed that the Quran is God's message to the people on earth through the Prophet Muhammad. Every Muslim must recite the chief article of faith, "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his Prophet." Since the Prophet himself spoke Arabic, his revelations which became the Quran were also in Arabic but of a different quality than those recorded elsewhere in the Sunnah or Hadith as has been mentioned in Chapter II and III.

Indeed, the Quran itself challenges anyone to produce any work comparable in literacy perfection; the Quran proclaims itself as divine and not composed by a human mind. Although many religious scholars of Islam did not allow the Quran to be translated for many centuries, recently translations have appeared in the interest of wider dissemination of Islam, but the Arabic text is usually included with the translation. Even today, there are many Western scholars who do not believe that the Quran can be translated; one English scholar has titled his book The Quran Interpreted rather than The Quran Translated (The Kingdom 1983: 97, AL-Zaid 1982: 80-85.

Although the Quran has its roots in the seventh century, Saudi religious scholars have interpreted its teachings to embrace twentieth century science and technology. The Prophet Muhammad himself is reported to have said, "To seek knowledge is obligatory on every Muslim, male and female" (The Kingdom 1983: 197).

Furthermore, the Quran says, "Are they equal - those who know and those who know not? Only man possessed of minds remember" (The Kingdom 1983: 108-109, Quran XXXIX: 12). In bringing Saudi Arabia into the twentieth century, King Abdulaziz (Ibn Saud) was able to quote such verses from the Quran to support his importation of the telephone, automobiles, and the radio in the 1930's.

Today, this reverence for education is reflected in the commitment of the Saudi Arabian government to the expansion of schooling on all levels from preschoolers to illiterate adults. Although many Saudi Muslims react to the scientific and technological achievements of the present age with anxiety, bewilderment, skepticism or stoicism, most Islamic scholars agree that science and technology are beneficial to man. These scientific fields are not considered the property of one nation or religion and in fact contribute to the betterment of mankind in general. In support of this view, the Prophet said, "Wisdom is the believer's lost camel; wherever he finds it he has the greatest right to it" (The Kingdom 1983: 110, Martin 1982: 29-33).

Islam and Technology

Most Saudi Muslims believe that there is no contradiction between faith and science. Science merely uncovers what is already present in the universe, created by Allah. Science and technology, however, can be used both to the advantage and disadvantage of man;

it is only through religious values and practices which teach man's responsibility to his fellow man that we are able to avoid the destruction which science and technology might bring. Science and technology can help man only in material matters; faith alone can help man achieve spiritual satisfaction and psychological well-being (The Kingdom 1983: 110).

Three factors challenge the traditional culture of Saudi Arabia at this time. A rapidly expanding educational system, the impact of increased income among the people, and the consequences of industrialization are threatening traditional values. Television, radio, and increased literacy are responsible for the expansion of knowledge among Saudis living in towns, cities, villages and the desert. In addition, the internal airline system as well as the roads and the railroads link the rural areas to the urban areas in the Kingdom. With the advent of these technological achievements and the influx of new ideas, what is it that keeps the Kingdom from becoming a secular society?

The Saudis are determined to preserve the Islamic traditions and values because they consider themselves guardians of the holy shrines of Islam and inheritors of the Prophet's homeland. As a result, they have standards to maintain which to the Western eye may appear outdated and impractical. Even those Saudis who have studied in the West and adopted some of the Western

habits quickly revert to the Islamic practices of sex segregation, alcoholic abstinence, and the veil for women when they return to the Kingdom. It is this subtle balance between the modern world and traditional values that the Saudi people and the ruling family have been able to maintain thus far. The question remains as to whether they will be able to do so in the future (Lacey 1981: 166-168)

Modernization and Secularization

The question arises as to whether Saudi Arabia will be able to modernize and maintain traditional Islamic values. Will the Islamic religion and its values continue to play a major role in Saudi Arabia or will the society become secularized? Modernization can be defined as the process of economic and social change that is brought about by the introduction of an industrial technology and economic system into a preindustrial society (Robertson 1981: 613).

