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CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE ADULT READING PROBLEM
IN RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA

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This philosophical-descriptive dissertation makes a detailed analysis of the background and problems of the adult literacy program in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and proposes recommendations for improvement of this program. The purpose of the study is to describe and critically analyze the Islamic religious tradition, Saudi Arabian social structure, the roles of Saudi Arabian men and women, the role of nomads in Saudi society, usage of Classical and modern Arabian dialects, current instructional materials and media used in adult literacy education, and current educational resources, finance, and personnel.

The need for education is most apparent in the world's developing nations. Since the discovery of petroleum in the 1930s, Saudi Arabia has been among the world's most rapidly developing nations. It has faced the problem of quickly expanding its educational system to meet its manpower needs, and it has devised an extensive program of national planning to direct this expansion.

Although the Kingdom offers its citizens free education from kindergarten through the university level, illiteracy remains one of its most pressing problems. At least 80 per cent of the nation's adults are functionally illiterate, and the government's efforts to combat illiteracy among its adults have been held back by such factors as the traditional Islamic social structure of the country, the large nomadic population, the secluded lifestyle of women, and the lack of trained educational personnel.

Because of the traditional Islamic background of the Kingdom, its education is religious as well as secular in purpose. The Islamic faith dominates all areas of life; Islamic social customs profoundly affect the educational process. The Qur'an has been and continues to be the authority for all social and educational standards.

Within this religious structure, the Kingdom has launched an ambitious adult literacy campaign. Under the direction of the Adult Education Department (formerly the Popular Culture Department), it has as its goals the eradication of illiteracy as soon as possible, the achievement of at least a fourth grade level of education for all citizens ages twelve through forty-five, and the preparation of illiterates for the role of responsible and contributing citizens.

Although much has been accomplished in combatting adult illiteracy, much remains to be done. Progress of the adult literacy project has been slowed by an extreme shortage of qualified teachers, poor classroom environment caused by the use of elementary facilities for adults, unsuitable texts, and poorly planned supplementary television lessons. Also, the government has been unable to motivate a sufficient number of adults to begin and finish the program.

The study's recommendations for improvement of the adult literacy program in Riyadh include use of an eclectic approach to the selection and use of materials, a reduction in the program's overall curriculum, and the use of the imam from the mosque and graduates of Arabic colleges as adult literacy teachers. It is also recommended that, rather than elementary classrooms, mosques, secondary, and university facilities be used as classrooms. A major recommendation is that adult reading centers be established in various neighborhoods throughout the city to serve as learning, practice, and reinforcement centers. Also recommended are stronger measures by the government to motivate adults to learn to read and write, and that the use of media for adult literacy training be improved.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education is the fuel to evolution and development. Throughout the world, education continues to assume increasing importance.

Limited educational attainment restricts a nation's capacity to expand its productive efficiency. For the individual, limited education becomes a handicap in securing employment, assuming greater responsibility and advancing in status (13, p. 10).

According to another source, education ". . . helps society to mobilize its productive energies by ensuring that required human resources are developed" (5, p. 55).

The need for education is most apparent in the world's developing nations. No amount of wealth can bring about change from old to modern ways and ideas without development of the nation's most valuable asset--its people. The need for education as a necessary ingredient of national development was never more apparent than in today's rapidly changing, complex, technological world. Moreover, because of today's fast-paced world, developing nations must now seek to achieve greater results in far shorter time than did the developed

nations during their periods of development (2, p. 140).

The need for rapid development has made it necessary that nations plan their development.

The instrument most relied on to promote rapid and equitable change is national planning. Thus a principle emerges in most of the developing nations that was largely absent in the earlier stages of Western development, namely, that national government can and should assume extensive responsibilities for guiding the process of national development (2, p. 140; emphasis in the original).

Among the world's most rapidly developing nations, and among those which have relied most heavily upon national planning to bring about this development is the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Since the discovery of petroleum in the 1930s, Saudi Arabia has developed from a relatively obscure nation whose population contained a high percentage of nomads to one of the most influential members of the world's economic community. It has faced the necessity of rapidly expanding its educational system to meet its manpower needs, and it has made use of an extensive program of national planning to direct this expansion. Within the past half century much has been accomplished, yet much remains to be done.

In Saudi Arabia as in other developing countries, a major problem confronting planners has been an extremely high rate of

illiteracy among the adult population. Adults form the backbone of any society, and without their participation, rapid development of a nation's economic and social system is not possible. With this understanding, great concentration of interest has been placed on the eradication of illiteracy on a worldwide basis. UNESCO has carried out an international campaign against illiteracy among the world's adults since 1947, and particularly since 1960 (12, p. 53). National programs such as the extensive Right to Read project in the United States have been carried out with varying degree of success in many areas in an effort to reduce the rate of illiteracy among adults.

In keeping with the need to educate its citizens, both children and adults, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has implemented a comprehensive education program. The Kingdom provides its citizens free education, from kindergarten through the university level, and incentives of various types are offered to those who avail themselves of this opportunity. In spite of free education and an extensive program of literacy training for adults, however, illiteracy, particularly among the adult population, remains one of the Kingdom's most pressing problems. Although estimates vary (4, pp. 41-42; 16, p. 21),

at least 80 per cent of the total population, for all practical purposes, can neither read nor write.

Although much official and unofficial discussion about the eradication of illiteracy in Saudi Arabia has taken place in recent years, and some enabling legislation toward that end has been passed (Royal Decree No. 22M of July 20, 1972), the fact remains that the majority of adults are illiterate. Adult illiteracy in the Kingdom has created a severe manpower shortage, making it necessary to import foreign workers to fill the many jobs which require more than manual labor. What is more, illiteracy has created familial and social problems and has done much to hold back the government's efforts toward universal education of children. As Hamidi points out, "Families have problems because the parents do not understand the importance of education and often oppose their children's educational efforts" (6, p. 8). The same author points out that children often lose respect for illiterate parents and that many of the social and parent-child problems could be eradicated through involvement of the parents in adult education programs (6, p. 8).

Although the government of Saudi Arabia has made a concentrated effort to combat the problem of adult illiteracy, many problems have slowed the progress of the Kingdom's Adult

Literacy Campaign. Among these are the traditional Islamic social and religious traditions, the large nomadic population of the Kingdom, the traditionally secluded life-style of Saudi women, the lack of trained educational personnel, and the extreme poverty of many citizens.

The present study does not attempt to offer solutions to all of these problems. It does, however, offer a detailed examination of the problems with an effort toward understanding them better. It also offers specific recommendations for the improvement of the adult reading program in one specific area, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, the capital of the Kingdom.

The problem of illiteracy must be studied carefully in its social, economic, and political context, in order to devise an appropriate method of attack. Moreover, literacy must be significantly oriented towards the actual job prospects, and enough reading material must be available to prevent a relapse into illiteracy.

All religions are fundamentally an invitation to man to emerge from ignorance and to acquire learning. Islam has incited man to knowledge, and both the Qur'an and the Prophet emphasized this incitation: "Search after knowledge is obligatory both on Muslim men and Muslim women" (attributed to Mohammed, the Prophet).

In summary, one would surmise that at least two primary goals for public education in modern Saudi Arabia might be those discussed in a general framework by Edgar Faure and other educators in Learning to Be, where it is suggested that "education must assume the proportions of a true mass movement," and that "all learners, whether young or adult, should be able to play a responsible part not only in their own education but in the entire educational enterprise" (5, pp. 183, 222). Such ideas form a solid coalition with this Qur'anic passage, "Say, shall those who know be deemed equal with those who know not" (Al-Qur'an, XXXIX:9).

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to make a detailed critical analysis of the adult reading problem in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and to propose recommendations for use in the possible solution of this problem.

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study were to describe and critically analyze the following:

- a. The Islamic religious tradition,
- b. The Saudi Arabian social structure,
- c. The role of Saudi Arabian men and women,

- d. The role of nomads in Saudi Arabian society,
- e. The roles of Classical Arabic, standard (modern Arabic), and Saudi Arabian dialects,
- f. Current instructional materials and media used in adult literacy education, and
- g. Current educational resources, personnel, and finance as they relate to the program for adult reading instruction in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

Also included in this study is a brief description of other programs for teaching adults to read, such as the Right to Read program and the Science Research Associates (SRA) in the United States, which might be used as models by the planners of the adult reading program in Saudi Arabia.

Background and Significance of the Study

Saudi Arabia, an independent Muslim nation, is located in the largest part of the Arabian Peninsula. It has been unified under the name of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia since 1932, and it is presently a member of the United Nations and the League of Arab States. Saudi Arabia has a land area of some 870,000 square miles with a population density of four to six people per square mile (17, pp. 1,25). As for the population, there are no exact or absolutely reliable

figures. One source estimates the population to be nearly five to five and one half million (17, p. 18).

Saudi Arabia is divided administratively into five districts, each district being headed by a governor. The districts are (1) the Central District, (2) the Western District, (3) the Eastern District, (4) the Northern District, and (5) the Southern District (17, p. 11).

The weekend in Saudi Arabia is on Thursday and Friday. There are two official holidays. The first is Aid al Fitr, which represents the celebration of the end of the Holy Month of Ramadan. The second is Aid al Adha, which represents the period of the Pilgrimage. Each holiday by custom lasts three to five days.

The year 1926, when King Abdul Aziz formed the first Directorate General of Education, may be considered to mark the beginning of modern education in Saudi Arabia. Now there are twenty-three educational districts in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

There is no compulsory education because as Abd-el Wassie stated,

Education is free for everybody at all levels and there has never been any need to make it compulsory. Students are encouraged to continue their education beyond the primary level by the award of grants from the ministry (1, p. 9).

In contrast to educational practices in much of the modern world, education in Saudi Arabia serves a religious as well as a secular purpose. In the educational system as well as in all aspects of the nation's social structure, the religious and the secular are one. For this reason it is necessary that curricular materials both for children and adults be based on the teachings of the Qur'an and that they be written in the Qur'an's Classical Arabic language. As Alfred Thomas has observed,

The Qur'an is not only the basic statement of the faith of Islam but contains a compendium of scientific and political documentation and the code of law which is not only the basic document for Islamic religion, but also for Islamic jurisprudence (16, pp. 24-25).

The Qur'an is, has been, and will in all likelihood continue to be the basic authority for all social, governmental, and educational life in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and it is recognized as such throughout the present study.

Within its religiously oriented framework, the nation's educational system has undergone vast expansion in recent years. For example, in the decade between 1964-1965 and 1974-1975, the number of elementary schools in the Kingdom increased from 1,279 to 3,028 (14, pp. 34-35). Although similarly impressive increases were recorded in other areas

during the same period, the government is intent upon far greater achievements in education. To this end many students are being sent abroad to study in foreign universities and the system of higher education in Saudi Arabia has been expanded as rapidly as possible. The University of Riyadh was created in 1957 by a royal decree, and the more recent establishment of the College of Petroleum and Minerals in the Eastern Province and the Islamic University with two colleges at Medina has greatly enhanced the Kingdom's educational perspectives.

Believing that modernization is the key to survival in the present technological world, the government of Saudi Arabia has spared no effort to develop its educational capabilities. Its intentions are reflected in its ambitious proposals for educational development contained in the two national development plans (8, 11) which cover the decade from 1970 to 1980. The second plan projects an increase in the total number of students in the Kingdom from 791,000 in 1975 to 1,400,000 in 1980 and an increase in the number of schools (for both males and females) from 3,335 in 1975 to 5,318 in 1980. The number of college students is projected to rise from 14,500 in 1975 to 49,000 by 1980 (7, p. 244).

In the special field of adult education, the government made an early effort toward adult literacy education in 1949, by opening evening primary schools for adults (9, p. 6).

The campaign against adult illiteracy gained momentum with the establishment in 1954 of the Popular Culture Department, recently renamed the Adult Education Department (3), whose main function has been the education of the Kingdom's illiterate adults. A royal decree of 1972 called for an eventual comprehensive plan for the eradication of illiteracy among all citizens of Saudi Arabia. The government stated the following literacy objectives in a 1972 publication:

1. To eradicate illiteracy as soon as possible in order to facilitate modernization as well as economic and social development;
2. To achieve at least fourth-grade level of education for all citizens ages twelve through forty-five;
3. To prepare illiterate people for the role of responsible and contributing citizens of the community (9, pp. 19-20).

The area of literacy education for adults is a specialized field with its own set of problems. Adults cannot be taught with the same methods and materials that are used with children. As Wayne Otto and David Ford point out,

The psychological differences between adults and children create special problems for education To no one's surprise, adults have been shown to be different from children on a variety of psychological measures. Consideration of these differences is important in the planning of educational experiences (15, p. 37).

These special problems and differences which characterize adult learners are considered in some detail in the present study of the Adult Literacy Campaign in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

Assumptions

1. Separation by gender is standard practice and is assumed for all schools in Saudi Arabia, whether for adults or for children. Maintenance of the status quo for women is also assumed.

2. The teachings of the Qur'an have been and will continue to be a sufficient guide for education in Saudi Arabia.

3. The purpose of education, therefore, is that stated by the Ministry of Education

. . . to have the student understand Islam in a correct comprehensive manner, to plant and spread the Islamic creed, to furnish the student with the values, teachings and ideals of Islam, to equip him with the various skills and knowledge, to develop his conduct in constructive directions, to develop the society economically, socially, and culturally, and to prepare the individual to become a useful member in the building of his community (10, p. 10).

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the following definitions are used.

Adult.--Any Saudi eligible for this literacy program, i.e., persons at least twelve years of age and not currently enrolled in another educational program.

Classical Arabic.--The language of pre-Islamic literature and the Qur'an.

Illiterate.--A person not within the usual school age who does not have reading and writing proficiency commensurate with that of the average student of the fourth grade level, as shown by tests approved by the Ministry of Education.

Qur'an.--The Holy Book or Bible of the Islamic religion, which prescribes secular and religious life.

Colloquial Arabic.--The vernacular, contemporary language of daily social intercourse, that is, Koine Arabic.

Nomad.--Person of Bedouin descent who spends at least several weeks of each year in the city of Riyadh.

Standard (Modern) Arabic.--The language of formal communication, also that of radio, television, newspapers and the like.

Procedures of the Study

The procedure of this philosophical-descriptive dissertation consisted of objective documenting and reporting on major perspectives of cultural and social problems involved in the teaching of reading to the illiterate adult population of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The literature examined was limited to that published from 1967 to the present, with the exception of religious documentation from earlier periods. Although pertinent information was obtained from the usual scholarly sources, the following have been especially useful.

1. The Ministry of Education in Riyadh through the Saudi Arabia Educational Mission in Houston, Texas, provided official statistics and data on the current status of adult education in Saudi Arabia.
2. The Islamic Book Service of Plainfield, Indiana, was the source of many books on the Islamic religion and culture.
3. The Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) and Texas Information Service were used to locate documents.
4. The ERIC Document Reproduction Service of Bethesda, Maryland, proved useful as a source of ERIC documents.
5. The Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Washington, D.C. provided valuable statistics and educational data.

6. A trip to the Saudi Arabia Educational Mission in Houston, Texas, provided the author with other important information in the form of government publications and personal contact and conversation with government officials.

7. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, served as a source for UNESCO publications.

Topic Outline

In addition to the present introductory chapter, this study consists of two chapters of background and discussion and a final chapter of recommendations. Topics for the remaining chapters are as follows:

Chapter II

1. Perspectives on reading and the Islamic religious tradition,
2. Perspectives on reading and the Saudi Arabian social structure,
3. Perspectives on reading and the roles of Saudi Arabian men and women, and
4. Perspectives on reading and the role of nomads.

Chapter III

1. Perspectives on reading and the roles of Classical

Arabic and modern Saudi Arabian dialects,

2. Perspectives on reading and educational resources, personnel and finance, and

3. Perspectives on reading and adult instructional materials and media.

Chapter IV

1. Recommendations for the national reading program for adults in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

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CHAPTER II

PERSPECTIVES ON READING AND THE ISLAMIC SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS TRADITION

The Islamic Religion

Understanding of the Islamic tradition of Saudi Arabia involves consideration of social, religious, and linguistic factors. This chapter will examine the religious and social aspects of Islam and their influence on literacy and education in general; linguistic implications will be discussed in the chapter which follows.

A. L. Tibawi points out that modern Saudi society and modern Saudi education are so deeply rooted in Islam as a religion and as a civilization that they cannot be truly appreciated without some accurate understanding of the Islamic faith and Islamic civilization (25, p. 19). Because the Islamic faith so fully pervades every aspect of Arabic life and thought, any discussion of Arabic civilization properly begins with an understanding of the Islamic religious tradition.

Islam is a universal faith which traces its origins back to the great prophets and messengers of God--Adam,

Abraham, Moses, and Jesus among them. The real Prophet of Islam, however, was Mohammed, and the modern Islamic religion really begins with him.

The advent of Mohammed in the early seventh century of the Christian era brought about vast changes in the Arabic religion. Before Mohammed, Arabia was essentially idolatrous, although a few Arabs were followers of Christianity and Mazdaism, and the Meccans possessed the notion of One God, whom they worshipped through the intercession of idols (8, p.3). Since its humble beginnings some fourteen hundred years ago, Islam has spread at a phenomenal rate: there are now over five hundred million followers of the Muslim faith (one in seven persons of the world's population), and Islam is second only to Christianity in the number of followers; furthermore, more than half of the population of at least thirty-six countries are Muslims, the majority being concentrated in North Africa, the Middle East, Soviet Central Asia, Western China, the Malayan Peninsula, Northern and Central India, Indonesia, and the Philippines (24, p.26; 12, pp.5-6).

Mohammed was born at Mecca around 570 A.D. His father died before his birth and his mother died when he was six, leaving the child under the care of his grandfather

Abdul Muttalib, who in turn died two years later, after entrusting the care of the child to his own son Abu Talib. Although Abu Talib was of a generous nature, he was always short of resources, and Mohammed was required from an early age to earn his livelihood. While quite young he served as a shepherd, and at age ten he accompanied Abu Talib on a mercantile journey to Syria, an excursion of several months.

He led an almost solitary life from youth to manhood. The troubled times in which he spent his early years no doubt left their impression.

The lawlessness, rife among the Meccans, the sudden outbursts of causeless and sanguinary quarrels among the tribes frequenting the fair of Okaz (the Arabian Olympia), the immorality and skepticism of the Koreishites, naturally caused feelings of pity and sorrow in the heart of the sensitive youth. Such were to him scenes of social misery and religious degradation, characteristic of a depraved age (13, pp.28-29).

By the time he had reached twenty-five, Mohammed was well known and respected in Mecca for his integrity and honesty. He travelled once more to Syria, this time in the employ of a wealthy widow, Khadijah, who was so delighted with her dealings with her young agent that she rewarded him with her hand in marriage. Khadijah, who was forty years of age at the time of the marriage, proved to be an

excellent wife for Mohammed. "This marriage gave him the loving heart of a woman who was ever ready to console him in his despair and to keep alive within him the feeble, flickering flame of hope, when no man believed in him--not even himself--and the world appeared gloomy in his eyes" (13, p.29). The marriage also gave him six children, two males, who died in early childhood, and four females, although only one, Fatima, was to survive him.

With the greater economic security provided by the marriage, Mohammed was able to pursue his own tastes. He spent increasing amounts of time in solitude and contemplation. It was during one of these periods of contemplation in a cave outside Mecca, called Hira, that Mohammed received the following command from an angel: "Read, in the name of the Lord who created; created man of congealed blood. Read thou. For thy Lord is the most Beneficent, who hath taught the use of the pen, who taught man that which he knoweth not" (3, 96:1-4). The significance of this command to read, Galwash explains, is that "the Prophet himself neither read nor wrote. His being an illiterate man enhances the marvel of his revelation" (13, p. 168). From the moment of the angel's command, Mohammed was a literate man (24, p.22), and the fact that he, an unmi,

or unschooled man, was able to produce the rhymed prose of the oracles and soothsayers of his day was strong evidence of his prophethood.

The Prophet began by preaching his message secretly to his intimate friends and family, then among members of his own tribe, and eventually in public in his city and its surroundings. His early followers included Khadijah, his cousin Ali, and Abu Bakr, who was to be his successor. The number of the Prophet's followers increased gradually, but because of his denunciation of the idolatrous religions of the time, opposition to the new faith became intense (24, p.24).

Opposition eventually took the form of the most violent physical torture, so severe that many of his followers were forced to take refuge in Abyssinia (Ethiopia). Those who remained behind were subjected to even greater persecutions, including a boycott by their fellow Meccans which brought great misery and hardship to the early Muslims, who refused at all costs to hand over the Prophet to his persecutors. The boycott, a virtual siege, lasted for three years and caused untold suffering and many deaths among the Prophet's adherents. At the end of the boycott, the document which had proclaimed it was found eaten by white ants, as the

Prophet had predicted, with only the words "God" and "Mohammed" remaining (15, p. 9).

Hostility toward the early Muslims did not diminish with the end of the boycott, however, and Mohammed was eventually obliged to leave Mecca in search of asylum elsewhere. The city of Yathrib, whose name was later changed to Medina, city of the Prophet, proved to be friendly territory, and in September of 622 A.D., the Prophet migrated there. The migration of the Prophet, termed the Hegira, is usually viewed as the turning point in the history of Islam.

Settled at Medina, the Prophet's first concern was the establishment of the new faith: "The first step the Prophet took, after his settlement in Medina, was to build a mosque for the worship of God, according to the principles of Islam" (13, p. 45). However, it was during the early period at Medina that Mohammed distinguished himself as a social, political, and legal reformer. Thus, from its very beginnings, the Islamic tradition sought to join rather than separate religious faith and social justice. As Hamidullah explains, the Prophet ". . . thought that the development of the man as a whole would be better achieved if he coordinated religion and politics as two constituent

parts of one whole" (15, p. 10). In order to achieve this end, Mohammed enlisted the aid of non-Muslims as well as Muslims and set about to establish the city-state of Medina. With the assent of Christians, Jews, and Arabs alike, he endowed the new municipality with a written constitution-- "the first of its kind in the world" (15, p. 11)--and was himself unanimously chosen as head of the new government.

Some of the provisions of the new constitution were as follows:

The document laid down principles of defense and foreign policy; it organized a system of social insurance, called ma'aqil, in cases of too heavy obligations. It recognized that the Prophet Muhammad would have the final word in all differences, and that there was no limit to his power of legislation. It recognized also explicitly liberty of religion, particularly for the Jews, to whom the constitutional act afforded equality with Muslims in all that concerned life in this world. . . (15, p. 11).

In spite of the liberal provisions of the Prophet's constitution and its tolerance of divergent religious views, Medina was never free from religious and racial conflict. The Muslims at Medina remained under constant pressure from the Meccans and from the Jews inside their own city. The Meccans continued to demand the surrender of Mohammed and in 624 A.D. sent a powerful army against the Muslims. The small army of the Prophet, one third the size of its adversary, met the Meccans at Badr and defeated them soundly. A

year later the Meccans sent an even more powerful force against the Prophet at Uhud but were again unable to gain a victory. Meanwhile, constant internal strife caused by the Jews at Medina finally made it necessary to expel them from the city. The expulsion of the Jews had the effect of asserting Islam's independence from them (15, pp. 11-12).

As the Prophet's followers increased in number with each succeeding victory, they were effectively able to ruin the Meccan economy by cutting off their caravan routes. Mohammed was thus able to make a truce with his Meccan adversaries in 628 A.D., thereby guaranteeing his followers the right of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Thus, although Medina remained the political capital of the Prophet's domain, Mecca became the religious capital of Islam. When the Meccans violated the terms of their treaty, Mohammed was able to capture the city in 630 A.D., leading the army himself to a bloodless victory. His real victory over the Meccans, however, came with the complete amnesty that he granted them, renouncing claim even to the Muslim properties that had been previously confiscated by the Meccans. His great restraint and moderation in victory so changed the hearts of his former adversaries, one writer states, that

the Islamization of Mecca was accomplished in only a few hours (15, p. 13).

During the final years of the Prophet's life, Islam spread rapidly; teachers were sent into the various provinces to instruct new converts in the precepts of Islam. During the first ten years of the Islamic era (622-632 A.D.), "all the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula and the southern regions of Iraq and Palestine had voluntarily embraced Islam" (15, p. 14). So great was the Prophet's following that in 632 when he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca he was accompanied by from 90,000 to 140,000 persons who had journeyed from different regions of Arabia to fulfill their religious obligations (13, p. 50; 15, p. 14).

The Prophet fell ill and died in 632 A.D., having made in only a few brief years a lasting impression upon the course of world history. One assessment of his contributions credits him with creating a religion of pure monotheism; a well-disciplined state, where chaos had existed; peace, where war had existed; "a harmonious equilibrium between the spiritual and the temporal, between the mosque and the citadel"; a new system of law which dispensed impartial justice and stressed religious tolerance; and, principles of budgeting state revenues and aid to the poor (25, p. 14).

"Above all," the same writer concludes, "the Prophet Muhammad set a noble example and fully practiced all that he taught to others" (15, p. 14).

The "noble example" practiced and taught by the Prophet has come to form the central core of the modern Islamic religion, the state religion which permeates all aspects of the life of the citizens of the Muslim world in general and of Saudi Arabia in particular. The religious unity of the Muslim world, as one writer points out, is the source of its strength, not only in matters of faith but in all other areas as well.

Unity of belief accounts for the unusual display of solidarity in Islamic society and for the dynamism which propelled the faith forward. Pride in faith explains the accomplishments of the believers not only in religion, but in the areas of political and cultural endeavors as well (12, p. 7).

The transmission of the unifying faith from the Prophet to the faithful of all ages has been mainly by means of the basic written document of the Islamic faith, the Qur'an. Not only is the Qur'an the basic statement of the Islamic faith, it is also a compendium of political wisdom and scientific knowledge and the essential Islamic code of law. The Qur'an is viewed by Muslims as God's word as revealed to the Prophet through the Angel Gabriel.

Qur'an, or Koran as it is sometimes written, literally means reading or recitation (15, p. 16), or perhaps discourse or revelation (24, p. 25). Its contents were dictated by the Prophet to his disciples, not in one stretch, but in fragments over a period of many years, and because of the Prophet's constant attention to the task, the surviving document is believed to be exceptionally accurate. The original version of the Qur'an was in Arabic, and the same text is still in use. Although translations have been made into all of the world's important languages, the original Arabic version is definitely the preferred one, since a great amount of the Qur'an's force and splendor arises from the beauty of its language. As Thomas writes, "The original Arabic provides an impressive beauty of rhyme and rhetoric cadence which is lost in translation" (24, p. 25). Hamidullah views the majesty of the style as a sign of the Qur'an's Divine origin.

The diction and style of the Qur'an are magnificent and appropriate to its Divine quality. Its recitation moves the spirit of even those who just listen to it, without understanding it. In passing, the Qur'an. . . has by virtue of its claim of a Divine origin, challenged men and jinn to produce unitedly even a few verses equal to those of the Qur'an. The challenge has remained unanswered to this day (15, pp. 22-23).

In addition to the Qur'an, another collection of sacred Islamic writings called the Hadith has exercised great influence upon the formation of the Islamic religious tradition. While the Qur'an is made up of what the Prophet himself dictated to his disciples, the Hadith consists of stories by his companions about his words and deeds. Each Hadith is a separate story, said to have been handed down by those who were close to Mohammed. The Hadith include almost all the early history of Islam and most of its moral precepts.

The two collections, the Qur'an and the Hadith, together contain the essence of Islamic religious, social, political and legal wisdom. It cannot be too often stressed that in the Islamic culture, religion so pervades all other aspects of life that it is inseparable from them. It is no wonder then that the sacred books of Islam contain as well its greatest secular knowledge. "According to Islamic ideology," Sharif writes, "there is no distinction between what is secular and what is religious. Human life is a life of action, and for action religious guidance, i.e., education in the apprehension of human ideals and values, is essential" (22, p. 8).

The close relationship between the secular and the sacred in Islamic society is especially apparent in the

area of education. The Qur'an is something of a revolutionary document in the value that it places on learning at a time when most were illiterate. The Qur'an, in fact, gives men of learning a place second only to that of the prophets. The first schools in Islam were the mosques, and the first textbook was the Qur'an (25, p. 24). The Qur'an, according to Abdalati, was the first authority to enjoin a zealous quest for knowledge; in fact, "it is a Divine injunction incumbent upon every Muslim, male and female, to seek knowledge in the broadest sense of the word and search for truth" (1, p. 107). The Qur'an teaches that devotion to true knowledge is regarded as "devotion to God in the most compensating sense" (1, p. 108).

The fact that Islamic education is inseparable from the Islamic religious tradition indicates the necessity of examining the Islamic faith in detail. The word Islam itself means surrender or submission (to the will of God). Any human being who submits and obeys the will of God is called a Muslim. Muslims subscribe to the following basic dogmas, or articles of faith, with which there are no exceptions or compromises.

The first and most important article of Islamic faith relates to the oneness of God (Allah). It holds that there

is no God but Allah, the Creator of all things, the pre-existent, the omnipotent, the omniscient. In spite of his unity, though, Allah has many attributes, "ninety-nine most beautiful names," as the Prophet put it (15, p. 46). Belief in the One God is best expressed in the following formula, to which each orthodox Muslim must subscribe.

God is one and has no partner; Singular, without any like him; Uniform, having no equal; Ancient, having no first; Eternal, having no beginning; Everlasting, having no end; Ever-existing, without termination; Ever qualified with the attributes of supreme greatness; nor is He bound to be determined by lapse of ages or times. But He is the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, and the Evident and the Hidden (13, p. 129).

Belief in the angels of God is the second article of faith for the true Muslim. Islam regards angels as purely spiritual beings who require no material sustenance such as food or drink and who have no physical desires. "Belief in the angels originates from the Islamic principle that knowledge and truth are not entirely confined to the sensory knowledge or sensory perception alone" (1, p. 13). Headed by Gabriel, the angels have many functions: they act as guardians, intercede for man, and carry the throne of God. Although the exact number of angels is not known to man, it is very great, since each man has a succession of angels who watch over him.

The third article of Islamic faith involves belief in all the scriptures of God which have been revealed to humanity. The Qur'an, which Muslims believe to be the only complete and uncorrupted book of God in existence today, is considered to be completely authentic. It was dictated through the angel Gabriel.

The fourth article of Islamic faith requires belief in the messengers of God without discrimination among them. Mohammed was a messenger of God, a prophet, the last and therefore the greatest of a long line of teachers chosen by God to teach mankind and to deliver his message. The Qur'an mentions twenty-five such messengers and Muslims believe in them all and accept them as authorized messengers.

The fifth basic article of faith is the belief in a day of final judgment, the immortality of the soul, reward for righteousness and punishment for the evil. Muslims believe that on the day of final judgment the dead will arise and stand trial for all of their earthly deeds; the good will be generously rewarded, but the evil will be punished and cast into hell. Sins are divided by degree of seriousness, the only unpardonable one being shirk, the sin of associating other deities with Allah.

Belief in predestination is the sixth article of faith.

The Qur'an is explicit on the subject.

"All things have been created by a fixed decree"
(3, IV:49).

"The Lord hath created and balanced all things, and hath fixed their destinies and guided them" (3, XXXV: 2).

"No one can die, except by God's purpose, according to the book that fixeth the term of life" (3, III: 139).

Belief in the Resurrection is the seventh article of faith. Belief in the Resurrection entails belief in revival after death with the self-same Identity (4, p. 126).

The articles of faith presented above provide the basic theoretical framework for Islam, although Islam is religion of practice rather than theory. Islam requires of its followers, therefore, certain essential acts of worship, religious duties, often called the pillars of Islam. There are five basic pillars of Islam to which Muslims are required to adhere.

The first pillar of Islam is the profession of the individual's faith. It requires testimony that "There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah." According to Thomas, "These are the first words the Moslem hears at birth, the most repeated throughout his lifetime and the last to be said over his body upon his demise" (24, p. 25). As

previously stated, Islam is a religion of action rather than mere theory; the Muslim must not only believe in God, but he must openly declare his belief.

The second pillar of Islam is prayer. The practice of prayer on a regular, prescribed basis is the Muslim's obligation. "Any Muslim who fails to observe his prayers and has no reasonable excuse is committing a grave offense and a heinous sin" (1, p. 55). One can, of course, pray to God at any time of the day or night, but Muslims are obligated to practice five legally prescribed and defined prayers. Moreover, prayers are to be performed only after performing ablution, purifying the entire body, dressing in a prescribed fashion, declaring the intention of the prayer, and facing the direction of the Ka'bah at Mecca (1, p. 57). Prayers are performed at early dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset, and night.

The third duty of the Muslim is almsgiving. The giving of alms, Abdalati points out, is not simply a form of charity, a tax, or a tithe; it is not merely an expression of kindness, a deduction of a certain percentage of one's property; it is not a voluntary contribution, nor even a government tax. "Rather, it is a duty enjoined by God and undertaken by Muslims in the interest of society as a whole"

(1, p. 95). Since it is a duty, the minimum acceptable rate of alms to be given is 2.5 per cent of the annual net income. The fund raised by the giving of alms in Islamic countries serves as a substitute for the numerous fund-raising ventures undertaken in other societies. The obligation to give alms is universally accepted by Muslims, and even those who fail to perform the other duties may not neglect the giving of alms.

The fourth religious duty prescribed by Islam is fasting, and the holy month of Ramadan is set aside for this purpose. Fasting is undertaken by Muslims to atone for evil deeds and to commune more intimately with God. "Literally defined, fasting means to abstain 'completely' from foods, drinks, intimate intercourses and smoking, before the break of the dawn till sunset, during the entire month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic year" (1, p. 87). Abdalati finds in fasting the following spiritual advantages: it teaches the principle of sincere love; it provides an optimistic outlook on life; it gives one a genuine virtue of effective devotion, honest dedication and closeness to God; it cultivates a vigilant and sound conscience; it teaches patience and unselfishness, moderation and willpower; it provides one with a clear mind to think and a light body to move and act;

it teaches wise savings and sound budgeting, because one spends less time and money on meals; it teaches the art of mature adaptability, forcing one to change the entire course of his daily life and adapt to a new regimen; it promotes discipline and good health, cleansing the entire body and resting the digestive system; it implants the real spirit of social belonging, promoting a feeling of kinship for the whole of Muslim society and lending a feeling of unity and brotherhood, of equality before God as well as before the law; and finally, it leads to feelings of self-reassurance and self-control, of maintenance of human dignity and freedom, of victory and peace (1, pp. 87-90).

The fifth pillar of Islam is the pilgrimage to Mecca. Each Muslim is obligated at some time in his life to undertake the pilgrimage, although some, such as women with no male to accompany them and those who cannot afford the trip, are exempted. Although there are many traditions surrounding the pilgrimage, its real purpose is devotion to Allah, and such acts as the kissing of the Black Stone at the Ka'bah are optional, neither prescribed nor obligatory. "Those who kiss the Black Stone or touch it do not do it because they have faith in the Stone or attribute any superstitious qualities to it. Their Faith is in God only" (1, p. 100). Although

the full ritual required for the performance of the pilgrimage (Hajj) is complex, one source outlines the essentials as follows:

At the borders of the sacred territory around Mecca, the worshiper removes his ordinary clothing and puts on the religious garment which consists of two sheets of cloth-- a loin cloth and a shoulder cloth. The garment is required only of men. Always bare-headed, the worshiper goes to 'Arafat, in the suburbs of Mecca, to spend there the day in meditation. He returns toward evening, spends the night at Muzdalifah, and arrives at Mina, on the outskirts of Mecca, early the following morning. He spends three days at Mina, where he "lapidates" Satan each morning, sacrifices an animal, and pays a short visit to the Ka'bah for the purpose of performing a ritual sevenfold circumambulation and running through the hills of Safa and Marway in front of the Ka'bah (15, pp. 64-65).

The final element of the Islamic religious tradition to be examined in this section is the place of education in general and reading in particular within the Islamic faith.

It must be emphasized that in Islamic Saudi Arabia religion so pervades every aspect of life that it cannot

be viewed separately. In Islam there is no organized church, no priesthood, and no social class which has a monopoly on spirituality. There is no division between secular and religious laws or the officials who administer them.

Early Arabic education stresses the religious aspect of life and is ". . . aimed at enabling man to know his social rights and duties and above all, his purpose in life and his destiny" (22, p. 40). The mosque has been associated with education throughout history, and in the early days of Islam it was the focus of all communal activities. "From its pulpit religious edification and state policy were proclaimed; within its walls justice was dispensed; on its floor sat preachers and teachers surrounded by adults and children seeking learning or instruction" (25, p. 24).

The long tradition of Islamic emphasis on education began with its greatest proponent, the Prophet Mohammed. Himself an illiterate man who learned to read when commanded to do so by the angel Gabriel, Mohammed insisted continually upon the importance of learning and teaching others. "The acquisition of knowledge," he said, "is incumbent on every Muslim" (2, p. 1). His high regard for education is evident in the following passage commonly attributed to him.

Acquire knowledge, because he who acquires it in the way of the Lord performs an act of piety; who speaks of it, praises the Lord; who seeks it, adores God; who dispenses instruction in it, bestows alms; and who imparts it to its fitting objects, performs an act of devotion to God. Knowledge enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not; it lights the way to Heaven; it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude, our companion when bereft of friend; it serves as an armour against our enemies. With knowledge, the servant of God rises to the heights of goodness and to a noble position, associates with sovereigns in this world, and attains to the perfection of happiness in the next (14, p. 45).

Elsewhere, the Prophet commanded that the rich and the poor be viewed as equals in the acquisition of knowledge (14, p. 45), and he stated that knowledge should be sought from the cradle to the grave (14, p. 46). He even placed knowledge above prayer, stating that "Excessive knowledge is better than excessive prayer," and that "It is better to teach knowledge one hour in the night than to pray the whole night" (14, p. 46). "One learned man," he said, "is harder on the devil than a thousand ignorant worshipers" (14, p. 46).

In other writings found in the Hadith and attributed to Mohammed, the Prophet said, "The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr" (6, p. 114), and he commanded the faithful to "Go in quest of knowledge

even unto China" (6, p. 113). One famous incident in which the Prophet put his high regard for learning into action occurred after the battle at Badr. Of the large number of captives taken, the poor were set free without payment of ransom, but the rest were required to pay "what the traffic would bear." The remarkable part of the settlement was that those captives who could read and write were required to teach ten children each, or else pay a sizeable ransom of 4,000 dirhams. One writer concludes, "To forego a big sum of 4,000 dirhams ransom money per head and accept the teaching of reading and writing instead, furnishes an ample testimony of the value which learning had in the eyes of the Prophet" (14, pp. 46-47).

Before the advent of the Prophet, the art of reading and writing existed to a limited degree, but it increased with the growth of Islam. Most of the early teachers were non-Muslims, mainly Christians and Jews. With the spread of influence of the Qur'an, a distinction was at first made between religious and secular education, the latter consisting of such subjects as penmanship. In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldun wrote,

Penmanship is not to be taught with the Qur'an and religion. . . . Reading and writing are not to be taught in elementary schools and anyone who wants to learn them must have recourse to professional teachers (21, p. 181).

In the early Islamic schools, memorization of the Qur'an was at the core of the educational program. The youth who completed the memorization of the Qur'an was termed a hafiz, a title which carried considerable prestige in society. After memorization of the Qur'an, he could go on to the formal study of such related topics as the exegesis of the Qur'an (tafsir), the traditions (Hadith), grammar (nahw), laws (Fiqh), lexicography (lughah), rhetoric (bayan), and literature (adab) (12, pp. 167-168).

Religious material was also featured in the medieval school known as the madrasah, which set the tone for much of the later Islamic educational system. The madrasah was somewhat limited in curriculum and rigid and narrow in concept, and as in the earlier schools, elementary education was usually neglected. The central core of the curriculum was again related to religion, consisting of exegesis, theology, and jurisprudence, and teachers were for the first time in the history of Muslim education paid by the state and expected to propagate the information chosen by their employer. As before, the mosque was the center of the educational system. One such mosque, Al-Azhar at Cairo, is supposed to be the oldest university in the world (25, p. 30).

While a more detailed discussion of the Saudi Arabian educational system will be presented in the chapter which follows, it should be noted here that the presence of Islamic religion can be viewed as the dominant factor in Saudi Arabian education from the time of the Prophet to the present. Before the beginning of the modernization movement in Saudi Arabian education in 1926, formal education in that country was conducted entirely according to the Islamic tradition (26, p. 92), and since that time Islamic influence continues to dominate educational theory and practice.

"The essence of Muslim education," Tibawi writes, "is stated in the divine revelation in the Qur'an, and is restated in greater detail in the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad" (25, p. 35). Thus, the basic direction of Arabic educational theory and practice was established by the Prophet; subsequent theorists have varied and enriched this original direction, but its essence remains unchanged. The Islamic religious tradition has provided and continues to provide the essential purpose, methods, and materials for Arabic education.

It should be reemphasized that Islam provides a friendly atmosphere for the growth and development of learning. It insists that its followers develop all of their intellectual

and spiritual faculties for the good of humanity, and it regards learning and scholarship as spiritual practices to be esteemed as highly as prayer. The Qur'an's message was revolutionary for its time; it insists on the high value of learning and associates it with wisdom, and men of learning are regarded as second only to prophets (25, pp. 23-24).

In spite of the high value placed upon learning by the Islamic faith, however, illiteracy continues to be a serious problem in the Arabic world. In Saudi Arabia, in fact, Thomas refers to illiteracy as the "great national handicap" (24, p. 3). Although statistical statements of the extent of this handicap vary, there can be no doubt that Saudi Arabia is suffering from many problems which arise from its wide-spread illiteracy. Boyd states that the literacy level as of 1971 was only about 15 per cent (7, pp. 41-42). Although Thomas' estimate of the literacy rate is a bit higher, it is far from optimistic: "In 1960 it was estimated that close to 85 per cent of the population was illiterate. This has been considerably reduced by the tremendous educational emphasis of the past ten years" (24, p. 21).

The high level of illiteracy in Saudi Arabia and in the Arabic world in general raises the obviously paradoxical question of why, in a society which places so high a value on scholarship, are so few citizens able to read and write? Why have so few Muslims followed the Prophet's command to seek knowledge at any cost? Some answers to these questions will be suggested in the following section on Islamic society.

Saudi Arabian Social Structure

The society of Saudi Arabia is a traditional Islamic society, yet it is also a society which is undergoing an extremely fast-paced program of modernization. In order to comprehend the problems of modernization, especially in the areas of reading and education, it is first necessary to examine in some detail the traditional Islamic social structure.

Traditional Islamic society has as its constitutional resources the Holy Qur'an and the sayings of the Prophet (Hadith). The social system is totally dependent upon the religious system, and it is this total involvement of religion in society that gives the Islamic world its solidarity and unity.

Unity of belief accounts for the unusual display of solidarity in Islamic society and for the dynamism which propelled the faith forward. Pride in faith explains the accomplishments of the believers not only in religion, but in the areas of political and cultural endeavors as well (12, p. 7).

Although the inseparability of the sacred and the secular in Islamic society has been pointed out frequently, it cannot be overemphasized. As Long writes, "There is no separation of the sacred and the secular in Islam. More than a religion, it is an all-embracing way of life affecting Muslim and non-Muslim alike" (15, p. 12).

One of the leading traits of the religiously oriented Islamic society, and certainly one of the reasons for its solidarity, is the all-encompassing feeling of brotherhood among Muslims. Brotherhood is one of the highest duties of Muslims, and the Qur'an states that "The Believers are but a single Brotherhood" (3, XLIX: 10). The concept of the Brotherhood of Muslims has led to the formation of an essentially classless society. Islam makes no distinction among believers, and this feeling of equality among Muslims leads to the happiness of the individual which in turn promotes the welfare of Muslim society as a whole. Ansari describes the classless Islamic society as follows.

Being based on the affirmation of the unity of humankind and the ideal of human brotherhood. . . , Islam regards racialism, tribalism, caste-ism, class-ism and dynasty-ism as nothing less than infidelity to God and treachery against humanity. All the members of the Islamic society, therefore,--whatever their race, or tribe, or dynasty, or colour, or language, are equal members and possess, originally and basically, equal fundamental rights. The Islamic society is thus a Non-Racial, Non-Tribal, Casteless, Classless Society It may also be termed an Egalitarian Society (4, I, 188; emphasis is Ansari's).

In the Islamic social system, then, merit is based on individual achievement rather than on considerations of tribe, color, sex, language, or family (4, I, 188). Group achievement is viewed as a result of individual achievement, and collective problems are seen as shortcomings of the individuals which make up the whole. Just as the health of the body depends upon the health of the individual cells which compose it, Islam regards the strength of society as a whole as dependent upon the strength of its individual members. "The world problem is for Islam essentially a problem of perfecting the life of the individual," Brohi writes (8, p. 30). The same author states that "Islam enjoins upon its followers the necessity of organizing the life of mankind by emphasizing the need of improving the quality of the life of the individual first" (8, p. 30; emphasis is Brohi's).