With respect to modernization, the political sociologist S.N. Eisenstadt believes that modernization cannot take place without sufficient differentiation of the political sphere from the religious sphere (Lewellen 1983: 118). Saudi Arabia, however, seems to defy Eisenstadt's theory; modernization has occurred in the Kingdom in spite of the integration of religion and politics. Furthermore, unlike the West, Saudi Arabia has not become secularized. Secularization, the process

by which religion loses its influence on other institutions in society is not part of Saudi society now, and most probably will not be part of Saudi society in the future. Secularization will not occur in Saudi Arabia because of three factors: the symbolic importance of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, the close relationships between Wahhabi religious values and the House of Saud, and the resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism, specifically among the Ikhwan, the Muslim Brotherhood.

As the guardian of the two Holy Cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, the Saudi Arabian government has a heavy responsibility to protect these shrines and uphold these traditions which millions of Muslims throughout the world observe. As one of the five pillars of Islam (the other four being expression of belief in Allah, and Muhammad as his prophet, prayer five times a day, alms giving, and fasting during the holy month of Ramadan), pilgrimages to the Holy City at least once in the life of devout Muslims have historically been the principal source of wealth in Saudi Arabia prior to the discovery of oil. Today with improved transportation and communication, millions of Muslims from all regions of the world descend on the Hijaz in the final month of the Muslim calendar, Dhul Hijja. In 1925 the number of pilgrims was estimated at 100,000; by 1977 there were two million pilgrims (Lacey 1981: 88, The Kingdom 1983:

98). Thus, out of necessity, the Saudi government, as the caretakers of the most important religious center in the Islamic world, must uphold traditional religious values.

Another factor which reinforces the public connections between Islamic religious values and other institutions in Saudi society relates to the historical development of Wahhabism. The integration of religion, politics, and other institutions in Saudi Arabia began with the birth of Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab, founder of Wahhabism, a conservative Islamic movement. Born in 1703 in Central Arabia into a family of religious scholars, Abdul Wahhab was brought up to follow the Hanbali law school, the strictest of the four sunni law schools, and exposed to the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya, a conservative theologian and jurist who died in 1328 A.D. Abdul Wahhab believed that the essential monotheism of Islam had been compromised by excessive worship of the Prophet Muhammad, and other "Saints", so he preached against visits to shrines of holy men. Moreover, he called for stricter enforcement of penalties stated in the Quran, for example, death for adultery. He was also against the use of the rosary, tobacco, wine, and luxuries (The Kingdom 1983: 77, Dekmejian 1985: 138). He argued for a return to the practice of Islam at the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

Although Abdul Wahhab became a qadi or judge in his home town and used his position to destroy the holy shrines and tombs to which pilgrimages were made as well as enforce Sharia law, he was unable to obtain a large following from either family, friends, or townsmen for his ideas. After one incident in which he punished a woman for adultery by having her stoned to death, Abdul Wahhab was told to resign his position as judge. Fortunately, Muhammad Ibn Saud, the Ruler of Dariyah, a small town a few miles north of Riyadh, offered Abdul Wahhab sanctuary in 1744, and thus the alliance between a holy man and a secular ruler began in Saudi Arabia. Abdul Wahhab became the qadi of Dariyah reforming that town in the process by destroying shrines and banning smoking, dancing, and music (Wenner 1980: 146-147, Lacey 1981: 55-57).

Abdul Wahhab called for more than reform, however; he preached conversion as well. It was the duty of every good Muslim to purify those around him, and if the method of friendly persuasion did not work, then jihad or holy war was necessary. The wars that the armies of the Najd waged under the leadership of the House of Saud and the inspiration of Wahhabi teachings continued for over sixty years. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the alliance between the Wahhabis and the House of Saud had resulted in conquest of most of Arabia from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, an area of nearly one

million square miles. Even today there is a close bond between the AL-Saud and the descendants of Abdul Wahhab. The latter are one of four families with whom the AL-Saud intermarry. Furthermore, the Wahhabi descendants are prominent in the Ulama (religious scholars) and are second only to the AL-Saud in the Council of Ministers which is the legislative and executive branch of the government (The Kingdom 1983: 120, Lacey 1981: 63). Thus, the union of religion and politics which began in the eighteenth century continues to the present in Saudi Arabia; the Kingdom is indeed a highly conservative Islamic state.