Islamic society, then, is one which draws its strength from the solidarity and the feeling of brotherhood of its members, yet it approaches problems at the individual rather than the collective level. It is also a society which, as has been frequently noted, is inseparable from the Islamic faith. Many other generalizations can be made. Ansari, for example, lists what he considers to be the "twenty one basic dimensions" of Islamic society (4, I, 192). It is, first and foremost, according to this authority, a "Theocentric Society," basing its entire system of values on devotion to God and service to mankind (4, I, 185). Similarly, it is an "Ethico-Religious Society," based on both a love of God and a fear of God, and a "Spiritually-Illumined Society," committed to the quest for spiritual enlightenment(4, I, 186).

Ansari also terms the traditional Islamic society a "Noble Society," since it "invites its members beyond goodness to nobleness" (4, I, 186) and a "Family-Based Society" in which "the institution of the family is . . . the corner-stone . . ." (4, I, 187). It is also an "Egalitarian Society," granting all of its members equal fundamental rights, and an "Open Society," offering the opportunity for advancement in accordance with the merit of the individual

(4, I, 188). It is an "Integrated Society" in which such usually independent social functions as politics, law, and economics are integrated by the "unbreakable bond" of religion (4, I, 188); and, it is a "Balanced Society," in which all values of human life, at the material as well as the spiritual level, are given proper consideration (4, I, 189). Islamic society, according to Ansari, is also "Idealistic," "Dynamic," "Progressive," and "Democratic" (4, I, 189-190). It is "Just," "Merciful," and "Altruistic," and it is an "Educated Society" in that the Prophet made the pursuit of education obligatory for every Muslim, man and woman (4, I, 190-191). Islamic society is a "Disciplined Society" in that its members must live within definite limits specified in the Qur'an, and it is a "Fraternal Society" in its insistence upon the "Brotherhood of the Believers" (4, I, 191).

As a "Humanitarian Society," Islamic society forbids its members to persecute non-Muslims and even enjoins Muslims to do good to non-Muslims unless the latter are in a state of active enmity (4, I, 191-192). Islamic society constantly stresses the necessity of relentless effort and hard work and is, therefore, an "Industrious Society" (4, I, 192). Because of the Qur'an's constant condemnation of the pleasures of worldly life, vain spending and waste,

and the love of wealth, Islamic society may be called an "Austere Society" (4, I, 192). Finally, Ansari states, Islamic society is a "Total Welfare Society." By "total welfare" the author refers to the spiritual, moral, political, and economic well-being of the members of society, not merely to their economic security, as the term "welfare" often implies (4, I, 192).

Ansari's generalizations on the traditional Islamic social structure present a somewhat idealized view; they do, however, indicate once again that the Islamic faith has been a major determinant of social values. In Saudi Arabia, many practices which non-Muslims would regard as voluntary, religious functions are socially-enforced obligations. These include fasting during the month of Ramadan, the giving of alms to the poor, and prayer. The Islamic faith is present in every aspect of daily life, and it is certainly the most significant single influence in the make-up of the Arabic social system.

After the Islamic faith, the institution which plays the most significant role in the Arabic social system is the family. The structure of the family is still quite strong in Saudi Arabia. The family constitutes a strong, cohesive unit, and it is customary for all sons, married

or unmarried, to remain with their father until his death. Resources are shared within the family, with all funds collected by father and sons placed at the disposal of all members of the family. Many families remain together even after the death of the father. Girls retain their father's name even after marriage, and in the event of the husband's death, or in case of divorce or separation, it is common for the daughter to return to her father's house.

One source states that "the individual's loyalty and duty to his family are greater than any other social obligation" (26, p. 80). Brothers normally remain closely involved in their sisters' affairs even after they are married, and the closeness of brothers in Saudi society is often noted. "Younger people are expected to take care of their elders, and this obligation is idealized as a pleasant one" (26, p. 80). Even distant relatives are always taken in for unlimited periods of time, and it is said that hotels are the poorest businesses in Saudi Arabia, since virtually every home has a guest room and guests are always welcome.

Certain forms of decorum are strictly observed within the family. Children are not allowed to participate in

conversations of adults unless they are specifically asked to do so. One never gives a command to an older person, and it is not permitted to speak while seated to an elder who is standing. A son is never permitted to smoke in the presence of his father, his teacher, or another elder, even if the older person smokes.

Family obligations and customs are extended to some degree beyond the immediate family to the more remote members of lineage and tribe. Even remote relatives are customarily given loyalty and assistance.

They are expected to lend money or food and clothing, to support each other's plans of action, to promote conciliation in cases of friction, to come to the rescue in case of need, to patronize each other's shops or services, and to charge less to one another than to outsiders (26, p. 80).

Although the Islamic family is mainly oriented around its male members, women occupy a unique place of importance in the family as in society, as will be discussed at length in a subsequent section. Men are viewed traditionally as the aggressive, initiative-taking members of the family and of the society, and male children are highly esteemed. Honor, which is largely a family matter in the Muslim world, rests largely upon the shoulders of the male members of the

family, although premarital chastity and marital fidelity of women are vital to the maintenance of family honor. The role of the male in the family and in society is of such importance, however, that in legal matters the testimony of one man is traditionally considered to be equal to that of two women (26, p. 80).

A final aspect of the traditional social structure of Saudi Arabia to be considered in detail, the fact that a large portion of the country's people, at least 50 per cent by one estimate (26, p. 61), are nomads or seminomads, must be mentioned at this time, although it will be considered in greater detail below. The traditional nomadic Bedouins-- Bedouin is a word derived from the Arabic word for desert and describes the nomadic tribesmen from North Africa, Arabia, and Syria--have played a role of immense importance in the formation and preservation of traditional Arabic culture. The Bedouins represent in a sense the last great stronghold of the traditional Arabic culture against the modern encroachment of Western material values.

The Bedouin culture, the Islamic faith and social structure--in short, the entire traditional way of life in Saudi Arabia--have in recent years undergone a veritable attack. As Long states, "In Saudi Arabia a traditional,

conservative Islamic society has suddenly been confronted with the full force of twentieth century Western technology and thought" (19, p. 12). The ability of the traditional Islamic culture, in Saudi Arabia in particular and in the Middle East in general, to resist this onslaught has been nothing short of phenomenal. Although rapid social change has occurred, the teachings of Islam have provided an effective safeguard for the society of Saudi Arabia, enabling it to retain the essence of its traditional values while at the same time adapting itself to the world of today and tomorrow.

In a time of rapid transition, the Islamic faith has remained unchanged, and it has become apparent that Saudi Arabia can achieve social progress best not by throwing off its traditional faith but rather by working within the context of the Islamic faith and the Islamic social system. The test of Islam's strength, of course, has been occasioned mainly by petroleum, which was discovered in the eastern part of Saudi Arabia in 1933 and which has come to be an inescapable challenge to the country's traditions and values.

"Oil dominates the economic life of Saudi Arabia," according to one authority (20, p. 9), and this is actually putting it mildly. The immensity of Saudi Arabia's petroleum

resources reaches astronomical figures, both in barrels of petroleum produced and in dollars. As early as 1959 the total production of crude oil in the country had reached 3,800,160,194 barrels, and as of the same date proven remaining recoverable reserves were estimated at approximately 38.6 billion barrels (23, p. 69). As of January 1, 1975, Saudi Arabian oil reserves were estimated at 164.5 billion barrels, some 27 per cent of the total reserves of the non-Communist world, and during 1974, Saudi Arabia's daily crude oil production was some 8.8 million barrels (20, p. 9). The total Arab world possesses proven oil reserves of 376.5 billion barrels (some 60 per cent of the total reserves of the non-Communist world, as compared with the 6 per cent of the total reserves possessed by the United States), and in 1974, daily production of the Arab countries was estimated at 19 million barrels, as compared with 12 million barrels in the United States (20, p. 9). As Nakhleh points out, "Oil revenues (approximately 95 per cent of total national revenues) have fueled Saudi Arabia's economic development programs and have impelled the current transition from a traditional tribal and feudal economy into a modern industrial nation" (20, p. 9).

Since the discovery of oil, change has been seen in virtually every sector of society. Before the arrival of the petroleum interests, Saudi Arabia was essentially a closed society, almost completely isolated from the world. As could be expected, the existence of oil has opened the country's doors to a wide variety of foreign influences. Both products and people from all parts of the world have poured into the country, creating a new society in some areas, bringing about profound changes in others. Changes came about not only because of the new wealth which entered the country, suddenly raising the standard of living of its people, but also because of the great influx of foreign workers needed to carry out the production of petroleum. The availability of jobs in the petroleum industry for Arabs also produced significant changes in the country's people, providing them with work experience in an entirely new field and giving them new skills and technical knowledge. New working skills, of course, were accompanied by changes in lifestyle, and new living habits have brought about alterations in certain traditional behavior. It should not be thought, however, that these changes in external living habits have in any way eroded the traditional Islamic foundations of the Saudi Arabian society.

Another fact which must be kept in mind if the truly transitional nature of Saudi Arabia is to be understood is that the country, with its current name and its current ruling family, is of relatively recent origin, dating in fact only from the early years of our century. Modern Saudi Arabian history may be said to begin in 1902, when Abdul Aziz al-Saud, often known as Ibn Saud, recovered the city of Riyadh from the rival house of Ar-Rashidis of Hail, establishing the Saud family as the rulers at Riyadh, now the political capital of the kingdom. Ibn Saud succeeded in ejecting the Turkish garrisons from Hasa, and he soon expanded his kingdom westward to the Red Sea, gaining ascendancy over Hijaz, where the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, are located. In 1927, Britain granted full acknowledgement to the new status of Ibn Saud in the treaty of Jedda, proclaiming him King of the Hijaz and Najed and its Dependencies. In September of 1932, a royal decree changed the name of his realm to The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The kingdom at this time was a union of villages, towns, and tribes united by loyalty to the Saud family (26, pp. 33-40).

When Ibn Saud died in 1953, he was succeeded by his eldest son, who ruled until 1964 as King Saud. King Saud

inherited a far wealthier kingdom than had his father, owing to increased production of oil following its discovery in 1933, "the most far-reaching event in the modern history of the country" (26, p. 40). In 1933, Ibn Saud had granted a broad concession for oil exploration and production to Standard Oil of California, renamed in 1944 the Arabian American Oil Company, or Aramco (5, p. 111). Although the first Saudi Arabian well began production in 1938, large amounts of foreign capital did not begin to enter the country until large-scale production started after World War II (26, p. 40). Although Aramco crude oil production surpassed a million barrels a day by 1958 (20, p. 12), the financial situation of the country under King Saud was far from prosperous.

As absolute monarch, King Saud used the rapidly increasing oil revenues for his official obligations, for financing the small governmental structure, for his personal requirements and the expenses of the large royal household and for maintaining charitable and religious institutions, making gifts to the tribes, and living up to the Arab tradition of almost boundless generosity and hospitality (26, p. 43).

By early 1958, the country's financial position was precarious because of deficit spending, and the exchange value of the riyal, Saudi Arabia's monetary unit, was in rapid decline in the world market.

In 1964, the reins of government shifted to the

able hands of Crown Prince Faisal, who ruled as King Faisal until his assassination in March 1975, when the country's present ruler, King Khalid, succeeded him. Under King Faisal, Saudi Arabia greatly increased in power and prestige among the nations of the world. Under his rule, the country's finances were put in order and increasingly beneficial agreements with foreign oil firms were negotiated. Most important, the standard of living of the people of Saudi Arabia improved at a surprising pace under Faisal's rule, and relations with the powers of the world, in the West as well as in the East, were greatly improved. Sparrow calls Faisal's reign a "success story" and describes his government as "practical, patriotic, and acutely aware of the necessity of progress" (23, p. 32).

Contemporary Saudi Arabia under King Khalid continues to be a country of progress and rapid transition. Its success will depend not only on the wisdom and capability of its ruler, it will depend mainly upon the success of its educational programs in preparing its people for the modern, rapidly changing world (17, p. 80, 200).

The great progress made toward modernization in Saudi Arabia during the twentieth century was aided in no small way by the patience and wisdom of Ibn Saud in dealing with

his people's ignorance of the modern world. Saudis resisted change, and Ibn Saud had the wisdom to introduce innovations in a gradual and acceptable fashion. Saudis viewed such modern inventions as the motorcar and the airplane as creations of the devil, and the first automobile brought into the country was burned by the people. The camera, the gramophone, the cinema, and the telephone were viewed with equal suspicion and hostility. The King's introduction of the telephone is indicative of his gentle yet firm and decisive approach to education.

To overcome the people's fears that the telephone was an instrument of the devil and that the voice which came from it was the voice of the devil, Ibn Saud ordered a well-known person of the day to recite a chapter of the Qur'an by telephone. The King then asked if it were possible for the devil to recite the Qur'an, and many of the people's fears regarding the telephone were put to rest. He used similar tact in the introduction of the radio, which was also regarded with great suspicion, and was able to open a local broadcasting station in spite of great opposition from many of his subjects.

The introduction of the technological knowledge and skills necessary for the production of petroleum has presented,

of course, a formidable challenge to the country's leaders. When Aramco started its operations in Saudi Arabia, it was necessary to bring in large numbers of skilled technicians from the United States and other Western nations to work with the limited number of educated and experienced personnel available in the Middle East. This was a solution of limited success, for the company soon learned that it was very difficult for its imported employees to adapt themselves to the heat of the Arabian desert. Moreover, bringing in workers from abroad was very costly. To meet this problem, Aramco established its own training program for the purpose of preparing Saudi workers in the skills necessary for oil production. Native workers trained by Aramco were assured a good salary and, more significantly, a working schedule flexible enough not to conflict with their religious practices and customs. For example, during the month of Ramadan the company modified the working conditions to accommodate them by reducing the workday from eight to six hours; the company also allowed Muslim employees time off in order to make the pilgrimage. Other benefits offered by the oil company, such as the provision of homes and medical services, have made work in the oil industry attractive to many Saudis who formerly considered working with their hands demeaning.

Wealth from petroleum has, of course, enabled Saudia Arabia to open an entire new chapter in its history. Many aspects of its economy, for example, have changed radically. Before 1938, the principal resources of the country were livestock, date palms, and income from pilgrims. Petroleum, as was noted above, now accounts for 95 per cent of the country's gross national product. Services have been created where none existed before, and existing institutions have been greatly expanded. Free education has been initiated throughout the country, free medical services are now provided, and modern highways now connect all parts of the country. Riyadh, the capital, is now joined by rail with the eastern part of the country.

The people have changed also. Sons of conservative Saudis who opposed the radio, the television, and the telephone now work in the oil fields in order to purchase these items. There is now order in areas where chaos and insecurity existed. Fifty years ago travellers were constantly in fear of attack by Bedouin brigands, and even pilgrims en route to perform their religious obligation were often robbed or killed. There was constant intertribal conflict, raiding for livestock, looting, fighting over grazing areas and water, and frequently large-scale slaughtering of enemy

tribes. These areas of former disorder have now been brought under control.

While change and reform have been dynamic in certain areas, tradition has prevailed in others. For example, the traditional Islamic law, with its "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" severity remains intact. Adultery is punished by stoning to death (of both offenders), and the death penalty is assessed for both rape and murder. The punishment for theft is both severe and effective: the right hand is cut off as punishment for the first offense, and the left leg is cut off for the second; for the third offense, the left hand is cut off, and for the fourth offense, the right leg. Punishment is carried out in public in order to serve as a lesson for the community (4, pp. 387-388).

Other aspects of the traditional Islamic social system unaffected by the influx of wealth are the general attitude toward the family and the feeling of brotherhood among Muslims. The aged, the ill, orphans, widows, and the handicapped are cared for by their families. The traditional virtues of hospitality and generosity also remain unchanged. Although money is more plentiful, generosity goes beyond the financial to include the offering of courtesies and services to others. Wealth has, in fact, its obligations in terms of traditional

generosity: "The wealthy man is expected to redistribute his gains through aid to the family, alms, and other activities for the good of the community. Hospitality and charity are duties toward relatives and strangers alike" (26, p. 81).

In spite of the pressures of immense wealth and the rapid influx of foreign ideas and customs, Saudi Arabia's rulers have skillfully succeeded in maintaining the integrity of the traditional Islamic way of life. King Faisal wisely saw that the faith must not be sacrificed, for faith is what binds the people together as a brotherhood; he saw that modernity was a reality to be achieved, but not through the sacrifice of the essential strength of the traditional Islamic society (23, p. 32). The Saudi government has moved with speed yet with prudence, adopting and integrating the best from the outside world while preserving the best of its own.

On major area in which Saudi leaders have sought to replace the old with the new is the literacy level of the people. In this area, the goals of the modern world and of the traditional Islamic world are the same. Reading and learning, as stated in the previous section, were prized and even commanded by the Prophet; to the modern

Arab, the ability to read is becoming more a necessity than an advantage.

"The rapid advance of Saudi Arabia is seen at its most startling in the field of education " (23, p. 73). While the full story of the amazing advances which have been made in education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia during recent years remains to be examined in a later chapter, it should be emphasized here that vast amounts of governmental planning and resources have been dedicated to the rapid expansion of the educational system and the eradication of illiteracy. It should be emphasized also that the traditional Islamic society provides a fertile field for the flowering of the government's educational policies, for learning is, as Sparrow writes, ". . . in accordance with Islamic tradition and the correct interpretation of the Koran" (23, p. 73). Moreover, the rapid advances in technology provide additional stimuli for the spread of literacy and education, for reasons too numerous and too obvious to mention. Finally, the presence of great wealth in the nation is another factor which greatly enhances the position of education and literacy.

The country's vast petroleum wealth advances the position of education in two ways. First, it provides incentive for learning, since high-paying jobs are available

for those who read, far more often than for those who do not. Secondly, petroleum wealth has provided the government with the means to put its educational aims into practice; education is often an expensive commodity, and Saudi Arabia, because of its mineral wealth and the wise use of its resources, has been able to afford it.

The Roles of Saudi Arabian Men and Women

It would be a great mistake to accept the frequent Western stereotype of the Muslim woman as a veiled, submissive creature who exists only for her husband's pleasures. The question of the equality of men and women, Abdalati argues, is not a problem in the Islamic world.

The status of woman in Islam constitutes no problem. The attitude of the Qur'an and the early Muslims bear witness to the fact that woman is, at least, as vital to life as man himself, and that she is not inferior to him nor is she one of the lower species. Had it not been for the impact of foreign cultures and alien influences, this question would never have arisen among Muslims. The status of woman was taken for granted to be equal to that of man. It was a matter of course, a matter of fact, and no one, then, considered it as a problem at all (1, p. 184).

While it is true that Islamic society has traditionally been a "man's world" in the sense that men alone have engaged in business pursuits and have exercised certain freedoms of movement and social intercourse forbidden to

women, the roles of both men and women have their advantages and their limitations.

Traditionally, woman's role in the Saudi world has centered exclusively on the home. Social contact with men outside the home is forbidden. In the intimacy of the home, however, woman enjoys not only great freedom but authority in many respects far greater than that enjoyed by Western women. The wife's role may be defined as that of serving and obeying her husband and serving her children and caring for them; yet if such a role has meant restrictions on the lives of women, it has nevertheless brought remarkable strength to the family unit of Islamic countries. Within the family unit, woman's role has traditionally been a very strong one.

Life in Saudi Arabia revolves around the extended family, with brothers, uncles, cousins, children, and their immediate families often living together in large housing compounds. In this milieu, home life is dominated by the woman. If a husband has a quarrel with his wife, he must contend not only with her but with her sisters, his sisters, their aunts, their mothers, and if he has taken a second wife (a practice now largely dying out), she will generally side with the first wife against him. In short, although Saudi women are relegated to the home, they wield considerable power there (19, p. 15).

From the time of the Prophet, women have enjoyed a unique place in the Islamic world. Will Durant pointed out in The Age of Faith that Mohammed did much to improve woman's place in society.

. . . He improved the position of woman He allowed women to come to the mosque, but believed that "their homes are better for them"; yet when they came to his services he treated them kindly even if they brought suckling babes: if, says an amiable tradition, he heard a child cry, he would shorten his sermon lest the mother be inconvenienced. He put an end to the Arab practice of (feminine) infanticide. . . . He placed woman on the same footing with man in legal processes and in financial independence; she might follow any legitimate profession, keep her earnings, inherit property, and dispose of her belongings at will. . . . He abolished the Arab custom of transmitting women as property from father to son. Women were to inherit half as much as the male heirs, and were not to be disposed of against their will . . . (11, p. 180).

There can be no doubt that Islam elevated the position of woman above that of the pre-Islamic era, when feminine infanticide was practiced and men could take as many wives as they wished and divorce them at will. The fact that Islam did not abolish the practice of polygamy but rather limited a man to no more than four wives is in itself an excellent example of the practical nature of Islamic law.

The Qur'anic passage relevant to the subject of polygamy (3, 4:3) was revealed to the Prophet after the Battle of Uhud in which many Muslims were killed. Many widows and orphans were left behind to be cared for by the survivors, and marriage was a rapid and efficient way of providing care for these widows and orphans (9, p. 53). It should be noted that the Qur'anic passage permitted but did not encourage polygamy, that it permitted it only in the event that the man could deal fairly and equally with each of his wives, and that it was regarded as an emergency measure rather than the normal condition of life. It is often pointed out that polygamy is the most practical and by far the most humane solution to the problem of the preponderance of females after wars. Although Western society rejects polygamy as immoral, the most common Western solution to the problem is prostitution (4, pp. 197-199).

Polygamy is also a practical solution in cases of childless marriages or marital incompatibility, where Westerners might resort to divorce or infidelity, and in situations where a large number of offspring are desired. Whatever the merits of polygamy, it is not nearly as widespread a custom as most Westerners believe, and it is

definitely on the decline, because of the expense involved in supporting multiple wives, if for no other reason.

Other Islamic practices which seem discriminatory toward woman on the surface often reveal themselves as practical and useful customs upon closer examination. A case in point is the practice of veiling. Muslim women wear the hijab, or black veil, when they go out in public or when in the company of men other than their husbands or fathers. Rather than an inconvenience, the wearing of the veil serves as a real and symbolic protection of modesty and privacy. The veil does not signify seclusion or withdrawal, but it does offer protection from the eyes of the curious. In a more practical vein, the hijab preserves a woman's beauty by protecting her skin from the hot Arabian sun (15, p. 90). Although the practice of veiling is recommended in the Qur'an, there is no penalty for failure to follow it. It is customary for Saudi girls to begin wearing the veil at age nine, although this and other customs regarding veiling are not as strictly observed as they once were, and one writer observes that "it will probably not be very long before the veil, one of the most visible vestiges of the traditional way of life, begins to disappear" (19, p. 15).

The gradual phasing out of the Hijab may well stand as a symbol for the changing role of women in Saudi Arabian society. Factors such as travel to other countries, expanded education of women, the need for women in the labor force, and the general exposure to foreign elements within the country cannot help but effect changes in the traditional role of women. It is already quite apparent that social life in Saudi Arabia, once segregated by sexes, with the husband having his circle of male friends and the wife associating almost entirely with other women, is undergoing significant modification. It is probably in the area of education that the changing role of women is most apparent (19, p. 15).