The nineteenth century was a time of tribal conflict within Saudi Arabia as well as a time of national conflict between the powers who wished to dominate Arabia. As described in Chapter IV, the House of Saud fought the AL-Sharifs in Hijaz and the Rashids in Najd. Furthermore, the extensive territory which the Saud and Wahhabi armies controlled constituted a threat to the Ottoman Empire which in turn was the enemy of the British Empire. The Wahhabi movement was crushed in 1811 by an Egyptian expedition led by Muhammad Ali. After a revival in the mid-nineteenth century, the Wahhabis were defeated in 1891 by the Rashid dynasty which gained effective control of Najd or Central Arabia. It was Ibn Saud, descendent of the first Wahhabi rulers, who laid the basis of the present Saudi Arabia Kingdom which was

declared an independent country in 1932. In order to regain the territory which his ancestors had controlled, Abdulaziz or Ibn Saud enlisted the aid of the Ikhwan, warriors recruited from the tribes of Mutayr, Utayba, Harb, and Ajman (Dekmejian 1985: 138). The Ikhwan or the "Brethren" were spiritual descendants of the Wahhabis who believed in a return to Islamic puritanism. Abdulaziz used these warriors to conquer and unite most of the Arabian Peninsula between 1912 and 1925.

Although the Ikhwan or Muslim Brotherhood as it is known today played a primary role in the House of Saud's rise to power, these militant tribes, the Ikhwan, drawn from nomads resisted state control and betrayed him in the 1920's. At that time, portions of Arabia and its borders were under British rule; Abdulaziz did not want to incur the wrath of the British Lion. However, to the Ikhwans, such political considerations appeared to be a betrayal of the doctrine of the holy war against the infidels (non-Wahhabis). As a result, the Ikhwan began to act move independently, resulting in the massacre of a party of merchants from the Najd in 1929 (The Kingdom 1983: 79). In retaliation for this brutal killing, Abdulaziz confronted the Ikhwan at the battle of Sabalah in 1929 and defeated them. Even though the Ikhwan lost the battle, their presence is still felt today in Saudi Arabia (Dekmejian 1985: 138).

As a consequence of both the worldwide resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism and the House of Saud's commitment to maintaining Islamic traditions and values, Saudi Arabia today, a modernized country, clings to Wahhabi prohibitions and teachings instituted over two hundred years ago. While en route to Saudi Arabia by air, the Westerner hears the chanting of the Quran on the public address system. No alcohol, ham or pork is served, and upon arriving in the Kingdom, his bags are searched for alcohol, bacon, or "indecent material", any "adult" publication. The sale of non-alcoholic "beers", "wines", and "champagnes" was banned in 1979 because of the fear that people might imagine the taste and effect of alcohol while drinking. In addition, committees for the propagation of virtue and the prevention of vice patrol the streets in Saudi cities and villages armed with canes to enforce Wahhabi directives (Lacey 1981: 58-59). Is religion losing its influence in this modernized state? The answer is a resounding no.

Islam and Education

The educational policy in Saudi Arabia is clearly related to religion and is based on "the duty of acquainting the individual with his God and religion and adjusting his conduct in accordance with the teachings of Islam (The Kingdom 1983: 200, Griswold 1957: 52). As part of this effort to maintain Islamic values, Saudi students are required to take religious courses on all

four levels: elementary, intermediate, secondary and higher education. Among the Arab countries, Saudi Arabia has the highest requirements in Islamic studies. Elementary students must take 66 periods weekly in Islamic studies, intermediate students take 24 periods and secondary students 18 periods (Massialas and Jarrar 1983: 84). Additional time is devoted to the study of Arabic not just because it is the national language but because it is believe that God has chosen it as the vehicle through which he revealed his message to man in the Quran. Fully two-thirds of the time spend in school is reserved for religion and Arabic and one-third for arithmetic, history, geography, science, hygiene, drawing, and physical education (Tibawi 1979: 181-182, Samovar and Porter 1979: 101-102).

As an example of this rigorous religious training, the syllabus for the sixth primary year will be considered. The students are expected to learn to read aloud with correct chanting certain suras of the Quran and to learn by heart others. They also study three Wahhabi tracts, twenty items on prayer, fasting, alms-giving and the pilgrimage, and "Twenty authentic texts on stead fastness in belief, good morals and general conduct" (Tibawi 1979: 181).