In 1960, a Royal Decree recognized for the first time in the nation's history the formal education of women. From that date the education of women, "the second half of the nation," has received increasing priority in the country's planning, for it is felt that the Kingdom's move toward modernization cannot attain its full potential without the participation of women. An Arabian maxim states, "If you educate a man, you educate one individual, but if you educate a woman, you educate a family." The wisdom of this maxim stems from the fact that an educated woman will teach

those around her--her mother, her brothers and sisters, and other members of the household--while a man, occupied with his business interests, makes use of his learning but has no time to pass it on to others.

The emergence of women in Saudi Arabia is indicated by the fact that most of the country's newspapers now devote special columns and pages to topics of interest to women. In the broadcasting industry, not only are many programs aimed at female audiences but women now play an active role in the creation and production of programs. Saudi women are now heard on the radio where only a short time ago only non-Saudi women participated, since it was believed that appearing on the radio violated the traditional rules of modesty.

While in certain areas women have gained total "emancipation" in the Western sense, in a far greater number of situations participation of women has been more limited. While Saudi women participate freely in some professional areas, teaching, for example, only the most liberal families allow their daughters to enter into others, nursing and social work, for example. There remain some strictly forbidden areas where women never seek jobs. These include most notably the political and judicial professions.

There are other areas of modern life in which women do not participate. For example, no woman in Saudi Arabia, either Saudi or foreign, is seen driving an automobile. Similarly, many customs which seem to discriminate against women seem unlikely to yield in the foreseeable future to the pressures of modernization. Such a custom is that of arranged marriages. Traditionally, marriages are negotiated by the girl's parents, and the future husband is expected to provide a dowry. The marriage may be arranged without the bride's having seen her future husband, although she must be told the essential details about him--how he looks, what his job is--and Islam has always granted her the right to accept or reject the marriage. The practice of arranged marriages has served Saudi Arabia well, and it seems unlikely that such a successful and honored system will be lightly thrown aside. The Islamic system of marriage provides advantages to women unknown in the West: "A Muslim wife retains her distinct individuality even after marriage, and she never assumes her husband's name. Coverture has no place in the marriage of Islam" (13, p. 104). It should be noted in passing that divorce under the Islamic system is also far less traumatic for women than in Western countries. Although divorce is far less common than in the West, it

does not involve a complicated process, and divorces take place privately, without a great deal of fuss and scandal.

It would be an error to assume that an essential aim of the rapidly expanding educational opportunities for women is the emancipation of women from the confinements of the Islamic social structure. The education of women in Saudi Arabia is designed to fit within the framework of the traditional Islamic society, and it should reinforce that framework rather than undermine and weaken it. The place of woman in Saudi Arabian society is already a strong one. As Abdalati points out, "The status of woman in Islam is unprecedentedly high and realistically suitable for her nature. Her rights and duties are equal to those of man but not necessarily or absolutely identical with them" (1, p. 191).

Other Muslim societies whose educational systems have promoted unrestricted emancipation of women from the traditional limitations and advantages of Islam have paid a heavy price. Such emancipation has invariably resulted in the weakening of the family structure. In spite of their education achievements, such women have proven to be less successful as housewives, wives, and mothers. Since women have been traditionally the backbone of the family unit, any weakening of their

traditional roles has had a weakening effect on the foundations of the social structure. Weakening of the family unit has resulted in increased rates of divorce and immorality.

The education of women in Saudi Arabia is designed to strengthen the country's basic Islamic social structure. If one accepts the role of women as defined only by the traditional system and the Qur'an, the education of the country's women must prepare them to fulfill their traditional role as focal point of the family unit as well as possible. In meeting this conservative tradition, the education of women must enhance rather than detract from the strength of the family, which is seen as the basis of Saudi Arabian society.

The Role of the Bedouins

One of the persistent obstacles to modernization and the propagation of literacy and education in Saudi Arabia has been the large Bedouin population of the country. The Bedouins are in many respects the purest of the Arabs, the most traditional, and consequently the most reluctant to change. They are fiercely proud of their heritage and their independent way of life, often celebrated in poetry and in stories.

The Bedouins are basically contemptuous of the life-style of the Hadari, or settled Arabs, and have traditionally rejected attempts to draw them into the mainstream of the economy. They consider such traditional ways of earning money as agriculture and crafts to be demeaning, and they reject as too confining all but the most portable of material possessions. Living in tents in the deserts, they raise camels, sheep, and goats. Their lives are spent in continual migration in pursuit of water and pasture. Bands of related families usually camp and migrate together (26, p. 50).

The migratory way of life has had its effect on the Bedouins' scorn for the written language. Though illiterate, Bedouins can customarily trace their tribal ancestry back many generations. They often retain by memory tremendous stores of knowledge about their history; they often know by heart many stories and lengthy poems as well as short sections of the Qur'an. Although illiterate, the Bedouins have long been known for their love of the language and their poetic talents.

The nomad jealously nurtured his language as his single unalienable good. By nature he was, and is, a rhetorician. The poet, the man of eloquence, was prized almost above all others in the community. His gifts and powers, believed to have been inspired by spirits, had already evolved a complex art form. Poets sang of their

lives, loves and land, but they also served as promulgators of the virtues and merits of their own tribes (17, pp. 114-115).

In addition to poetic talents, the nomadic desert Arabs are known for the simplicity of their lifestyle. They are often praised for their sense of justice, their endurance, and their austerity. Generosity and hospitality are frequently mentioned Bedouin traits, and urban Arab families sometimes send their young to live for a time among the desert nomads ". . . in order to learn the lore of the Bedouin and to absorb the positive values of living in a simple society in the purity of the desert with the camels" (10, p. 53). The simplicity of the Bedouin is typified by his diet, which consists mainly of milk from the camels, sheep, and goats, as well as the main food item of virtually all Arabs, dates. Bedouins eat little meat, locust occasionally, and fish almost never. The Bedouin sense of hospitality is so strong that a guest is entertained at all costs; it is said that an impoverished Bedouin will serve a guest his own camel if no other food is available.

With virtually all of their income dependent upon the production of livestock, the basic problem of the Bedouins has traditionally been that of pasture and water. They are essentials in their way of life and form the axis of

their activities. The Bedouins are economically self-sufficient for the most part, obtaining most of their needed food, clothing, and shelter from their animals; in the past other sources of income were available to them, such as raids on travelers and neighbors, but these activities have been curtailed and their activities today are confined to the raising of livestock. The small amounts of cash that they need are obtained from work in the cities and the oil camps, and especially from their salaries as members of the Reserve National Guard (10, p. 27). The Bedouins perform an important service to the Kingdom by providing virtually the entire membership of the Reserve National Guard force, and in turn the National Guard unit often serves as a focus of tribal life and a major information center. The National Guard also pays each member a salary of approximately 450 riyals (about \$130) per month and has become, therefore, a major source of income for the Saudi Arabian nomads (10, pp. 97-98).

As with other segments of Saudi Arabian society, the push toward modernization has left its imprint on the Bedouin way of life. Many formerly nomadic tribes are learning the advantages of a more settled existence. In

the nomadic society of Wadi Fatima, for example, Katakura found three basic groups of Bedouins:

(1) the Nomadic Bedouins, whose lives depend exclusively upon their camels, sheep, and goats, and who spend most of the year wandering from place to place in search of water and pasture;

(2) the Semi-nomadic Bedouins, who now depend much less on camels but upon agriculture to an increasing degree, and who sometimes work in the cities part of the year in order to supplement their income; and,

(3) the Settled Bedouins, who live in villages or hamlets with a permanent mosque, hiring other Bedouins to care for their animals while they themselves engage primarily in agricultural activity for their livelihood (16, p. 52).

Governmental programs for modernization of the country would ideally move more Bedouins from the Nomadic category to the Settled. From the point of the country's overall economic needs, a significant shift must be made from pastoralism to agriculture. As recently as 1965, however, herding provided a livelihood for approximately 50 per cent of the population (26, p. 213), although the need for camels, the main product of these herdsmen, continues to

decline. It was estimated that in 1965, 200,000 to 300,000 pastoralists were true nomads who herded camels over hundreds of miles of desert tribal districts (26, p. 213). These figures demonstrate the magnitude of the problems from both the economic and the educational points of view.

The problem of resettlement of the Bedouins in an agricultural setting is not a new one for the Saudi government. A series of early resettlement programs which go back some fifty years have met with little positive response from the Bedouins, who have traditionally regarded farming as demeaning. The most ambitious attempt at resettlement of the nomads was instigated in the early 1960s by the late King Faisal and called the King Faisal Settlement Project. The objectives of this project can be summarized as follows:

- (1) creation of work opportunities for large numbers of Bedouins in order to improve their economic and social level,

- (2) achievement of national self-sufficiency in the field of agriculture in order to enable the Kingdom to meet the food requirements of the population,

- (3) development of available natural resources such as fresh underground water and rich soil in order to increase production,

(4) training of the largest possible number of Saudi citizens in the field of agriculture,

(5) initiation of agricultural research and utilization of the results for the improvement of the nation's agriculture (18, pp. 92-93).

Although this project has had its impact upon the traditional nomadic habits of the Bedouins, much more effort is needed. Time is also needed, for customs that have been practiced over the course of many centuries cannot be changed immediately simply by the creation of new government policies. Economic incentives, of course, have had their effect.

Though the value structure has been shown to be somewhat responsive to economic changes, it also has been observed to affect the pattern of economic development. It is likely that their attitudes toward certain kinds of work might be changed gradually, in the same way that many are now engaged in farming, instead of being nomads. Their desire for cash, for security, and for material luxuries offered by the cities could not be overlooked by their practical minds. . . . However, we cannot simply conclude that the economic needs of Bedouins will transform the social aspects of their life into the "modern" ones which are often identified as "Western" (16, p. 168).

Even though economic incentives have proven to be a motivational force in any society, other forces are necessary. Katakura notes that a major role in the

modernization of Bedouin lifestyle must be played by education, a force which can broaden the Bedouin's view of the world and erode his strong sense of belonging only to his own tribe (16, pp. 168-169). Education at present seems to be making increasingly important inroads into the traditional Bedouin way of life. Bedouins are becoming increasingly interested in having their children take advantage of the free educational opportunities offered by the government; open-minded Bedouin leaders are realizing the important role that can be played by education in the improvement of the lives of their tribesmen.

Although progress is being made in educating Bedouin children, many obstacles remain. One of these is the instability of the nomadic tribesmen, who move too often to allow their children to attend school regularly. Other obstacles to Bedouin education include the lack of full and reliable census information, and the attitude of teachers, both Saudi and foreign, toward working in the villages and deserts when more desirable positions are available in the large urban areas. Bedouin children are being sent to study in villages, but this means separation from their families and entrance into an often hostile school environment with town children who often consider their Bedouin classmates to be poor and dirty (10, p. 142).

It should be noted once again that great progress has been made into the country's effort to integrate the Bedouins, a very large part of its population, into the mainstream of modern society; however, much remains to be done.

Earlier in this chapter the question was raised of why the Islamic society of Saudi Arabia, which has traditionally placed so high a premium on scholarship, has been able to teach so few of its people to read and write. Why have so few Muslims been able to follow the Prophet's command to seek knowledge at all costs? After examining the particular problems presented by such groups as the Bedouins and the female population, a few answers to these questions might be suggested.

The nomadic lifestyle of the Bedouins and the secluded role of women have created natural obstacles to the spread of literacy among them. Among the Saudi population as a whole, general conditions of life have slowed the spread of literacy. These include a long history of extreme poverty and the accompanying problem of hunger and poor nutrition. When a large percentage of the population is engaged in an arduous struggle for mere subsistence, learning to read definitely becomes a problem of secondary importance.

Likewise, until recent times, political instability has been a major impediment to the spread of literacy. Living in a state of constant war and political turmoil is definitely not conducive to education. Finally, the Saudi's talent for retention of poems, legends, and sacred texts by memory has probably proven an obstacle to the development of reading skills. If one knows the Qur'an by heart, why bother to learn to read it?

The problems described above have been largely erased. With the discovery of oil, ample funds are now available both to provide for the basic needs of the country's people and to educate them as well. The present government has provided a stable, orderly social structure in which education can flourish. Finally, the rise of technology and the incentive to seek higher paying jobs have created a need for the acquisition of reading skills in spite of the oral literary tradition.

Although it is clear that all of Saudi Arabia's educational problems have not been solved, it is equally evident that many of the traditional obstacles to widespread literacy have now been removed. It is hoped that the spread of education, that vital first step in the Kingdom's overall modernization, can be achieved with minimal damage to

the country's traditional Islamic society and faith, that the best of the past can be welded with the best of the present. The following chapters will examine these problems and their possible solutions in greater detail.

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CHAPTER III

PERSPECTIVES ON READING, LANGUAGE, MATERIALS, AND RESOURCES

The Arabic Language

Arabic is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world. It is spoken by approximately 120 million people in the Middle East and North Africa.

The Arabian American Oil Corporation (Aramco) states in its official handbook, "Arabic is one of the Semitic languages which are believed to be descended from a common mother tongue called Proto-Semitic" (10, p. 240). Arabic is, in fact, the only Semitic language to survive as a living language, having remained intact for the past fourteen hundred years.

The influence of this language has been immense. Arabic influence can be seen in the Turkish, Swahili, Malay and Urdu languages as well as, and perhaps most significantly, in Persian. There also exists a strong Arabic-Romance connection which can most readily be seen in the Spanish language.

There are three types of Arabic: 1) Classical Arabic, or the language of pre-Islam and the Qur'an, 2) Modern Arabic, which is common to all Arabic-speaking countries and cultures and is based on the classical form of the language, and 3) spoken or colloquial Arabic, which consists of a large number of dialects.

Classical Arabic is defined as being that form of the Arabic language found in the Qur'an, the sayings of the Prophet and the Muslim scholars, pre-Islamic poetry, and grammatical studies conducted during the early Islamic period. Because of the intense Islamic-Arabic relationship, an understanding of Islam is necessary before the social, cultural, and political impact of Classical Arabic can be completely understood (28, pp. 7-9).

The core of the Islamic religion is the Qur'an, considered by that faith to be the last revealed word of God. Within Islam, the Qur'an is believed to have been revealed to the prophet Mohammed in Arabic over a period of twenty-three years, beginning in the year 610 A.D. These revelations are further believed to have been transmitted through the angel Gabriel.

The work known in Arabic as "Al Qur'an," or "The Reading," consists of one hundred and fourteen chapters, about

the same length as the Christian New Testament. It serves as the basis for social justice, economics, legislation, politics, international relations, jurisprudence, and any other form of social interaction among the true believers of Islam.

According to Muslim belief, the prophet Mohammed was a simple unlettered man who could not read or write. This fact in Muslim teachings reinforces the belief that the Qur'an, as revealed to Mohammed, was an inspired work. By Muslim teachings, it is beyond the capacity of mortals to imitate the exact style or encompass the exact content of the Qur'an. Therefore, the religion and the language support each other, the language serving as the base for communicating the religion, the religion as the base for all social interaction, and the social interaction requiring the language for communication.

The Qur'an was originally a memorized work. Mohammed's followers set it down in written form after the death of the Prophet. The written form used for this recording of the core beliefs of the Islamic faith has become known as Classical Arabic. It is the standard by which all other writings are judged. It is, as well, the language in which social conduct is dictated. Thus, the Islamic Arab world

is unique in being bound together by both religion and language, neither of which has changed since the inception of the standard.

The government of Saudi Arabia has always assumed the responsibility for the care of the Qur'an and can thereby be considered the caretaker of Classical Arabic. Everywhere within the country prayers are performed five times a day in accordance with Islamic law. Moreover, the Arabic language, from the perspective of Islam, is the only proper medium through which the sacred word of God can be revealed. Within the Islamic world every attempt to translate the Qur'an into another language has been deemed inadequate or has been found to result in a loss of the exact meaning of the text. In an effort to fulfill its self-assigned obligation to the faith, the government of Saudi Arabia has established a number of institutions for studies of the Holy Qur'an. A monthly allowance is paid to those who attend these schools where the Qur'an is highly emphasized in the curriculum at all levels. In the same vein, the two radio stations and six television stations, all government-owned, open with a recitation from the Qur'an and a religious feature. Programming is concluded in a similar fashion.

To the Muslim the strength of the Arabic language lies in the Qur'an. It is his belief that the Arabic-speaking world will continue on a path of strength that will allow it to meet the challenges of the new age through Islam. To this end the quote, "We have sent down the remembrances and we will assuredly guard it," from the Qur'an (6, 15:9), is most in keeping with the style of the Islamic belief. To assume, however, that Arabic is totally a "religious" language would be a grave error. The Muslim world, using the classical form of the language, has made significant contributions in the areas of mathematics and science. The classical form is also the mainstay of communication between the various Arab nations.

George Sarton, Associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C., and editor of Isis, points to the important contributions made by those of the Arab language.

Indeed for a period extending from the middle of the eighth century to the end of the eleventh, the Arabic language was the main vehicle of progress and culture. Even today any Arabic-speaking man who wishes to pursue scientific investigation is obliged to first of all obtain a sufficient knowledge of one of the leading western languages; even so, during those centuries, the shortest road to up-to-date information in any scientific field was the study of Arabic (38, p. 334).

Pierce Butler, writing as a Professor of Library Science at the University of Chicago, offers further testimony to the contributions of Arabic. In his essay, "Fifteenth Century Editions of Arabic Authors in Latin Translation," he maintains,

No historical student of the culture of western Europe can ever reconstruct for himself the intellectual values of the latter Middle Ages unless he possesses a vivid awareness of Islam looming in the background. . . As a matter of course, every student of history knows that Muslim scholarship contributed positively to the development of western culture, but he knows this usually only as a general truth and because competent authority has so stated it (12, p. 63).

Professor Butler then goes about detailing an impressive list of scientific and philosophical works which were transcribed from their original Arabic into Latin for the benefit of Medieval scholars during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He carefully points out that many later translations can be found not only in the romance languages but also in German.

Arabic may therefore be regarded in some circles as a forgotten European language, although this speculation may provide more debate for historians than for teachers of language. Another matter of side interest is the fact

that the oldest Spanish poetry is written in Arabic script and kept in the archives in Cairo.

To the Western eye and ear, Arabic may at first be confusing, for it uses a set of symbols entirely different from those of the European languages. The Arabic alphabet consists of twenty-eight letters. These change shape according to where they are positioned: at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a word. There are nine basic Arabic sounds which differ fundamentally from any existing sounds in English. They are the following: z, t, d, s, x, y, h, q, and ʔ. The language is written from right to left in a cursive script. All consonants may occur initially, medially, or finally, and may be doubled. The short vowel sounds of a, i, and u are not indicated except in the Qur'an.

Like all other languages of the Semitic group, Arabic has an outstanding characteristic--in this case, the root system. Almost the entire vocabulary of Arabic is ultimately based on and derived from a number of consonants which form the root. For example, ktb is a root which has a concept associated with it and a meaning that can be expressed by an internal vowel variation. Therefore, the active verb kataba, "he wrote," can be changed to the passive verb kutiba, "it

was written," and the singular noun kitab, "book," can be changed to the plural kutub, "books." Continuing, katib is "one who writes," while maktab means "the office or desk."

Arabic calligraphy has been developed throughout history. The main types of Arabic script which are still used for various purposes are kūfī, the naskhī, the thuluth, the rayhānī, the dīwānī, the fārisī, the maghribī, and the ruq'ah which is commonly used for everyday handwriting, government documents, newspapers, books, and so forth. The Arabic script is a cursive one (13, pp. 28-30).

To date, there has been no effort on the part of the government of Saudi Arabia to replace Classical Arabic with the colloquial language although Modern Arabic is used in radio, television, and newspapers. This idea of using more colloquial language has been suggested, however, in other Arabic-speaking countries such as Egypt and Lebanon.

Modern Arabic is the result of a number of factors, not the least of which have been modern warfare, World War II, the development of rapid communication and transportation, and the enormous economic growth of many Arab countries due to the export of mineral resources. The modern age has brought with it new products and technology which touch every sector of life in the Arabic-speaking world. The

language has therefore been challenged to meet the needs of the modern speaker. The answer to that challenge has been Modern Arabic. This language, which when spoken can have tremendous dialectical differences, has had to assimilate rapidly the more worldly concepts of the twentieth century (40, pp. 1, 11-12).

It should be noted that one of the more remarkable aspects of Modern Arabic, or "Standard Arabic," as it is sometimes known, is that a prime factor resulting in its existence did not occur until 1938, with the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia. That event was closely followed by the influx of men, machines, and technology for use in what is commonly referred to as World War II.

According to B. Hunter Smeaton, formerly a linguist and field researcher for Aramco, the first Standard Arabic appeared in Arab culture on the pages of Egyptian newspapers, periodicals, and via the radio airwaves. He continues, in his dissertation entitled Lexical Expansion Due to Technical Changes, to say, "It (Standard Arabic) also intruded directly on the scene in the form of company reports, bulletins, memoranda and posters. . . . These influences, though still affecting only a minority, are nevertheless persistent and cumulative" (39, p. 9).

To exemplify the way that Arabic has adapted itself to the new vocabulary of this century, the words "film" and "bank" are provided. These two words are used in their original forms during singular usage. When used in the plural form, however, they are given Modern Arabic plurals, aflam and b'nook.

Grammatically, Classical Arabic and Modern Arabic have the same structure, with very little modification occurring on the part of the former. Thus, Modern Arabic can be read and understood by literate Arabs in virtually every Arabic-speaking country. Educated people on formal occasions employ the standard literary form by utilizing classical grammar and vocabulary. They also incorporate a great number of quotations from the Qur'an and classical literature into the conversation. Particular prestige is placed upon the ability to weave such quotations into conversation, and such an ability is considered a gift.

Modern Arabic, in order to meet the modern age, has Arabized or assimilated many foreign words into its vocabulary. Most of these words do not have exact counterparts in Arabic. The following is a partial listing of such words (*39, pp. 61-76).