Religious schools exist at the post primary as well as the secondary level. After graduating from primary school, a young Saudi student may study for six years

with the Mufti (a religious scholar) at a religious institution and is then eligible to teach religion in the primary school or enroll in a religious university (Tibawi 1979: 182-183).

Regarding higher education, students are required to study Islamic culture three times a week while enrolled in the university (AL Zaid 1982: 80). At the present time, the main non-secular university is the Islamic University of Medina, which was founded in 1961 and had an enrollment of 4,000 students in 1980. It draws students from all over the world, from West Africa to Malaysia (Munro 1974: 3). The Sharia and Islamic studies faculty in Mecca; founded in 1947, and now under the administration of Abd AL-Aziz University, and Imam Muhammad bin Saud Islamic University in Riyadh, founded in 1974, are the other major religious institutions of higher education (AL Zaid 1982: 30-32).

Although there are special schools for religion and Islamic law, all the secular universities offer Islamic studies in addition to their other courses. The main secular institutions of higher education are Riyadh University (the oldest university in the Kingdom founded in 1957), Abdulaziz University with faculties at Jeddah and Mecca, the Imam Muhammad bin Saud University in Riyadh, the University of Petroleum and Minerals at Dahran and King Faisal University at Damman and Hasa (The Kingdom 1982: 201-202, Hadie 1962: 313-317). In

accordance with religious traditions, men and women have separate but equal campuses at Abdulaziz University in Jeddah, while at the other universities females are affiliated with the male campuses, relying on a closed-circuit television system for their lectures as mentioned in the previous chapter.

The University of Petroleum and Minerals is an example of this integration of space-age technology and the Islamic traditions of Saudi Arabia. At the University of Petroleum and Minerals students are constantly reminded of their Islamic heritage by a plaque on the wall of the administration building that says, "God loves those who do their work properly". This reminder reflects the Islamic position of respect for learning and scholarship as long as it does not conflict with the Quran, indeed, as long as higher education does not threaten traditional values, its present high rate of growth will probably continue (Moorman 1978: 8).

At Abdulaziz University the most modern technology of the West is being used to create an institution which is totally Islamic in outlook. In 1978, for instance, the University's President, Omar Zubier, a distinguished economist, chaired an international seminar on the monetary and fiscal economics of Islam. Usury is forbidden in Islam, and the seminar concentrated on how

best to spread a network of Islamic banks throughout the world (Moorman 1978: 16).

Areas such as social science and medicine have also been targeted for an Islamic approach. Shiek Ahmad Salah Jamjoom, one of the University's founders, says: "Knowledge must serve not only society, it must serve God." Islamic fundamentalists have taken this idea to its extreme in the total rejection of the values of both the West and Communism. In 1978, Ziauddin Sardar, a researcher of King Abdulaziz and a member of London's independent Islamic Think-Tank, the Muslim Institute, had this to say:

> A permanent secretariat has subsequently been set up to create modern Islamic curricula at all levels. The aim, according to Professor Ali Ashraf, the conference organizer, is to show that like everything else in the West, its education system is to a throw away product too (Moorman 1978: 17).

The Future and Islam in Education

As I have noted, the traditional education system survives to this day in Saudi Arabia. Memorization of the Quran is a requirement on every level, and institutions devoted solely to Islam studies exist on the post-secondary as well as the post-primary level. In a world given to throwaway products and often values, Saudi Arabia is the guardian of the Islamic values and religion which date back to the seventh century. Islam, although making difficult demands on its believers in

prayers five times a day and fasting for a month during Ramadan, is a simple faith with practical rules for daily life. Unlike Christianity, it is a faith of certainties, not doubt. There are good Muslims and bad Muslims, but there are no agnostic Muslims in Saudi Arabia (Lacey 1981: 517). Most Westerners assume that with modernization one day the Saudis will become Westernized and in the process a secular society. However, as discussed previously, this appears to be an erroneous assumption. Today Saudi Arabia is experiencing a Golden Age due to the fusion of Western technology and Islamic values, a period made possible by the megadollars generated from its oil economy. The question of maintaining Islamic values in education in the future appears unnecessary. The Saudis appear to have a firm grip on what is required to maintain a stable and progressive society, and the key is adherence to Islamic traditions in conjunction with modernization. Hence, modernization will affect Saudi society much differently than it has affected the Western world.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion and Summary