Loan Words	Singular	Plural
air conditioner	kendēyśan	kendēyśanat
ampere	* ʔanbair	ʔanbairat
antenna	ʔental	ʔenatil
April	ʔabreel	
aspirin	ʔasbru-ʔasbrain	
balcony	bālākoonāh	bālākoonāt
bank	bank	b'nook
barrel	bārmal	bāremal
battery	* baṭṭāriyyah	baṭṭaryyāt
cable	kāybol	
carton	kartoon	kārātēyn
cement	sment	
channel	qānāl	
chocolate	śiyklaītah	
cigarette	sāgarah	sagayer
classic	klāsiyki	
coat	* kūt	ʔakwāt
concrete	* kānkri	
cylinder	sliyndār	sliyndarrāt
diesel	* dīzal	
differential	* difrans	

Loan Words (cont'd.)	Singular	Plural
doctor	duktoor	dākāttrah
drill	* drail	
drum	* dram	dramāt
dynamite	* dāināmāit	
film	film	aflam
fuse	* fyūz	
garage	gārās	gārašāt
gear	* gair	
grease	* griz	
helicopter	hiylūkābttar	
gas	* gazz	
jeep	ǵaib	ǵuyūb
kilo	kīlū	kilūwāt
kilometer	kīlūmetter	kilūmettrāt
lamp	lāmbāh	lāmbātt
meter	mīyter	ʔamtar
microphone	miykrofoon	miykrofoonāt
motor	* mūtur	mawātir
petrol	bīytrool	
pencil	* bansil	banāsīl
plastic	blāstik	

Loan Words (cont'd.)	Singular	Plural
radio	rādīy-rādū	rāwādēy
rice	* rūz	
sandwich	sāndwiš	
shovel	* šāiwal	šayāwil
spare	* sbair	
studio	* stōdū	stōdūhāt
switch	swiš	swišāt
taxi	tāksīy	takāsīy
telephone	* tailfūn	tailfunat
television	tālāfiyzūn	tālāfiyzūnāt
thermometer	tiyrmoomiyter	tiyrmoomiytrāt
thermos	tūrmos	tārāmes
ton	tūn	ʔattnān
tractor	dāraktār	dārākttārat
tuna	tūnah	
vitamin	fiytāmāin	fiyttāmāināt
winch	wiš	wišāt

The subject of colloquial Arabic, the spoken language, now merits discussion. The people of Saudi Arabia, as well as those in the other Arabic-speaking countries use local dialects in regular conversation. There are marked differences

in these dialects, so it is not unusual for a person moving from one area to another to have some difficulty in adapting to the new spoken form of the language.

In a country as vast as Saudi Arabia, one can expect to find a large number of dialects. The purest of these is believed to be that of the Bedouins. The Bedouins are a somewhat nomadic people who still cling to the strictest aspects of the old culture, making an effort to remain unaffected by the modernization taking place in the Arabic-speaking world. They are some of the proudest tribesmen among the Arab people. One source of this pride is their particular dialect, which is said to be the closest to the language of the Qur'an.

The Arabic dialects vary from Classical and Modern Arabic in several respects. The most obvious difference is that they are not, except for certain folk tales and songs, written. The next difference is that many of the dialects have not acquired many new words--new in this case refers to words brought into the language by technical advancement or contact with other cultures. The lack of new words is owing to the isolation of the speakers themselves. The Bedouin, for example, can no more understand the urban speaker than he can the tribesman. Similarly, it is very

difficult for the people of the western region to understand those from the eastern, and vice versa.

The word kašmah, "eyeglass," provides an excellent demonstration of the problem that occurs in communication when dialectical differences exist. Kašmah is the word used in the eastern region for eyeglass; however, if one is in the western region, the word for eyeglass is natharah. Another example is the word "shoe," which is guti in the eastern region but kannader in the western.

The extent to which the dialectical problems prevail may be emphasized through pointing out that Saudi Arabia consists of five major provinces: Eastern, Central, Western, Northern, and Southern. Not only do different dialects exist within each province, but dialects do, in some cases, exist within tribes living in a province.

The illiterate villagers and the Bedouins know almost nothing about the outside world, with the exception of what they might hear from educated travelers. They are likewise ignorant of the pre-Islamic classical period. Their knowledge of history is limited to what they are able to recite from memory. Qur'anic knowledge is equally limited, excepting those parts necessary for conducting the five daily prayers. Despite their inability to read or write

and despite their lack of general knowledge of the outside world, the Bedouins have managed to retain much of their folk literature, especially their poetry, through word of mouth from generation to generation. This verbal literature of the Bedouin has not gone unnoticed by those in education or in the mass media. Folk literature of this type is regularly published in the government-controlled newspapers of Saudi Arabia. In addition, two of the government-owned radio and television stations regularly broadcast weekly programs centered on Bedouin folk literature.

Here it should be explained why there has yet been no attempt made in Saudi Arabia to replace the Classical Arabic with the colloquial language for official purposes such as education and journalism. First, the large number of dialects in use in the Kingdom would make it difficult to single out one of them as the chosen language. Second, the people of Saudi Arabia consider themselves to be the guardians of Islam and its rich culture, which have been handed down from generation to generation by means of Classical Arabic. Third, Saudi society, like any society, has its past, which it cannot deny if it is to survive. Fourth, and most important, God Himself promised to preserve the Holy Qur'an, which was revealed in Classical Arabic.

It could be said also that Classical Arabic is alive today because of its rich heritage. As Stetkevych writes,

Whether Arabic possesses all those merits which are being so bountifully bestowed upon it by its zealous defenders is a matter of personal bias and, to a certain degree, even an academic topic. What remains certain is that, in a way, it is a privileged language. It has lived for one millennium and a half essentially unchanged, usually gaining, never completely losing. Venus-like, it was born in a perfect state of beauty, and it has preserved that beauty in spite of all the hazards of history and all the corrosive forces of time (40, p. 1).

Reading and Educational Resources,

Personnel and Finance

Formal education in the area that now makes up Saudi Arabia was for centuries conducted in accordance with the Islamic tradition. As previously noted, the interests of education were promoted by the Prophet Mohammed, and a great flowering of scholarly activity took place in the Arabic world in the centuries after his death. According to Thomas, the contemporary "educational renaissance" in Saudi Arabia can be compared with that of the early centuries of Islam:

The educational renaissance which is in progress in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia today has overtones, on a modest scale, which remind us of the greatness of Arab scholarship which flourished during the

dark ages of the fifth through the twelfth centuries. It was during medieval times that the Arab people set the pace for educational leadership. They not only preserved many of the classical educational ideas of the past but also pushed forward the accumulation of knowledge to a high point in the creative advancement of mankind at that time (41, p. 46).

One of the great ironies of the Islamic world is that in spite of the great intellectual tradition of the dark ages in which Arab scholars led the world in the preservation and revival of the treasures of classical antiquity, the overall educational level of the Arab people remained at a low level. Prior to 1926, in fact, formal education in Saudi Arabia beyond the elementary level was available only to a small segment of the male population. Education was conducted for centuries in such traditional institutions as the Madrash which was described in the previous chapter in which the curriculum was narrow and limited to elementary education was largely neglected. The traditional Islamic elementary school, known as the kuttab, was for many centuries the principle institution of elementary education in the Arab world. The kuttab has not been in use since the formation of Saudi Arabia's modern educational system.

The kuttab was a neighborhood or village school, located in or near the mosque. The local imam, or religious leader, was the teacher, and the method of learning was through rote memorization of sacred writings, most often the Qur'an. Students were also taught Islamic traditions and elementary reading and writing, although memorization of the Qur'an was the principle objective. Boys usually attended the kuttab from about six years of age until age ten or twelve, ending when the memorization of the Qur'an was completed (37, p. 72; 43, p. 92). The kuttab, more recently, was significant as the first form of group teaching for girls. Before 1960, girls were educated only by private tutors or in the kuttab taught by women who had themselves received similar training:

A small number would attend classes given by a women who had been fortunate enough herself to receive tuition from her father or a private tutor. This early form of education was religious rather than technical, but it was usual for pupils to learn to solve simple mathematical problems as well as read and memorize parts of the Qur'an (22, p. 194).

The year 1926 may be said to mark the beginning of modern education in Saudia Arabia. In that year, King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud united the former warring tribes of the desert into what was to be named formally the Kingdom

of Saudi Arabia, in 1932. Also, in 1926, King Ibn Saud formed the Directorate General of Education, with Egyptian assistance and advice, and in the same year, modern elementary schools were introduced (37, p. 72; 43, p. 93). The early elementary schools, modeled on the Egyptian system which was itself of French origin, consisted of a six-year cycle to be followed by a five-year secondary cycle (43, p. 93). Although King Ibn Saud gave education a high priority and realized that the country's future depended upon its ability to train its future leaders, progress in education came slowly at first. It was held back by such factors as the nomadic character of a large segment of the population, the traditional conservatism of the Islamic culture, the forbidding geographic nature of the land, and the total lack of the trained personnel needed to make the proposed system of education a practical reality. Before the discovery of oil in the 1930s, the country lacked the financial means to provide a large-scale program of public education, and there was no immediate or urgent need for such a program. With oil came both the need for education and at least the financial capability to provide it. "The exploitation of the oil . . . led to a need for modern educational facilities to meet the administrative and

technical requirements of both Aramco and the government" (43, p. 93).

It should not be supposed that oil has solved all of the educational and economic problems of Saudi Arabia. The country's resources must be channeled in the right course if full advantage is to be gained from them. As Yunus A. al Batriq in his article "Planning for Economic Development in an Islamic Framework" points out, "Muslim countries suffer from a state of socio-economic paradox. They are economically under-developed in spite of their enormous vital and strategic human and natural resources" (20, p. 37).

King Ibn Saud's understanding that the development of economic resources must be paralleled by the development of human resources is seen in the emphasis which he wisely placed on education long before the discovery of oil made the rapid and extensive expansion of the educational system a possibility as well as a necessity. The great need for expanded educational programs in rapidly developing countries has frequently been noted. Adams and Bjork discuss at length the close relationship between education and national development, noting that in the developed societies (Japan, Europe, and areas settled by Europeans, primarily) the degree of literacy is very high, the proportion of school-

age children (6 to 15 years old) actually attending school approaches 100 per cent, and a relatively high percentage of young people in their late teens or early twenties are in secondary schools or institutions of higher education (2, p. 21). Furthermore, they contend, the relationship between education and development is of central rather than peripheral importance: "It is our contention that the level of education in these societies is among the most important elements that explain the maintenance of societies in a developed form" (2, p. 21). Some of the authors' arguments in support of this contention are summarized below.

First, in developed societies, trade and production are almost wholly monetized, and this necessitates a vast system of abstract bookkeeping, gathering and storing of information, and a general comprehension of numerical relationships. Performance of any meaningful role in these societies requires at least basic literacy and arithmetical ability. "The position of the unschooled person in developed societies is somewhat comparable to the situation a traveler would face in a foreign country if he did not know the language, and no one knew his" (2, p. 21).

Second, the same authors continue, in developed societies an exceptionally large number of essential communications are in written rather than oral form. Want ads, factory rules, application forms, fuel bills, drug labels and other such ordinary written documents which the literate take for granted can make life for the illiterate of developed societies very complicated (2, p. 21).

A third major problem area for the illiterate involves understanding and following the laws of society. Since laws and changes in the law are most frequently made known in writing, living within the legal system of a developed nation could be difficult indeed for an illiterate person. It is also pointed out that the schools are often the major centers for the inculcation of feelings of loyalty to the national symbols that support the legal system (2, p. 21).

Fourth, the authors stress that the dependence of developed societies upon advanced technology is absolute and that any major retreat from this technology would result in disaster. For example, inhabitants of cities depend on advanced technology in agriculture and transportation to supply them with food; a breakdown in the technology in either area could spell disaster. Education is necessary to supply the large number of people who must manage and manipulate

the vast technological apparatus once it is set in motion. "On this ground alone, education--far from being an interesting but secondary accompaniment of developed societies--is central to their very existence" (2, p. 22).

The fifth and final reason discussed by Adams and Bjork is demography. No developed society can be maintained, they stress, without some demographic balance. Since the death rate in developed societies may tend to drop, there must be a corresponding drop in the birth rate if overpopulation is to be controlled. "Education is among the major factors bringing fertility rates down in the developed societies," the authors contend (2, p. 22).

The reasons set forth by Adams and Bjork for the dependence of development upon education are, of course, only a few of the many that could be advanced. Basic education and literacy are taken for granted in developed societies. Sir Charles Jeffries writes: "The whole social, political and economic structure of the modern community rests on the assumption that every citizen can communicate, and be communicated with by means of the written or printed word" (21, p. 3). Abd-el Wahab Abd-el Wassie, former Deputy Minister of Education in Saudi Arabia, begins his report of the country's educational system as follows:

Education is essential for building any successful society. It contributes to the development of mankind toward perfection and provides society with the means to construct its own pattern of life. The education of the youth becomes, therefore, the primary concern of society and should be based on sound principles deriving from the experiences and practices of the society. The selection of the appropriate experiences for the elaboration of any educational system is a moral problem. Education of the nation's youth is, no doubt, the most important of all human activities for no other activity can be so significant and fruitful (1, p. 1).

Adb-el Wassie's understanding of the essential need for education for the successful development of society is reflected in the vast amounts of energy and resources invested by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the education of its people during the past few decades. A general examination of the philosophy and objectives behind this effort is now in order.

Philosophy and Objectives of Education

The Area Handbook for Saudi Arabia states that "the goal of the government's educational policy is to provide a basic minimum of education for the largest possible number of students and to encourage those who desire higher education to obtain it within the country or abroad" (43, p. 91). The same source points out that "the government recog-

nizes the importance of a curriculum of secular subjects, but it is also trying to preserve elements of the traditional Islamic education" (43, p. 91).

Viewed in a more utilitarian fashion, the production of manpower might be considered the prime objective of the nation's educational system. The Educational Policy in the Saudi Arabian Kingdom, an official Ministry of Education publication, states,

Manpower is considered by the State as the springboard of the utilization of all other resources. The State considers the development of this power, through education and cultivation, as the basis of general development" (25, p. 43).

A detailed examination of this Ministry of Education document reveals that much attention has been given to objectives noted above: provision of a basic general education for a large number of students, preservation of the essentials of the traditional Islamic system, and the development of the country's manpower resources.

In that the Ministry's Educational Policy illuminates both the philosophy and the objectives of education within Saudi Arabia, a discussion of the policy's particulars should prove helpful. Part One of the policy offers an introduction and twenty-six "general principles on education" (25, p. 6).

The introduction describes the Ministry's carefully prepared body of educational policy in terms of broad lines that provide a basis for the educational process in its various aspects. The primary effort of the educational process within the Islamic nation is, predictably, a religious one, toward fulfillment of "the duty of acquainting the individual with his God and religion and adjusting his conduct in accordance with the teaching of religion" (25, p. 5). Fulfillment of the needs of society constitutes the second intent underlying the educational policy. Achievement of national objectives is the third resolve.

Responsibilities regarding education are clearly meted out under the "General Principles" section mentioned above. One principle of educational policy states that "the search for education is a duty dictated by Islam on every individual" (25, p. 7). The state assumes the role of assisting the individual in performing his duty when it carries out its own duty of providing and spreading education in its various aspects within state capacity and resources.

Within the "General Principles" section one finds tenets pertaining to each of the three areas of educational process cited in the introduction--religious, social, and national. In a country where the religious and the secular are one,

these areas are, of course, interrelated. But emphasis throughout is laid on promoting Islamic ideals. Religion takes unfailing precedence. In accord with the earlier priority placement of religious duty in the educational policy, the first two general principles assert faith in God, in Islam, and in Mohammed, affirming "the total Islamic concept of the universe, man, and life" (25, p. 6). Other principles stress "the Mohammed message" as "the soundest program for ideal life" and the Islamic ideals "for the rise of a human, prudent and constructive civilization" guided by that Mohammed message (25, p. 6). Islamic solidarity is urged "for the sake of uniting Islamic ranks, strengthening cooperation among them and shielding them against all dangers" (25, p. 8).

While the "General Principles" demonstrate recognition of the educational needs of the Saudi Arabian people, they also convey the idea that the Islamic nation can perform an educational service for other nations, serving mankind by raising it in the ideological realm to the level of Islamic thought. In laying down principles, therefore, the Ministry affirms a commitment to the duty of preaching Islam throughout the world "with prudence and persuasion" (25, p. 9). Thus,

while the Saudi Arabian people have a technological enlightenment to receive, they have a spiritual one to give.

Within the context of these religious precepts one finds a doctrine of divine nationalism that perfectly harmonizes with them. The twenty-third principle asserts that

God has bestowed a special personality on the Saudi Arabian Kingdom in being the guardian of Islam's Sacred Places and the defender of the land in which inspiration descended on Prophet Mohammed, and in her adoption of Islam as creed, worship, law, constitution and way of life, and in sensing her great responsibility in leading humanity to Islam and setting it on the right path (25, pp. 8-9).

One must interpret from this statement that the Ministry of Education withholds from its policy the liberty to alter the unique national character. Along a similar nationalistic line, the seventeenth principle propounds "absolute faith in the fundamentals of the Islamic nation and in its being the best nation given to people" (25, p. 8). Absolute faith in the nation arises not only from total assent to its creed, but also through close association with its history and through recognition of its heritage. One principle particularly stresses the fact that citizens profit from the lives of their predecessors.

Despite their defense of Saudi Arabian distinctiveness, the "General Principles" clearly accede that the nation's

standard must be raised. The spread of knowledge within the country is recognized as the key to such a process. But the knowledge to be spread must be commensurate with Islamic teaching; it must harmonize with or complement the religious education which is "a basic element in all the primary, intermediary and secondary stages of education in all their branches" (25, p. 7). Since "harmonious coordination with science and technology" are deemed "the most important means of cultural, social, economic and physical development," the impulse lies toward "profiting from all kinds of useful human knowledge in the light of Islam" (25, p. 7). Hence, not only does the Islamic nation wish to be influenced--to have its standard raised--by the acquisition of knowledge; it hopes as well to influence knowledge itself. Or as the twelfth principle delineates, education will entail "steering sciences and knowledge in all their forms, items, curricula, writing and teaching in an Islamic orientation," effectively "treating their problems, judging their theories and means of their exploitation so that they spring out of Islam and fall in harmony with sound Islamic teaching" (25, p. 7). Knowledge thus modified and enhanced can be initiated into the state's general pattern of development, thereby rendering compliance with another of the Ministry's principles.

Besides attempting to steer the sciences and knowledge as they are acquired, the state seeks an influence for good among other civilized nations. The Ministry of Education expresses the desire that Saudi Arabia may interact prudently "with the developments of other civilizations in the fields of science, education and liberal arts" (25, p. 8). The state would endeavor to follow up developments in these areas, contribute to them, and steer them toward good for the sake of society.

At least four of the general educational principles presented by the Ministry relate to the order within Saudi Arabian society. One broadens the access to education while at the same time limiting the nature of it. This is the principle which determines "the girl's right to obtain the education which suits her nature and prepares her for her task in life." The principle includes a further provision, that the education be conducted in "a decent and dignified manner and in the light of Islamic law" (25, p. 7).

The three remaining principles which have social bearing revolve around contribution to community growth, respect for rights, and the insuring of social solidarity. The individual's role in supporting and assisting community growth is mentioned more than once in the "General Principles." The

student who participates in the growth of the community consequently profits from that growth. Yet in the presence of growth, order must continue, as is propounded in the principle which enlists the respect for "the general rights guaranteed and decreed by Islam" for the purpose of maintaining law and order and achieving "stability for the Muslim community in its religion, soul, family, honor, mind, and property" (25, p. 8). The stability of the community is supported through social solidarity among community members. Such solidarity can be seen in the forms of "cooperation, love, fraternity, and placing public interest over and above private interest" (25, p. 8).

Along with the religious, national, and social facets of educational principle, certain pertinent ethical precepts may be considered. The fourth general principle of education expounds the ethical-religious value of work as an expression of faith in an eternal life; this principle defines life on earth as "a stage of work and production during which the Muslim invests his capacities with a full understanding of and faith in the eternal life in the other world." A maxim is included to elucidate the principle and make it memorable: "Today is work without judgement, and tomorrow is judgement without work" (25, p.6). Another ethical activity enjoined

in the "General Principles" is that of Jihad, or Holy War. A sense of duty regarding Jihad is incorporated into established Islamic tradition; it is described as "an existing need which will continue until resurrection day" (25, p. 9). The third ethical precept pertains to strength. The principle regarding strength is forceful in phrasing and is, appropriately, listed last by the Ministry. As a precept for the attainment and utilization of education, strength is urged "in its most sublime form--strength of faith, strength of character, and physical strength--because a strong faithful is closer to God's heart than a weak faithful" (25, p. 9).

Part Two of The Educational Policy in the Saudi Arabian Kingdom contains a statement of purpose and thirty-three general objectives regarding education. Different points within the purpose somewhat parallel the principles earlier established. As has been brought out earlier, educational policy in Saudi Arabia directs that an individual be acquainted with God and with all the duties derivative from a relationship to Him. The purpose of education, then, is to furnish the student with a comprehensive understanding of Islam and to implant the desire to spread the creed. Other portions of the statement of purpose set forth such rationales for education as equipping the student with knowledge, developing his

conduct constructively, developing society economically and culturally, and building the community through the proper preparation of the individual (25, p. 10).

The general objectives which follow the purpose section prescribe to some degree the scope of the educational curriculum. Training embraces the areas of religion, citizenship, science, math, language, history, physical and psychological fitness, and vocations. Two objectives affirm the value of human dignity and the right to individuality. Arrangements are proposed with regard to meeting the needs of the exceptional, both in the realm of the retarded and in the realm of the gifted. The objectives are categorically discussed below.

Religion

Teaching in this area will derive from the Qur'an and will enforce Qur'anic morality and emphasize "moral restraints for the use of knowledge" (25, p. 10). Conflicting systems or theories will be denounced through honest action and appropriate behavior. Through these methods the spirit of loyalty to Islamic law will be promoted, and the individual will be prepared for the mission of carrying the Islamic message.

Citizenship

Objectives which may be considered under the category of citizenship set forth the citizen's role in his nation and in society. The citizen should be educated to be "a sound brick" in the construction of his nation. He will thereby rise to the responsibility of serving and defending his country.

Through education the citizen should be provided the skills and information effecting his active membership in society and his contribution to national progress. When education is thus effective, strong feelings of social concern result. The student becomes prepared to participate in the solution of cultural, economic, and social problems.

Science

Objectives concerning science range in degree of specificity, but all of them view science in a religious context. The limitless field of scientific thought is appraised within a framework of religious reflection. Since Islam combines religion and secularism, education should demonstrate "the full harmony" between science and religion.

Science as explained through one of the objectives involves "studying all the great and strange things in this large universe and discovering the secrets of the Creator

to profit therefrom" (25, p. 11). Obviously the subject matter is quite broad. Room in the curriculum is reserved for diverse disciplines within the realm of science: environmental science, geographical science, political science. The thrust is not only toward acquiring the facts, but also toward nurturing "the spirit of scientific thinking and research" (25, p. 11).

Language

To increase his knowledge, the student should develop reading skills and habits. His conversation and his writing should reflect correct expression and organized thinking. Additionally, at least one other language should be learned in order that the student might borrow information and reciprocally share it in the service of Islam and humanity.