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

Saudi Arabia is a land of contrasts. In the desert, a barefoot bedouin says his daily prayers facing east to Mecca while kneeling beside an oil derrick. A veiled woman holds the hand of a child wearing a shirt with Mickey Mouse on the front. Women at King Abdul Aziz University hear lectures on modern technological advances over closed-circuit television while their male counterparts see the professor in person. Today in Saudi Arabia Islamic traditions and values co-exist with western technology. In describing the nature of this symbiotic relationship, this thesis has focused on education in Saudi Arabia after discussing traditional education and the impact of the West on Middle Eastern education.

After the death of the prophet in the seventh century, A.D. educational institutions were established throughout the Middle East as a means of dispersing his message. Originally based in the mosques, educational centers moved out to include elementary schools, colleges, research centers and universities. The Arab Islamic dynasties which flourished from the seventh to the nineteenth century focused on religious education; little attention was given to secular subjects or to educating the female population.

The nineteenth century, however, marked the beginning of a change in traditional Islamic education. At this time the impact of the West began to be felt with an alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire. After that period, the West influenced the Middle East politically, economically, and culturally. In responding to the need for technological advancement, Egypt, the first Arab country to have extensive contacts with the West, created the first public education system in the Arab world in the nineteenth century. The Egyptian school system which included all three levels - elementary, high school, and university - was designed to supply Egypt with westernized graduates who had studied medicine, the arts, engineering, and science. Soon the Egyptian model was recognized throughout the Arab world as the one to be emulated.

The twentieth century marked the end of colonial expansion in the Middle East, and with the creation of independent countries came the need for equalizing educational standards throughout the Arab world as well as expanding the number of these educational institutions. The 1950's and 1960's, in particular, were a time of educational expansion in the area.

In Saudi Arabia the traditional education system with its specialized religious orientation persisted until the discovery of oil in the 1930's. With the immense revenue gained from its oil resources, the

Kingdom was able to modernize its education system. Saudi Arabia's education explosion, however, began with King Saud in the 1950's and has continued up to the present in King Fahad's reign. Education programs are offered throughout the Kingdom in the following areas: elementary and secondary, teacher training, adult education, vocational education, and higher education.

Modern education in Saudi Arabia, however, has a dual character: religions and secular. A religious orientation exists on every level. For example, memorization of the Quran is still a basic requirement. Unlike the West, Saudi Arabia has been able to maintain a strong religious tradition while becoming modernized. Three reasons for this fact appear valid: Saudi Arabia's symbolic role as guardian of the sacred religious centers of Mecca and Medina, the close ideological relationship between the Wahhabi religious movement and the House of Saud, and the resurgence of global Islamic fundamentalism. These factors have enabled Saudi Arabia to combine what is perceived to be the best of the East and the West: Islamic values and traditions with western technology, science, and modern education.

Most Western social scientists have been surprised, and some dismayed, by the recent developments in the Islamic Middle East. Western social science models of modernization are based upon assumptions derived from the Western historical experience. In the West

modernization processes have been linked to increasing secularization. The religious sphere became disconnected from other institutions within Western society, including educational institutions. But trends evident in Middle Eastern countries such as Saudi Arabia are leading Western social scientists towards a reexamination of the basic premises regarding modernization and secularization. It appears that religious factors have been decisive in channeling modernization in distinctive directions in Middle Eastern Islamic societies.

The example of change and persistence within Saudi Arabian education focused upon in this thesis represents one indication of a much different pattern of modernization in the Islamic Middle East than that of the Western pattern. Islam in Saudi Arabia has not been weakening, instead it has become an increasingly powerful social and political mobilizing force. In other societies traditional faiths have had to retreat in the sweep of broad-scale forces of modernity. But Islam has retained and enhanced its social and political vitality in Saudi Arabia. As seen in this thesis this vitality has had implications for the educational system and Saudi society at large. New paths and directions are in the process of being developed with respect to modernization, education, and Islamicization in Saudi society. Saudi Arabia has confronted the challenge of

adapting to modernization and its consequent problems in a traditional, unique, and apparently successful manner. Other Middle Eastern Islamic societies may have something to learn from the Saudi experience.

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