History

History is to be taught in a systematic way. The history of Islam and the civilization of the Islamic nation should be appropriately emphasized so that future Muslim generations may experience "confidence and positivism" (25, p. 12). Through the study of history students become acquainted with their country's "deep-rooted world human civilization, its geographic, natural, and economic characteristics, and

its important position among the nations of the world" (25, pp. 12-13).

Mathematics

The student should acquire arithmetical skills. He should develop mathematical thinking and increase his understanding of the language of figures. Such skills and understanding are vital in the scientific and practical fields.

Physical and Psychological Fitness

Education will express concern with the student's total health. For their physical well-being, students will be trained concerning "sound sanitary customs" and "healthy and athletic principles" (25, p. 13). Attention will be directed toward well-rounded--spiritual, mental, emotional, and social--growth of young people.

Vocational Training

Education must be diversified in such a way that the necessary manpower can be trained. Schools should stress formation of scientific skills. Students should have opportunities for practical application of learned skills and for participation in production. Experience can be acquired in laboratories, through construction work, and on farms. Principles of mechanical production can be profitably

studied. Amid the efforts toward vocational preparation, the zeal of work would be planted; excellence in work should be urged; the role of work in the construction of the nation should be emphasized.

The teaching of Islam makes education "a common right for all members of the nation" (25, p. 14). Provision is accordingly made in the objectives for individual differences and for exceptional students. One objective prescribes the study of "individual differences among students to be able to properly orient them and assist them to grow in line with their abilities, capabilities, and inclinations" (25, p. 13). For the exceptional--the retarded and the gifted--appropriate arrangements must be made. Special education and care are to be extended to the academically, mentally, and physically retarded or handicapped. Permanent and provisional programs are designed to suit their needs. Exceptionally gifted students also merit special attention. One objective specifies that suitable programs are to be set up for them, "availing them with the various opportunities to develop their talents" (25, p. 14).

The Ministry's educational policy clearly has its strong points and its questionable ones. Hammad finds that the most serious drawback is that "there is no administrative

mechanism which is permanently established to implement and interpret the policy" (18, p. 217). The only organization charged with this function, Hammad continues, is the Supreme Educational Council, an ad hoc committee of officials from various major institutions (18, p. 217). The same author states,

The policy statement is characterized by vagueness and lack of comprehensiveness. Many of its articles are so vague that they are not implementable. For example, the overwhelming emphasis on religion, but couched in nonspecific language, makes the objectives of those articles dealing with Islam almost impossible to realize. Although the present educational policy is far short of being comprehensive and integrated to the degree needed for a developing country like Saudi Arabia, it is a good beginning for the systemization of education for the future of society in Saudi Arabia (18, p. 217).

On the positive side, Hammad views the importance of the Ministry's educational policy to be "that it envisions the sort of society Saudi Arabia will and ought to be" (18, p. 217). "In a developing country like Saudi Arabia," he concludes, "education and manpower development should be the first priority" (18, p. 217).

Growth and Development: Resources,

Personnel and Finance

As the tables and statistics presented in this section

indicate, the key word in Saudi Arabian education in recent years has been growth. As a recent publication states, "The rapid advance of Saudi Arabia is seen at its most startling in the field of education . . ." (22, p. 200). The table below indicates a startling increase in the total government budget for education of 12,940,937,000 riyals from fiscal 1974-75 to 1975-76. Much of the vast increase in

TABLE I

GOVERNMENT BUDGET FOR EDUCATION COMPARED TO THE TOTAL
BUDGET OF THE KINGDOM, 1969-70--1975-76,
IN RIYALS (31,33)

Fiscal Year	Total Budget of the Kingdom	Government Budget for Education	Percentage
1969-70	5,966,000,000	598,088,000	10.0
1970-71	6,780,000,000	666,351,000	9.0
1971-72	10,782,000,000	1,150,053,000	10.7
1972-73	13,200,000,000	1,591,506,000	12.1
1973-74	22,810,000,000	2,232,657,000	9.8
1974-75	45,743,000,000	3,760,284,000	8.2
1975-76	110,935,000,000	12,940,937,000	11.7

One dollar equals approximately 3.5 riyals.

expenditure for education in recent years, the Ministry of Education states, is due to "the Government's determination to establish and multiply the physical facilities for education at all levels" (34, p. 135).

If the data which relate to expenditures for education are impressive, those relating to other aspects of educational achievement are equally so. Table II indicates a steady increase

TABLE II

GROWTH OF SCHOOLS, CLASSES, STUDENTS, AND TEACHERS
OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 1967-1977 (35)

Academic Year	Schools	Classes	Students	Teachers
1967-68	2047	12,676	317,257	13,882
1968-69	2209	13,766	339,588	15,403
1969-70	2312	14,750	368,105	16,146
1970-71	2445	15,873	396,835	16,466
1971-72	2647	17,227	432,864	18,689
1972-73	3014	19,203	470,423	21,220
1973-74	3261	21,630	519,469	25,159
1974-75	3677	24,184	574,940	28,646
1975-76	4288	27,246	609,990	32,938
1976-77	4923	30,429	656,358	36,640

in the number of schools, classes, students, and teachers under the Ministry of Education between the academic years

1967-68 and 1976-77. During the period covered, the number of schools, students and teachers more than doubled, while the total number of classes increased from twelve to thirty thousand. Figures in Table III indicate the same uniform growth in the Ministry-controlled schools at the various levels, with the exception of kindergarten, where the number of schools remained the same, although the student population grew sizeably. It should be noted that the Ministry of Education has shown little interest in developing the kindergarten system, largely because private organizations have been quite active in this area. Interest in kindergarten education by the private sector is probably due to the profit motive, "as the rates of fees charged at this level are quite high" (34, p. 32). The relatively small demand for kindergartens in the Kingdom is probably related to the comparatively small number of working mothers, the Ministry of Education suggests (34, pp. 32-33). While the total number of the nation's kindergartens increased from thirteen in 1964-65 to eighty-eight in 1974-75, as of the later date the total number of kindergarten students was only some 5 per cent of the total number of students enrolled in the first grade of elementary school. Only three of the eighty-eight existing kindergartens were run by the

Ministry of Education, with the remainder belonging to the private sector (34, p. 32).

TABLE III
GROWTH OF GENERAL EDUCATION FROM 1967-1977 (35)

Year	Kindergarten			Elementary		
	Schools	Classes	Students	Schools	Classes	Students
1967-68	3	32	605	1,222	9,734	235,225
1968-69	3	35	854	1,309	10,414	252,207
1969-70	3	35	913	1,383	10,972	267,529
1970-71	3	32	836	1,456	11,690	284,612
1971-72	3	31	862	1,596	12,633	308,598
1972-73	3	31	971	1,806	13,905	330,955
1973-74	3	34	1,090	1,913	15,508	363,258
1974-75	3	36	1,102	2,067	16,891	391,677
1975-76	3	37	1,168	2,414	18,886	420,011
1976-77	3	36	1,056	2,661	20,570	439,839

Covers Ministry of Education facilities only.

TABLE III--Continued

Intermediate			Secondary		
Schools	Classes	Students	Schools	Classes	Students
169	1,140	34,507	43	260	6,946
203	1,317	37,803	48	319	8,211
237	1,491	42,921	50	368	9,584
281	1,665	48,448	57	439	12,757
320	1,905	56,664	64	510	13,966
357	2,233	63,225	67	570	15,675
387	2,573	69,455	72	651	18,749
421	2,973	80,618	84	780	22,606
476	3,414	91,037	103	924	25,717
553	3,990	104,979	135	1,163	32,944

Table IV illustrates the same progressive growth in the areas of teacher education, technical education, special education, and adult education. Statistics here indicate in some areas more progress in the expansion of existing facilities

TABLE IV

GROWTH OF TEACHER TRAINING, TECHNICAL EDUCATION,
SPECIAL EDUCATION, AND ADULT
EDUCATION, 1967-1977 (35)

Year	Teacher Training			Technical Education		
	Schools	Classes	Students	Schools	Classes	Students
1967-68	30	123	3,283	11	51	877
1968-69	15	123	3,295	10	49	855
1969-70	14	149	4,344	7	33	840
1970-71	19	221	6,730	5	41	848
1971-72	20	271	7,778	7	53	899
1972-73	20	291	8,527	8	66	1,356
1973-74	22	305	9,089	8	98	2,180
1974-75	27	362	10,834	13	144	3,408
1975-76	30	378	10,587	21	190	4,063
1976-77	34	391	9,725	22	221	4,548

Covers Ministry of Education facilities only.

TABLE IV--Continued

Special Education			Adult Education		
Schools	Classes	Students	Schools	Classes	Students
19	88	990	550	1,248	34,824
23	116	1,132	598	1,393	35,231
26	128	1,248	592	1,574	40,726
27	138	1,257	597	1,647	41,347
28	151	1,287	609	1,673	42,810
40	190	1,572	713	1,917	48,142
42	209	1,725	814	2,252	53,923
42	209	1,784	1,020	2,789	62,911
45	230	1,804	1,196	2,187	55,603
53	250	1,775	1,462	3,808	61,492

than the creation of new ones. While the number of schools devoted to teacher education increased only from thirty to thirty-four during the period studied, the number of students enrolled in these schools almost tripled. In passing, emphasis should here be directed also at the significant increase in the number of schools involved in the education of adults, especially since 1970. Adult education will be more fully discussed in a subsequent section.

Figures for higher education, detailed in Table V indicate a highly impressive nine-fold increase in both students and teaching personnel between 1964-65 and 1975-76. During the same period, faculties of Saudi Arabian universities increased from eleven to forty-three, the latter figure being provided by the Minister of Higher Education in a newspaper interview of December 23, 1977 (9).

The somewhat phenomenal growth of the Kingdom's educational system has been greatly aided by two comprehensive development plans (24,24), produced by the government's Central Planning Organization. This agency grew out of the earlier Committee for Economic Development and the Supreme Planning Board (18, p. 229).

The original Development Plan 1390 A. H. (24) was proposed for implementation during the fiscal years 1970-

TABLE V

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS AND TEACHING PERSONNEL
IN HIGHER EDUCATION, 1964-1976 (31,33)

School Year	Students	Teachers	Faculties
1964-65	2,997	231	11
1965-66	3,375	281	12
1966-67	3,953	389	14
1967-68	4,848	416	16
1968-69	5,419	418	16
1969-70	6,942	573	18
1970-71	8,492	697	19
1971-72	9,471	975	19
1972-73	11,337	1,121	20
1973-74	14,882	1,454	20
1974-75	19,093	1,741	..*
1975-76	26,437	2,133	..*

*These figures are not supplied by the Center for Statistical Data, but the Minister of Higher Education in an Al Yamamah interview gives the total number of faculties for both years as forty-three (9, pp. 21-23).

71 to 1975-76. It consists of recommendations for development, but it has no legal provisions for implementation. It has been criticized because it does not carry the force of law

and because its fiscal projections seem sometimes imprecise (18, p. 236).

Although the Development Plan is quite broad in scope, devoting much attention to the projected growth of the national economy, government policy and organization, health, social affairs, urban development, public utilities, industry, communications, agriculture, and transportation, considerable attention is given to education. The Plan's introductory remarks, in fact, stress the dangers of relying too heavily upon petroleum income and consequently neglecting the development of the Kingdom's human resources.

Dependence on oil is the obverse of the advantages derived from the abundance of oil. Rapid expansion of oil production has provided the Kingdom with both government revenues and foreign exchange to finance development. However, economic growth in Saudi Arabia has been primarily a product of this one sector rather than the substantial development of agriculture, mining, and manufacturing that is normally responsible for such growth. Moreover, it has led to the situation where further development of the economy over the coming decades is mainly dependent on growth in revenues and foreign exchange earnings from oil; a situation that must gradually be changed by diversifying production, exports, and sources of government revenue (24, p. 21).

Diversification of the sources of government revenue, of course, requires that the Kingdom's human resources be developed.

The Plan states: "Educating and training people are essential elements to development in every sector. Perhaps even more importantly, they are extremely desirable development objectives in their own right" (24, p. 22).

The Plan's objectives for the Kingdom are "to maintain its religious and moral values, and to raise the living standards of its people, while providing for national security and maintaining economic and social stability" (24, p. 23). The three methods by which these objectives will be achieved, it is stated, are increasing the growth rate of the gross domestic product, diversifying sources of national income, and "developing human resources so that the several elements of society will be able to contribute more effectively to production and participate fully in the process of development" (24, p. 23).

The Central Planning Organization's insistence upon the development of human resources was solidly reinforced by substantial increases in financial allocations for education. For example, in 1969, the year before the Plan was to take effect, Education, Vocational Training, and Cultural Affairs received 12 per cent of the Kingdom's budgeted funds, while for the same year 30.7 per cent of the country's budget went for defense; the projected budget for

the final year of the plan, however, allocated a full 21.7 per cent for education while reducing the defense budget to 21.3 per cent (24, p. 44). The allocation for education was the largest single item on the projected budget.

The overall objectives for education stated in the Plan stress the need for uniformity of effort and coordination of the entire educational effort.

The plan for education is conceived as an integrated plan that recognizes the interdependence of all elements of the educational system. Because of the interdependence of elements, any diminution of efforts at one level will have an adverse effect on all levels (24, p. 98).

Specific objectives within the major educational divisions, to be completed during or upon completion of the Plan (that is, by or before 1975), are the following:

Boys' Education

Objectives for Elementary Education are a 55 per cent increase in enrollment, enrollment of at least 90 per cent of the six-year-old male population in the first grade, expansion of rural educational opportunities, an increase of 11 per cent in the proportion of buildings constructed as elementary schools, and the initiation of a pilot school meal program.

Objectives for Intermediate Education include provision

of facilities for all expected applicants for intermediate school enrollment (some 85 per cent of the elementary school graduates), an increase of 30 per cent in the proportion of buildings constructed as intermediate schools, and expansion of the curriculum to include vocational guidance.

Objectives for Secondary Education are enrollment of 50 per cent of the intermediate school graduates and all other qualified applicants and development of sufficient enrollment to assure enough qualified graduates to meet the demands of the development plans for higher education.

Objectives of the Teacher Training Institutes are achievement of the capability to meet the requirements for qualified elementary teachers with Saudi personnel and the expansion of provisions for specialized teacher training in art and physical education.

Objectives of the Vocational Education system are extension of the areas of secondary level industrial education from four to six, initiation of a three-school system of secondary level commercial education, establishment of an institution for technical and vocational teacher training, and the completion of the agriculture technical school at Buraydah and initiation of work on three additional schools (24, p. 98).

Girls' Education

Objectives at the Elementary Level include increasing enrollment by 95 per cent, increasing the number of communities with schools from 178 to 300 and the number of schools from 347 to 595, and reduction of class size for the first and second grades to an average of 33 students per class (24, p. 99).

Objectives for Intermediate Education are stated as the improvement of the enrollment relationship between the intermediate level and the elementary level from 9.3 per cent to 17.4 per cent and the improvement for opportunities for intermediate level education in rural areas and small communities (24, p. 99).

Objectives for secondary education are to increase the general secondary enrollment from 350 to over 4,900 students and to establish new secondary schools in ten locations (24, p. 99).

Objectives for Teacher Training Institutes include achievement of the capability to meet the requirements for qualified elementary teachers with Saudi personnel, increasing the emphasis on teacher education at the secondary level, and initiation of a teacher education program in small communities (24, p. 99).

Objectives for the Women Teachers' College are the establishment of the proposed women teachers' college in Riyadh and the enrollment of 900 students in this college (24, p. 99).

"Government-sponsored public education is free at all levels, with separate schools for boys and girls" (43, p. XLI). This is a tradition practiced throughout the school system, including adult education.

Higher Education

Objectives for the University of Riyadh are the maintenance of an enrollment capability of 50 per cent of the secondary school graduates as well as other qualified applicants, strengthening of the eight existing faculties through the addition of staff and facilities, attainment of a student-faculty ratio of ten to one, provision of improved facilities for the Faculty of Medicine, and activation of the university's proposed consolidation and relocation program.

For the College of Petroleum and Minerals the Plan proposes expansion of undergraduate enrollment to 1,150, completion of two phases of an existing campus master development plan, completion of undergraduate programs in preparation, and initiation of graduate studies (24, p. 99).

Objectives for the College of Education at Mecca are to increase enrollment to 950 students, to continue existing

programs for female external students, and to increase the number of teachers graduated from 40 to 150 annually (24, p. 99).

King Abdul Aziz University has as its objectives an enrollment of 850 students, expansion of the Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences from one to three departments, the establishment of an Accounting Department, preparation for the establishment of a Faculty of Sciences, construction of facilities for thirty-five additional classes, and the inauguration of a closed circuit television system (24, pp. 98-100).

In addition to the basic areas described in some detail above, the Plan states objectives, some concrete and some rather general, for schools in the areas of Religious Education, Special Programs for Education, and Cultural Affairs Programs (24, p. 100). Objectives for these schools and programs for the most part involve increased enrollment and the provision of additional programs and improved facilities. The Special Programs for Education section includes objectives for adult education and literacy programs which will be dealt with at length later in this chapter. Among other objectives, those stated for the Ministry of Education's Cultural Affairs Programs include provisions for the expansion and improvement of the public library system and the

establishment of archaeological museums and collections (24, p. 100).

It is beyond the scope of this study to evaluate the overall effectiveness of the many provisions of the Plan's ambitious educational proposals. Many of the goals were achieved on schedule, many ahead of schedule, and others were refined and incorporated into the Second Development Plan (37, p. 73). Hammad (18) discusses the Plan at length and is critical of what he calls its "built-in overemphasis on quantitative expansion" (18, p. 304). Although he cites figures which seem to indicate the general ineffectiveness of the Plan's provisions, his study was completed in 1973, certainly before the full effects of the Plan could be weighed.

One area in which Hammad criticizes the ineffectiveness of the educational program is the preparation of teachers. "The scarcity and incompetence of local teachers," he writes, "particularly in mathematics and pure and applied sciences, have been the most critical problems facing the present system of education and manpower development" (18, p. 312). He notes such problems as the foreign domination of teachers at all levels except elementary, where about one-half of the elementary teachers are Saudis, in 1971-72 only 156 of 944 were Saudis in the secondary schools, and in the intermediate

schools only 37.6 per cent were Saudis. In girls' schools, only 35 of 800 teachers at the elementary and secondary levels were Saudis, while two-thirds of the faculty positions in higher education were filled by foreign teachers, most of them men (18, p. 312). Hammad comments,

It is ironical that while Saudi Arabia leads most of the Arab countries in student enrollment in teacher-training programs (with about 14,500 students in 1971-72, of whom 6,700 were women) Saudi Arabia suffers the most acute shortage of teachers. This is attributed to many factors, among them: lack of enough incentives, the unattractiveness of teaching as a career, the inadequacy of teacher-training programs, and the closeness of the system (18, pp. 312-313).

Another problem area indicated by the same author is that of girls' education, which he calls "a major problem at every level" (18, p. 313). In spite of the emphasis on girls' education, in 1971-72, twice as many boys as girls were attending elementary school; four times as many were in secondary school, and at the third level there were ten times as many males in attendance as females (18, p. 313).

Hammad elsewhere criticizes the system's "waste of education" in the form of students dropping out and having to repeat courses (18, pp. 313-315) as well as the high cost and other problems in the technical-vocational and special education branches (18, pp. 315-320). The same author concludes,

The problems that exist in the present educational system as a whole--its inflexibility, irrelevancy, and lack of innovation create inequality of educational opportunities, lack of clear ground rules, and a built-in bias against vocational and manual education. Lack of innovation leads to remoteness, a reliance on imported systems of education, and an inability of the present system to respond to societal needs (18, p. 320).

The fact that many problems remained in education and in all developmental areas after the implementation of the first five-year plan led to the issuance of a second plan. The Second Development Plan 1395-1400 A. H., 1975-1980 A. D. went into effect in 1975. Its stated goals are not unlike those of the previous plan:

Maintain the religious and moral values of Islam.

Assure the defense and internal social security of the Kingdom.

Maintain a high rate of economic growth by developing economic resources, maximizing earnings from oil over the long-term, and conserving depletable resources.

Reduce economic dependence on export of crude oil.

Develop human resources by education, training, and raising standards of health.

Increase the well-being of all groups within the society and foster social stability under circumstances of rapid social change.

Develop the physical infrastructure to support achievement of the above goals (26, p. 4).

In elaborating its educational goals, the Second Development Plan stresses the universal availability of educational opportunity, stating that "all the people of Saudi Arabia will have access to educational and training facilities at all levels . . ." (26, p. 4). Furthermore, the plan states,

Education and training--free of charge at all levels--will continue to expand and improve in quality, with the aim not only of eradicating illiteracy and promoting learning, but also to teach new skills, to stimulate research and use of production and distribution techniques, and to inculcate the spirit of honest hard work (28, p. 4).

Also in keeping with the usual policy, it is stated that even in those programs not classified as religious education "the intrinsic values of Islam are inherent" (26, p. 254).

Before new goals for education are stated, progress in the goals of the previous plan is briefly examined. The following are the more relevant facts to be found in this review.

In 1974-75 over half a million boys were enrolled in Ministry of Education schools, within 5 per cent of the goal of the first development plan.

The total of 2,435 elementary and intermediate schools

in operation in 1974-75 exceeded the plan target by 123, and the sixty-five secondary schools met the plan's target exactly. However, teacher training institutes and industrial education schools fell below their goal.

The number of teachers at every level fell almost 14 per cent below the goal.

The commercial education program's performance far exceeded the plan's estimates.

The pilot television project was still in the planning stages on the date that it was scheduled to be in operation (26, pp. 257-258).

In the area of girls' education, the proposed expansion was realized or exceeded at the elementary level. The number of elementary classes doubled in five years, and the 500 communities with schools for girls was well over the target of 300. Enrollment in 1974-75 was within 5 per cent of the target of 224,500 students.

The proportion of Saudi personnel staffing the girls' elementary schools increased from 29 per cent to 56 per cent. The target was 48 per cent.

Availability of Saudi staff for girls' intermediate schools was only 12 per cent, falling short of the target of 20 per cent.

Girls' enrollment in general secondary education reached 7,600, far more than the projected 4,900.

Classroom overcrowding was reduced at all levels in girls' schools with construction underway that would bring the total of girls' elementary schools to 129 (26, p. 287).

Enrollment at the University of Riyadh more than doubled during the first plan, reaching some 5,600 full-time students in 1974-75.

The University of Riyadh revised its system of student advancement requiring students to repeat only courses failed rather than all courses when one was failed.

The 1:10 ratio of faculty to students at the University of Riyadh increased to more than 1:13 as of 1973-74.

The University of Riyadh's staffing of administrative and technical support personnel fell 36 per cent short of the first plan's estimate (26, p. 308).

King Abdul Aziz University was converted from a small, private institution to a comprehensive institution of higher education. Its enrollment almost doubled in its first year of operation as a public university, reaching 3,737 in 1974-75. Certain areas had fallen behind schedule due to the rapid expansion: only 20 per cent of the instructional staff were Saudis, and the university's library contained only 25,000 books (26, p. 320).

The University of Petroleum and Minerals met or surpassed all goals set in the first development plan (26, p. 328).

The Girl's College of Education was opened in Riyadh with a full four-year undergraduate curriculum and with a branch at Jiddah. Staffing of both instructional and administrative personnel was a serious problem. For example, at Jiddah, twenty-one of the twenty-two instructors and fourteen of the fifteen administrators were non-Saudis (26, p. 335).

Goals for education as stated in the Second Development Plan are predictably ambitious and complex, in keeping with the Kingdom's need to rapidly expand its educational system and the availability of the vast monetary resources necessary to achieve this expansion. The following discussion includes only the highlights of the goals for the major educational divisions, omitting statements which merely reaffirm ideals and objectives stated in the first five-year plan.

Boys' Education

Objectives for the Elementary Level include enrollment of all boys aged seven and of 90 per cent of the boys aged six as well as a reduction in the incidence of repeating and drop-outs.

The Intermediate Level's goals include reduction in the number of repeaters and drop-outs and revision of the curriculum to provide a broader base for further education and training.

Goals for the Secondary Level include raising the graduation rate to an average of 90 per cent by the third year of the plan and revision of the curriculum.

Goals for Teacher Training include expansion of the secondary level institutes and establishment of a junior college system for the preparation of teachers (26, pp. 257-259).

Provisions are also made for the establishment of a National Center for Educational Technology "for the development, testing, production, and distribution of classroom teachings aids; curriculum research; and equipment and program testing" (26, p. 260). This agency would be charged with establishing a pilot television project and a language-laboratory system.

Girls' Education

Objectives for the Elementary Level include a 64 per cent increase in enrollment and the provision of school space for at least 50 per cent of the girls between six and twelve. A reduction in the incidence of repeaters and drop-outs is also targeted.

The Intermediate Level's goals are for continued 80

per cent enrollment of elementary school graduates, expansion to rural areas, reduction in the incidence of drop-outs and repeaters, and reduction of the average number of students per class to twenty-seven.

Projections for Secondary Education include enrollment of 50 per cent of the intermediate school graduates, expansion to new locations, achievement of passing rates of 90 per cent in grade one and 95 per cent in higher grades, and reduction of the average number of students per class to 23.

Goals for Teacher Training include extension of the course of study at the secondary level from two to three years, phasing out of the intermediate-level teacher training institute program, and development of a post-secondary program for training intermediate teachers (26, pp. 287-290).

An overall staffing goal for girls' education is to increase the proportion of Saudi women teachers and administrators to 59 per cent of the total (26, p. 290).

Higher Education

Objectives for the University of Riyadh stress initiation and completion of the university's ad-Dir'ayah campus as well as augmentation of facilities in Riyadh to meet the demands of increased enrollment. Projections are made for expansion in

all areas--enrollment, staff, and curriculum. New degree programs are proposed for graduate and undergraduate levels, and program expansion includes a College of Veterinary Medicine and enlargement of the women's section of the College of Medicine (26, pp. 311-312). Planned new departments are so numerous that the listing of them requires a full-page chart (26, p. 317).

For King Abdul Aziz University the objectives include the implementation of campus construction programs at Mecca and Jiddah, adoption of the credit-hour system, and the establishment of many new programs, including Colleges of Medicine and Engineering (26, pp. 320-322).

Goals for the University of Petroleum and Minerals include the establishment of "a highly qualified, balanced, multi-national faculty and staff, fully competitive by international standards" (26, p. 329). Unlike other institutions, the University of Petroleum and Minerals stresses the need for the use of a "selective admissions system" to raise the quality of its student body (26, p. 329). Nevertheless, expansion is projected in every area, and an increase in the total university budget from 84.6 to 218.3 million riyals is projected for the period covered by the plan (26, p. 334).

The proposals for Women's Colleges are stated under two broad proposals: "to develop the college system so that it will provide excellent quality in teacher preparation as well as in liberal arts education," and "to provide female students with a sound education that will prepare them for participation in the social, economic, and cultural growth of the Kingdom" (26, p. 336). Specific proposals provide mainly for expansion in most areas, the establishment of a College of Arts at Riyadh, and the provision of model schools at all levels (26, p. 336).

Proposals for other third level institutions such as the polytechnic institutes and the religious universities all feature the expansion of existing programs and facilities, the creation of new programs, the expansion of staffs, and sizeable increases in budget (26, pp. 340-352). Similarly, ambitious expansion and development are targeted for the Cultural Affairs division, which controls such areas as libraries, museums, and archeological sites, and the Kingdom's Information Services, which projects vast development in media equipment and services (26, pp. 353-366). The last-mentioned agency alone projects a total expenditure of 2,934 millions of riyals during the five years included in the plan.

It would be an understatement to describe the Second Development Plan's goals for education as ambitious and

idealistic. Also, it would be premature to attempt at this early stage to assess the overall value and effectiveness of the project, since its value will depend upon the extent to which its proposed programs become reality and upon the quality of the finished product. Increases in school enrollment are important, but their importance is relative to the quality of education provided.

Goals of the two development plans for adult education and literacy programs have been omitted from the above discussion because these are to be examined in detail in the final section of this chapter. This discussion will be preceded, however, by a brief look at the responsibility and authority for education in Saudi Arabia and the general organizational structure of the Kingdom's present educational system.

Responsibility for Education in Saudi Arabia

Ultimate authority and responsibility for the provision of education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia go back to the Qur'an and to the basic Saudi Arabian legal code (Sharia) founded upon the Qur'an. The 1926 constitution, "The Constitution of the Kingdom of Hejaz," placed the administration of the entire nation in the hands of the King, "bound by the

standards of the noble Sharia" (41, p. 47). This mandate, of course, included management of the educational system.

The modern Ministry of Education, the principal agency which plans and oversees education in the present-day Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary on March 19, 1978 (5). The Ministry of Education grew out of the Directorate General for Education, which was established in 1926 as part of the Ministry of the Interior (41, p. 47). The Directorate officially became the Ministry of Education in December 1954, under the terms of Royal Decree 5/3/26/4950 (41, p. 48). The modern Ministry of Education has grown into a sophisticated and complex organization which exercises great authority over a broad range of the nation's educational matters. The Ministry is not in direct control, however, of all segments of the educational structure.

Control of the various elements of the Saudi educational system is divided among various agencies and governing bodies. Lines of authority are not always clear-cut and easily definable. For example, although the education of boys at all levels is primarily the province of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Defense and the Religious Colleges and Institutes Administration each oversee the education of approximately 1.5 per cent of the total enrollment of boys, and private

schools education of some 4.5 per cent (22, p. 189). Abd-el Wassie of the Ministry of Education gives a comprehensive and detailed breakdown of the agencies responsible for education, which may be summarized as follows.

The Ministry of Education is the principal authority for the education of boys at all levels.

The General Presidency of Girls Education is the chief authority for the education of girls at all levels.

The ministry of defense is responsible for financing and administering its own schools, but its schools are inspected and advised on educational matters by the Ministry of Education.

Various other organizations finance and administer private schools at the local and national level. These private institutions are advised on educational matters by the Ministry of Education and are subject to the Ministry's inspection.

Colleges of higher education are directed by the Ministry of Higher Education or by religious authorities.

The universities are completely independent (1, p. 9).

In addition to standard educational institutions provided for in the breakdown by Abd-el Wassie, there are special educational situations to be considered. For example, the Ministry of Education provides vocational secondary schools, and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs runs vocational

training centers for students of low educational level (22, pp. 189-190). Schools for the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the mentally retarded are administered by the Special Education Department of the Ministry of Education (22, p. 190). Adult education is also under the direct administration of the Ministry of Education (34, p. 8). Social service and community development centers as well as special kindergartens function under the direction of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (34, p. 8). Other organizations which have supervisory authority in education are the Colleges and Institutes Administration, which oversees the programs of 1.3 per cent of the students up to the second level (34, p. 9), and the Ministry of Health, which maintains and directs health institutes for men and nursing schools for women (34, p. 10). Some adult education centers are directed by the Ministry of Defense and the Directorate General of Public Security (34, p. 10). The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs directs a few adult education centers for females as well as three special kindergartens (34, p. 10).

Created in 1975, the Ministry of Higher Education, working through its Higher Council for Universities, supervises and coordinates most higher education. Under its control are the University of Riyadh, the King Abdul Aziz

University (which has faculties both at Jaddah and Mecca), the Islamic University at Medina, the Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud University at Riyadh, and the King Faisal University at Dammam and Hofuf (22, pp. 201-202; 34, p. 10). The Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals controls the University of Petroleum and Minerals in Dhahran (34, p. 10). Saudi students with scholarships for study abroad are under the supervision of the Ministry of Higher Education (22, p. 202). Policies within the universities are controlled by a special University Committee, which is under the direct control of the Ministry of Higher Education (22, p. 202).

Current Structure and Organization of the Schools in Saudi Arabia

For the sake of conformity to world standards, Saudi Arabia uses the UNESCO-recommended division of its educational system by levels (34, p. viii). These are described briefly by the Center for Statistical Data and Educational Documentation as follows.

Education preceding the first level is employed to describe education in infant schools, kindergartens, and nursery schools and is intended for children not old enough to enter the first level of the educational system.

First level refers to education in basic schools, primary schools, or elementary schools intended to provide the student with the essential tools of learning. In Saudi Arabia, first level instruction is a six-year program.

Second level, general education is for students whose first-level education did not prepare them for a specific trade or occupation. Second-level education usually consists of a lower cycle (junior high school, middle school, etc.) and a second cycle (high school, junior college, etc.).

Second level, Teacher-training is second-level schooling aimed at preparing students to be teachers.

Second level, vocational/other refers to second-level training for an occupation or trade other than teaching.

Third level or higher education requires as a prerequisite for admission completion of education at the second level or the attainment of equivalent knowledge. Both universities and advanced teacher training organizations fall into this category, and the general category of "other" is used for all other classes of non-university training at post-secondary level.

Other types of education include Special Education (for the blind, deaf and dumb, mentally retarded, and physically handicapped) and Adult Education (for those aged fifteen

and older who are not in the regular school or university program) (34, pp. viii-x).

In practical terms, education in Saudi Arabia consists of six years of primary education, three years of intermediate education, and three years of secondary education. Education is free and is available for all who wish to attend. Text-books are also provided free of charge, and under certain circumstances students are given special stipends to encourage them to continue their education (37, p. 73).

As noted previously, there was no public education for girls in Saudi Arabia before 1960. Schools are segregated by sex, but the curriculum of boys' and girls' schools is similar until the secondary level, where boys have physical education and girls study home economics. Elementary curriculum includes Arabic, history, Islamic studies, geography, mathematics, science, and art. English is offered in the first or fourth year where instruction is available. Secondary curriculum is much the same with the addition of general science and industrial arts (37, pp. 74-75).

Essentially the same curriculum is pursued during the first year at the secondary level, but after the initial year there is a choice of streams, the scientific (ilmi) or the literary (adabi). Only those students scoring 60 per cent

on the first-year examinations are allowed to pursue the scientific stream (34, p. 189; 37, p. 75). Second and third year subjects for the literary stream are Arabic, Islamic studies, English, geography and history, sociology, and psychology. Students in the scientific stream study Arabic, Islamic studies, English, algebra, statistics, plane and solid geometry, chemistry, biology, and physics (37, p. 75).

Examinations are given at the end of each level and students must make a passing score in order to be admitted to the next educational phase. However, granting of the secondary certificate is based 70 per cent on the national examination score, the remaining 30 per cent being based on school performance (37, p. 75).

Higher education is carried out in the various universities and colleges for women. A Ministry of Education publication lists the currently available fields of study as humanities or general arts, natural sciences, economics and public administration, commerce, education, Islamic law and jurisprudence, Arabic language and Islamic propagation, pharmacy, medicine, engineering, agriculture, and petroleum science and technology (34, pp. 6-7). The principal secular institutions of higher learning are the following: the University of

Riyadh, the University of Petroleum and Minerals at Dhahran, and King Faisal University at Dammam and Hofuf (22, pp. 201-202). The leading religious university is the Islamic University at Medina.

Most elementary teachers in the Kingdom are graduated from the Elementary Islamic Institutes, which offer a three-year teacher training program to graduates of Intermediate schools. Graduates of these institutes, which numbered eighteen in 1975-76, are certified to teach in the six elementary grades (37, p. 79). Intermediate and secondary teachers are trained in the Colleges of Education at the University of Riyadh and King Abdul Aziz University, where the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Education is granted. Graduates of these programs are required to gain experience at the intermediate level before teaching in the secondary schools. Recently, three-year "crash programs" have been offered in certain areas, especially in English, science, and mathematics, in order to supply the urgent need for intermediate and secondary teachers. Various in-service programs are also being offered in an effort to qualify teachers to meet the ever-increasing demand (37, pp. 79-80). Teacher education for girls has recently been upgraded so that teachers are now required to earn the General

Secondary Education Certificate, which in turn entitles them to be considered for admission to the Girls' College of Education at the University of Riyadh to be trained as upper elementary and intermediate level teachers. The Girls' College of Education also offers a four-year program leading to the Bachelor of Arts in education with majors available in Islamic Studies, Arabic language, English language, Education and psychology, Geography, Chemistry, Physics, and Home Economics (37, pp. 80-81).

There are also a variety of educational opportunities available for Saudis outside the general curriculum. Among these are institutions of technical training, private educational establishments, agriculture institutes, special education facilities, and adult education programs. Private schools are supervised by the Ministry of Education, receive monetary assistance from the government, and are required to adhere to the regular public school curriculum. There are international schools as well, but these are not open to Saudis since Islamic studies are not taught (37, p. 77). Technical education is offered in several Vocational Training Centers under the supervision of the Ministry of Labor. These centers feature eighteen-month programs in fifteen areas and are open to Saudis who have completed

five years of primary schooling and meet certain other admission requirements. Graduates are much in demand on the labor market and are highly paid (37, p. 77). Industrial Training Institutes offer technical training for several electrical and mechanical vocations at the secondary level, and three-year secondary Commerce Institutes are available for students interested in financial, clerical, and commercial positions (37, pp. 77-78). Three-year secondary Agricultural Institutes are at this time in the developmental stage (37, p. 78).

By far the most extensive of the educational programs provided by the government outside the regular school curriculum are the literacy programs for adults. Because of the scope of these programs, and because of the special problems that they present, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to them.

Perspectives on Reading and Adult Instructional

Materials and Media

As a recent study on adult education points out, "The changing nature of our society requires virtually all citizens to gain new skills and intellectual orientations throughout their lives" (19, p. 3). Similarly, a UNESCO report notes,

Hundreds of millions of adults need education, not only for the pleasure of perfecting their capacities or contributing to their own development, as before, but because the demands for over-all social, economic, and cultural development of twentieth-century societies require the maximum potential of an educated citizenry (15, p. 142).

Adult education is far from a new concept to the Islamic world. Referring to the great period of Islamic scholarship in the centuries following the death of the Prophet, McGregor writes, "During its early centuries, Islam was an adult education movement . . ." (29, p. 50). However, the recent unprecedented social and economic expansion which has taken place in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has focused new attention on the problem of educating that nation's adults, especially that segment of its adult population which does not know how to read and write. The Saudi Arabian government, in fact, has devoted a sizeable portion of its energies and its resources to combatting illiteracy among its adults. The purposes of this section are to examine the government's efforts in this area and to assess the relative effectiveness of these efforts. Since for the purposes of this general study there is no need to repeat or distinguish among the many definitions of illiteracy (17, pp. 4-18; 27, p. 156), the definition given in the opening chapter of this study will

be used. By that definition, an illiterate is "a person not within the usual school age who does not have reading and writing proficiency commensurate with that of the average student of the fourth grade level."

Prior to 1949 the only organized literacy education for adults was carried out in the kuttab conducted in the mosque (16, p. 3). Government participation in adult literacy education began in 1949 with a small program of evening primary education conducted by private institutions subsidized by the government; this aid to private institutions was discontinued when government participation in basic adult education became more extensive (23, p. 6).

The government's fight against illiteracy really got underway, however, with the establishment by the Ministry of Education of the Popular Culture Department in 1954. The Popular Culture Department, whose purpose was to attack the problem of illiteracy among the nation's adults, was originally placed under the authority of the Primary Education Department. Because of increasing demand for its services, it became independent of the Primary Education Department in 1958. Its name has recently been changed to Adult Education Department (3, 7).

It should not be supposed that the nation's entire program of adult literacy education has been exclusively in the hands of the Popular Culture Department, however. Abd-el Wassie points out the contributions of many other governmental agencies: the Ministry of Agriculture, which has made efforts to resettle nomads; the Ministry of Interior, which organized literacy courses for the police force; the Ministry of Defense, which provided literacy education for the army; and the Ministry of Information, which has aided the cause of the literacy campaign by means of publications, radio, and television (1, p. 44). The Department of General Culture and Ministry of Public Health have also contributed significantly (1, p. 44). In short, vast governmental resources have been expended in the war against what has been referred to as the "great national handicap" (41, p. 3).

The Popular Culture Department's program, nevertheless, constituted the major campaign against illiteracy. The Department's program was designed to produce literate adult students after two years of part-time study, with a second two-year program to follow. The second two-year segment was devoted to academic background and religious education. The four-year program was designed to serve as the equivalent of the regular six-year elementary school program, and the adult

who completed the four years successfully was eligible for an elementary certificate (43, p. 102). The Popular Culture Department's program was aimed at urban adults, and its goal in 1965, one source states, was "to develop an educated urban population capable of adapting to the rapid changes the society is experiencing" (43, p. 102).

Steady and substantial growth characterized the early years of the anti-illiteracy program. Between 1960 and 1965, over 13,800 adults completed at least two years of the program (43, p. 103), and in 1964 over 35,000 adults were participating (43, pp. 102-103). Some ten years later, due mainly to the effects of the first Development Plan, this total had swollen to almost 100,000 students, approximately 25 per cent of whom were women (37, p. 77). Table VI provides a clear view of the program's steady growth up to the extremely rapid expansion which began with the approach of the mid-1970s. During the period of steady growth there was a corresponding increase in the Popular Culture Department's budget, from 1,440,720 riyals in 1962-63 to 3,140,000 riyals in 1971-72 (17, p. 2).

As noted, the main thrust of the government's anti-illiteracy program was aimed at urban adults in its early stages. Illiteracy was especially high in remote, rural areas, and particularly among the Bedouins. For many years

TABLE VI

GROWTH IN ADULT EDUCATION, 1964-1976 (31, 35)

School Year	Schools	Classes	Students
1964-65	393	1,172	32,739
1965-66	397	1,082	33,374
1966-67	500	1,267	37,698
1967-68	550	1,296	36,071
1968-69	613	1,440	36,793
1969-70	607	1,633	42,314
1970-71	609	1,696	42,677
1971-72	624	1,772	46,034
1972-73	749	2,148	54,234
1973-74	904	2,765	70,938
1974-75	1,425	4,252	99,673
1975-76	1,743	5,107	95,341

This table is made up of the combined total of the Ministry of Education, Girls' Education Administration, Ministry of Defense, Public Security, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and Private Education.

Bedouin attendance in the regular schools system had been extremely low (14, p. 141), and the rate of illiteracy was consequently very high among the adult population. "Education

. . . is highly valued among the Bedouin," Cole notes, "but it is difficult for them to get an education and remain nomads" (14, p. 142).

One of the methods employed by the Popular Culture Department in its effort to reach the adults of the more remote areas was the creation of a program of Summer Literacy Campaigns. Initiated in 1967 with a single program in the Kho-aa district (23, p. 9), the project had enrolled 10,339 students by the end of the summer of 1976 (8). The Summer Literacy Campaign offers courses during the summer months when teachers in the regular schools are free, and its programs are conducted in areas where normal schooling is still underdeveloped. Although the teaching of reading, writing, and simple arithmetic is the chief objective of the summer campaigns, they have also been used, the Ministry of Education points out, as "a sort of social promotion for communities needing necessary religious, hygienic, and occupational services" (23, p. 9). Thus, in addition to teachers of reading, the project has employed doctors, specialists in Islamic culture, and experts in such areas as hygiene and occupational training. The program has also drawn the attention of education professionals and has served as a training ground for teachers in the most recent methods in adult education (23,

pp. 9-10). Methods and techniques developed in the summer programs have been incorporated into the syllabus of the teacher-training institutes (1, p. 47).

Another area in which methods developed to meet the special needs of adults in remote areas have become an essential element in the literacy program as a whole is the extensive use of the broadcast media. Radio has proven an especially valuable tool in the government's struggle against general word-of-mouth news inaccuracies and rumors which lead to confusion and mistrust in isolated areas (43, p. 188). It serves as an essential communications link between isolated regions and the outside world. "It is impossible to determine the number of receivers in the country, but it is widely believed that every Bedouin tribe has at least one transistorized portable radio capable of receiving not only domestic stations, but most other Middle East stations as well" (43, p. 177).

Television has been used extensively as an educational device in urban areas. In noting the extraordinary popularity of television in Saudi Arabia since its introduction by Aramco in 1957, the Area Handbook for Saudi Arabia notes that "the attraction of television was reported to be having an effect in encouraging the Bedouin to settle" (43, p. 184). In

spite of the overall popularity of the medium, the use of educational television dropped from 20 per cent to 15.1 per cent of the total percentage of television programs between 1969 and 1972 (11, p. 259). Boyd referred to the large emphasis on entertainment programs (11, p. 259). Boyd attributes the lack of enthusiasm for early educational television to the fact that the Ministry of Information officials who staged the first educational programs "were not educators and did not pretend to be," the lack of trained technical personnel, and the lack of cooperation between the Ministry of Information and other ministries involved in the production of educational programs (11, pp. 259-260). In spite of the low quality of most early educational programs, the same writer found the Ministry of Education's Adult Literacy Programs to be "well planned and presented" (11, p. 260). He describes the general format of the programs as follows:

The television instructor uses various teaching aids when presenting the Arabic alphabet and the combination of sounds made therefrom. Women's voices are used to repeat sounds although the women do not appear on the program. Part of the lesson is devoted to a skit or short dramatic presentation which demonstrates the use of material presented in the program (11, pp. 260-261).

The Ministry of Education's televised literacy training programs were first shown in Riyadh and Jeddah on an

experimental basis in 1965 (43, p. 103). Currently, a series of fifty-two lessons is shown on a year-round once-a-week basis. Programs are thirty minutes each, with material taken from two first-stage books for both adult and general education currently used in the regular sessions. The programs now in use were produced jointly by the Ministries of Education and Information and were first presented in 1971-72. Regular broadcast time is 8:00 P.M. (36). Regarding the evaluation of ETV, Boyd stated,

The amount of educational material on Saudi television is insufficient for the kingdom considering that the country is developing and that the need exists for a campaign to raise the literacy rate and for programs on such topics as basic hygiene, nutrition, and driving safety (11, p. 262).

Although the Summer Literacy Campaigns and the use of educational television are important functions of the Ministry's literacy training program, the real heart of the program is the system of afternoon and evening basic literacy courses. The Ministry of Education is in charge of both men's and women's programs, which are essentially identical in course content although they are conducted separately, with men's classes meeting at night and women's in the afternoon. The basic curriculum for the program is detailed in Table VII. Textbooks are provided free of charge by the

TABLE VII

SCHEDULE OF STUDY FOR BASIC ADULT LITERACY CLASSES (30)

Subjects		Preliminary Stage		Follow-up Stage	
		First Grade	Second Grade	First Grade	Second Grade
Religion	Al Qur'an	2	2	2	2
	Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence)				
	Tawhid (Theology)	1	1	1	1
	Hadith (Traditions of the Prophet)	..	..	1	1
	Total Per Week	3	3	4	4
Arabic Language	Spelling and Writing	8	6	..	..
	Reading	..	..	2	2
	Dictation and Calligraphy	..	..	1	1
	Diction and Memorization	..	..	1	1
	Grammar	..	..	2	2
	Total Per Week	8	6	6	6
Social Science and Health	History	..	..	1	1
	Geography	..	..	1	1
	Health	1	2	..	..
	Total Per Week	1	2	2	2
Mathematics	Math	3	4	3	3
	Geometry	..	..	1	1
	Total Per Week	3	4	4	4
Sciences	Universe Science, Health, and Agriculture	..	..	2	2
	Total Per Week	..	..	2	2
Grand Total Per Week		15	15	18	18
Grand Total Per Month		60	60	72	72
Grand Total Per Academic Year		420	420	504	504

government, and students who obtain the primary certificate are given a cash award (37, p. 77). Instruction is by regular teachers in the public schools, who are paid extra for their work, and classes are conducted in regular public school facilities (22, p. 213; 37, p. 77). The basic course, as shown in Table VII, is two years in duration; the second two-year stage consists of follow-up courses to guard against backsliding into illiteracy. The course of study is spread over eight months of the year.

The Development Plans

In his study published in 1970, former Deputy Minister of Education Abd-el Wassie wrote,

The whole issue of illiteracy should be reviewed and replanned to cover all illiterates over school age. The syllabuses should contain a certain amount of technical training and should be planned by a body representative of the authority and the various active sectors of the population who believe in its necessity in order to assure more efficient production, a higher standard of living and a nation better equipped to face the responsibilities imposed by its geographical situation on the map of the world (1, p. 68).

A review of the adult literacy program was indeed carried out in the first Five Year Development Plan, although this review was neither as comprehensive or as ambitious as were those received by other segments of the educational system.

The plan called for the extension of the literacy program "through the expansion of the literacy center system, the continuation of the summer campaign program, and the use of television" (24, p. 100). It further called for the establishment of a regional training center to be used for the training of instructor specialists in literacy programs and adult education (24, p. 100). Expansion of the basic evening program of literacy instruction from 592 to 792 schools was planned, and a projection of more than 77,000 students enrolled was made for the final year of the plan. Of these 77,000, some 50,000 were expected to be in the basic literacy plan with the remainder enrolled in the two-year follow-up program. Regarding the concentrated summer programs, at least 1,000 adult students were expected for each three-month session. Provisions were also made in the plan for opportunities for literacy education to be publicized through an organized program and for the incorporation of short literacy courses (24, pp. 121-122). The plan also called for increasing the number of teachers in the basic literacy program from 1,853 to 3,383 by 1974-75 (24, p. 123).

It was previously noted that Hammad is critical of this plan because it made no provision for females and because it dealt with academic rather than functional literacy (18, p. 266).

Hammad also writes that the targets of the plan, such as the overall increase in enrollment from some 40,000 in 1969-70 to approximately 77,000 in 1974-75, "are some of the most modest in terms of the rate of growth in the plan and they could--and should--have been increased substantially" (18, pp. 264-265). Hammad elsewhere recommends that newer concepts in "functional literacy" and "life-long education" be made a part of future plans for educational development (18, p. 323).

Although the plan's goals for overall expansion in adult literacy education may have been modest, as Hammad states, they were exceeded in some, but not all, areas. The inclusion of 28,893 female enrollees in the total adult literacy attendance figures for 1974-75 produced a total of 84,433, some 7,000 more than the projection, although male attendance considered separately fell below the targeted total (26, p. 350; 37, p. 97). Planned increases in the number of teachers exceeded expectations, reaching a total of 6,326 in 1974-75, of which 1,445 were in the female division (37, p. 97). The 1,114 schools in 1974-75, 99 of which were for females, far exceeded the projected 792 (37, p. 97).

Numerical projections of the Second Development Plan were far less modest than those for the first plan. It

forecast an increase in total enrollment of 84,433 to 519,831 (393,751 female) and a total increase in teachers from 6,326 to 31,061 (19,687 female). The Second Plan also projected an increase in teachers in the adult literacy program from 1,114 to 3,327, with 1,312 of this total female (26, p. 350).

The Second Plan's goals for adult programs stressed expansion of the opportunities for intermediate and secondary education on a part-time basis, expansion of the literacy program to all areas of the Kingdom, organization of summer campaigns for isolated areas, and the initiation of an incentive program to encourage participation in literacy education (26, p. 260). General proposals for women's education included expansion of the program to all areas of the Kingdom, making the syllabus more relevant to women, reinforcing the program by means of use of public information media, and the development of training programs to prepare teachers in the area of adult literacy (26, p. 289).

Specifics of the Second Plan called for the addition of 200 schools a year in the male division and considerable expansion of the annual summer campaigns. The summer programs for rural and nomadic groups were targeted for 3,000 initial participants, increasing to 5,000 per year by 1974-75 and

involving a total of 20,000 during the period covered by the plan (26, pp. 276-279). The girls' division projected 89,000 graduates during the period of the plan. The girls' division also stressed the production of supplementary radio and television material and the establishment of intensive short-term training courses for teachers in the literacy program (26, pp. 299-305).

An overall evaluation of the Second Plan's success in dealing with the problems and shortcomings of the adult literacy programs is, of course, premature at this time. Certain projects have already been put into practice, such as the payment of incentive pay in the amount of 500 riyals (some \$175) to adults who complete the elementary certificate (37, p. 73). Acclaim has been given to the general achievements in adult literacy by both governmental (34, pp. 129-131) and non-governmental sources (16, pp. 6-8; 22, pp. 198, 213). But there are certainly problems with the program, and its general goals and methods have recently been questioned (32, appendix 6, p. 12).

Hammad criticizes the program's ineffectiveness, noting a government estimate of 1972 of an illiteracy percentage of 95 per cent (including 99 per cent of the adult female population). The same author evaluates the program's performance

as follows:

Quantitatively, the program (although it costs the least of all types of education because it utilizes the same teaching and administrative staffs, buildings, and facilities of elementary schools) has not responded to the needs of the majority of Saudi Arabian adult males. Qualitatively, the two-stage (adult education and follow-up) program emphasizes within its limited curriculum the three basic R's, reading, writing, and arithmetic, which are often forgotten at the end of the four-year course period (18, p. 309).

Hammad ends with a recommendation for the gradual replacement of the program with a "functionally-oriented alternative that would eradicate the existing functional illiteracy of most of the people . . ." (18, p. 309).

Very meaningful criticism of the literacy program resulted from a conference held in early January of 1978 in Riyadh. Covered in a three-part story in Al-Jazeera (4), the conference was attended by the country's leading educational authorities, including the Minister of Education, the Minister of Planning, and the Minister of Information. General criticism was aimed at the adult literacy program for its failures in several areas, especially in the failure of its curriculum to meet the needs of the adult population. Participants were also critical of the program's television

project, noting a need for more qualified television personnel and for possible changes in the timing of programs. Also discussed were various motivational problems within the program and the general need for compulsory education laws to attack the problem of illiteracy at a lower level.

The present author feels that the Adult Literacy Program is falling far short of expectation. The major reasons for the program's shortcomings are set forth in the following pages.

The Classroom Environment

Many problems exist which stand in the way of literacy training under the current system. The program has several built-in drawbacks in the general classroom environment which produce adverse psychological effects on the adult learners.

One problem is that of young teachers. All teachers in the literacy program are part-timers who teach in the elementary day schools and are paid extra for their work at night. These teachers have certificates from the regular elementary teachers' training schools, which is the equivalent of a ninth-grade level education by U.S. standards. While the use of young teachers might prove advantageous in the regular day schools, the teachers' youth is a decided disadvantage in the adult program. The illiterate adult, already

in a psychologically precarious situation, easily grows resentful of the authority of the young teacher. The use of young teachers with illiterate adults puts a definite strain on the usual teacher-student relationship. As pointed out in Chapter II (pp. 51-52), Saudi Arabians have traditionally shown great respect for age. Young people are not permitted to smoke in the presence of their elders or even to sit while an older person is standing. In a society less accustomed to honor and respect for older citizens, the use of young teachers for adult classes might cause no particular problem. In Saudi Arabia, however, the problem is definitely present. In a word, it is difficult for the adult literacy student to show proper respect for a teacher half or less than half his age as elders qualified in Islamic society.

Another built-in disadvantage closely related to the age of the teachers is the use of elementary school facilities for adult education. It is not difficult to imagine the psychological stress placed upon the sensitive adult illiterate by the usual furnishings and trappings of the elementary classroom. It is not difficult to imagine that many adult illiterates consider the use of elementary facilities demeaning. Ulmer, in his book, Teaching the Disadvantaged Adult, stated, "Hopefully, rules and regulations established for children--

such as 'No Smoking' can be altered" (42, p. 12).

Another basic factor of classroom environment which is detrimental to the learning process is the poor time designated for classes. Classes are held five days per week, Saturday through Wednesday, at 6:00 P.M. Since both teachers and students normally leave work at 5:00, the 6:00 P.M. class time is not conducive either to teaching or learning.

Methods and Materials

According to Ulmer, "In teaching adults--any adults, advantaged or disadvantaged--the education program should be as appropriate to the interests and abilities of the student as it should be when children are being taught" (42, p. 7). It is doubtful that the methods and materials used in the adult literacy program would measure up to Ulmer's standards.

The materials used in the literacy program are for the most part doubly unsuitable, since they are more suitable for children than adults and since they ignore the needs of adult women. The basic reader used in the program is not suitable for adult learners.

The problems with the reader are many. It has little continuity from section to section and no relevance between subjects of the lessons. It is poorly arranged, with drills

that are too long and which do not teach the building of words and sentences from previously covered material. The poor planning of the book is typified by the inclusion of several foreign names, which are frequently confusing to adults, who take an unfamiliar name often to be a word that they do not understand. It is recommended on pp. 209-211 that new materials be developed and that special teams be created to choose materials for each class. Thus, it is implied that old materials would be replaced with more appropriate materials.

However, because of the lack of enthusiasm for the book shown by the Saudi Arabian adult illiterates who use it, it is fair to assume that the material is of little interest to them. A report on the failure of the adult curriculum to meet the needs of illiterate adults was reported in Al Jazeera, January 8, 9, and 10, 1978 (4).

As previously stated, the materials of the reader are of no interest to female students. None of the reading selection deals with topics from the everyday experience of Saudi women, such as cooking, sewing, and homemaking skills in general. The omission of materials directly related to women's lives tends to make the learning experience for women more academic than functional. Although it has been recently reported that "the

current syllabus is to be modified to make the basic subject material more relevant to women's needs" (22, p. 198), the promised revision has not yet been made. The main objection to the reader from the point of view of adult education is the content. The material presented is essentially irrelevant in that it does not deal with the student's daily lives. The book is aimed at far too young an age group for its present use. Adult students are insulted rather than amused by the moral lessons of didactic stories which are more appropriate for children than for adults.

Although the subject matter is elementary, the drill material is very difficult. Students are frequently unable to master the language concepts presented in the lessons in a single class period. Many structural patterns are far too difficult for the time and space they are given. The order in which the subject matter is presented is questionable.

Another significant problem with the curriculum for the program is that it is simply too demanding of the students' time and energies to be practical. Most adult literacy students have jobs and family responsibilities. The heavy academic load imposed upon them is stressful and counter-productive. The overall course of study is so full that insufficient time remains for the development of reading

skills, which should be the primary target of the program.

One final problem to be mentioned in this context involves the televised series of lessons. The technical quality of the programs is often poor, since programs are made by personnel who lack adequate technical training and experience. The programs are shown at poor times, also, as morning hours would be more convenient for many adults, especially women, who in Saudi Arabia usually spend the morning hours at home.

Motivation to Study

In spite of vast expenditures, the government has had limited success in motivating adults to enroll in and to complete the literacy training program. The incentives used are far-removed and often irrelevant. A fine example is the monetary reward given upon completion of the four-year program. While money is a strong motivator, the effectiveness of a reward offered four years in the future is questionable.

In Hamidi's excellent study of motivational factors in the adult literacy program (17), he studied the motivational effectiveness of eleven basic needs using as subjects a broad sampling of students, teachers, and administrators in the program at Riyadh. The motivating factors evaluated were as

follows:

1. Economic and business needs
2. Vocational needs
3. Political needs
4. Daily needs (meaning "learning to meet the demands of daily living)
5. Privacy (in personal correspondence, business dealings, etc.)
6. Social status and prestige
7. Religious needs
8. Marriagability
9. Need for self-improvement and self-esteem
10. Leisure (need for constructive use of leisure time)
11. Sociability (personal contacts made during the educational activity itself) (17, pp. 35-48).

Hamidi's conclusions concentrated on six factors (items were combined for purpose of analysis), which were all found to be "motivating factors toward initial enrollment of adult male illiterates in Adult Basic Education in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia" (17, p. 132).

The significance here of Hamidi's findings is that many motivational factors have been found to be effective as incentives for literacy training. From his lengthy list

of possible motivating factors, only two, a feeling of not knowing enough and the need to get a driver's license, were rejected for possible use in recruiting illiterates (17, p. 138). With so many excellent motivational factors at their disposal, literacy program planners should be able to improve present enrollment figures for the adult literacy program.

The present author's proposed solutions to the problems just stated will be presented in the next and final chapter of this study.

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CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Education and Literacy in Saudi Arabia

Although the Prophet Mohammed commanded his followers to seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave, the area now occupied by the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has long suffered from a high rate of illiteracy among its inhabitants. In the centuries immediately following the Prophet's death, a great period of Arabic scholarly activity took place, but the area eventually fell into a long period in which scholarship was not cultivated. For centuries education was far from universal, and the schooling that was available was religiously oriented. It consisted mainly of memorization of the Qur'an and was conducted in traditional Islamic mosque-centered institutions known as madrasah and kuttabs.

The modern period of education in Saudi Arabia may be said to begin in 1926 when King Ibn Saud formed the Directorate General of Education. Since that date a campaign against the Kingdom's illiteracy has been carried out with gradually increasing enthusiasm and effort. The discovery in the 1930s of Saudi Arabia's vast petroleum resources under-

lined the need for an extensive campaign against illiteracy. Oil created an urgent need for rapid development of the Kingdom's manpower resources through education, and at the same time oil provided the financial resources needed to achieve this development.

In spite of abundant financial backing, the literacy campaign has been confronted with formidable obstacles. It has been slowed down by such factors as the nomadic character of a large segment of the population, the traditional conservatism of the Islamic culture, the forbidding geographic nature of the land, and the total lack of trained educational personnel. Other problems include the traditionally secluded lifestyle of Saudi women, for whom no formal public education was offered until 1960, and the country's long history of poverty and poor nutrition, proven detriments to learning.

The government's two development plans which cover the decade from 1970 to 1980 include ambitious goals and plans for dealing with the problems of the literacy campaign. Although progress has been made, much remains to be done. This is especially true of the program to combat illiteracy among adults.

The adult literacy campaign has faced its own set of obstacles. These include a curriculum which is generally unsuitable for adult learners, the necessity to use young, relatively inexperienced, part-time teachers, and the use of elementary facilities for classrooms. The adult program has failed to provide either the quality or the quantity of education necessary if the nation's high rate of illiteracy is to be significantly reduced.

One possible solution to the inadequacies of the adult literacy program would be the adaptation for use in Saudi Arabia of one of the many successful reading programs for adults used in other countries. Some of the programs which might serve as models are the following.

Reading Programs from Other Countries

One of the most successful of the adult literacy programs is the ambitious United States Right to Read program, which was announced in late 1969 and has spread throughout the country since that time (8, p. 6). The stated objective of the Right to Read program is "to ensure that by 1980, 99 per cent of those under sixteen will have the skills to read to the full limits of their desires and 90 per cent of those over sixteen will possess the use of literary skills" (5, p. 30). To attain this end, Right to Read works through a variety

of organizations and institutions. These include school-based centers, community-based centers, public libraries, colleges and universities, business and industry, and various community and volunteer groups (5, p. 37).

The methods used in the Right to Read project vary according to the needs of the situation. Dr. Ruth Love Holloway, director of the Right to Read Office of the U.S. Office of Education, states, "In various Right to Read projects we have confirmed again that reading is an individually learned skill. People learn at different rates and no one method works for all" (5, p. 35). Holloway also emphasizes that each community has its own particular needs and for this reason Right to Read "favors locally initiated and locally run adult academies or centers established within the framework of the community's local agencies" (5, p. 32). Holloway also stresses that materials for adult literacy education must be adult materials, that materials suitable for children will not work with adults (5, p. 35). The use of functional, practical materials is also advocated:

Adults are interested in practical material geared to their needs. For the person seeking a better job, this means materials should relate to the world of work. A housewife finds especially interesting those materials that help her in food buying and preparation and in the care of her children (5, p. 35).

The need for practical materials, closely related to the adult learner's daily life, is also stressed by UNESCO. In its initial report on a vast program of pilot projects conducted in twelve countries, UNESCO states,

From the outset it appeared--and it is becoming increasingly obvious--that a functional literacy programme cannot be carried out successfully if the need for such a programme is not felt by the illiterate population as well as by the employers, if it is not integrated into existing economic and social structures, and if the action it calls for is not directly related to occupational requirements (9, p. 23).

For this reason the UNESCO programs used materials individualized for the needs of the region. In Mali, for example, materials and teaching methods were adapted to the various industrial and artisanal interests of one region and to the agricultural interests of another. At Isfahan four programs were created for the textile and steel-making district, two for the agricultural sector, and three for women (9, p. 19).

The UNESCO project has also experimented with series of complementary textbooks, textbooks to accompany media broadcasts, weekly instructions for adults following courses, and the use of lessons inserted in local newspapers (9, p. 22). Programmed education, computers, television, and radio were also used (9, p. 22). Attempts were also made to encourage

participation through the use of financial and occupational incentives, such as granting special bonuses, giving preference for promotions, and conducting classes wholly or partly during working hours (9, p. 22).

An extensive survey of 100 adult literacy projects in fifty-two countries (1) led to several conclusions which should be kept in mind by planners of literacy projects in other areas. These include the following.

1. The reading level attained by adults in most programs is too low to prevent relapse into illiteracy. "A reading and writing ability equivalent to at least five years' primary school would appear the minimum in order to avoid relapse" (1, p. 123).

2. There is statistical evidence that students attain higher levels in large classes than in small ones and that the drop-out rate in larger classes is lower than in smaller ones (1, p. 123).

3. There is a need for more extensive training of instructors in the practice of "functional literacy" programs (1, p. 123).

4. In regard to drop-outs, trends show that there are fewer drop-outs in countries with lower levels of literacy and in larger classes. Material incentives also tend to make

the rate of drop-out lower, as do requirements of some payment by the participants. Significantly, there is a higher rate of drop-out when radio or television is used and when school teachers are used as instructors (1, p. 125).

These conclusions are taken into account in the following recommendations for adult literacy training in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

Proposed Program for Implementing Recommendations

to Increase Literacy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

The following recommendations are made with reference only to the adult literacy education program in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. They are offered with the understanding that other sections of the Kingdom, especially remote regions with predominantly nomadic populations, present an entirely different set of problems which require other solutions.

These recommendations, therefore, are designed for an urban population which depends upon commerce and industry rather than agriculture for its livelihood. They are designed also for Muslim adults, whose daily lives are a constant expression of the Islamic faith and its customs. In short, they are intended for a population with the problems of modern city dwellers who are at the same time accustomed

to such traditional practices as the separation of men and women and the inseparability of the religious and the secular. However, in keeping with tradition, separate Adult Reading Centers for women should be maintained. Women's centers would feature materials of interest to women (2, pp. 33-34).

Reading is universally the cornerstone of the learning process. For the illiterate adult of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, the acquisition of reading skills can be of two-fold significance: it can serve as a direct means of improving vocational potential, hence earning power and standard of living, and it can enable him to obey Allah's first injunction to man, namely that he read and that he educate himself.

Survey of City for Need and Establishment of Target Group

The initial step in improving the Riyadh adult reading program should be making an accurate assessment of the scope and nature of the problem. A census of the city's population should be made. Along with this census, accurate information regarding the rate of illiteracy among the adult population should be compiled. This information is necessary both for planning the program and for measuring its success.

After the necessary background information has been gathered, the second step would be for a committee of people

experienced in teaching Saudi adults to be established for the purpose of developing new materials and types of learning methods.

The next step to be taken would be the establishment of programs for the training of teachers and for the recruitment of illiterates.

Training Teachers

Although there is a shortage of teachers in the Riyadh adult literacy program, many of the best potential teachers are overlooked. Rather than continuing the present system of using only elementary day school teachers as adult reading teachers, teachers should be drawn from other areas of society.

It is recommended that wide use be made of graduates of Arabic colleges as teachers in the campaign against illiteracy. The graduates of Arabic colleges are trained as teachers of Arabic and can, with some additional help, be qualified to teach reading to adults. Similarly, secondary school students and army personnel might be used in the same way.

Another possible source of teachers of adults may be found in the imams, or religious leaders, of the mosques. The imams are particularly well suited as teachers of adults

because they are older individuals and as such might more easily gain the respect of adult learners. The imams are literate individuals who with a small amount of specialized training could be valuable adult reading teachers. Because they are highly respected in the community, their participation would lend great moral support to the program.

Elementary day school teachers could be compensated by a reduction in their teaching load for serving as advisors and tutors in reading centers. Participation by these teachers would be voluntary.

The instructors recruited from among the Islamic colleges, secondary schools, military, and local imams would be trained in an intensive twelve week course. In this course they would be instructed in the teaching methods and acquainted with the materials selected by a committee appointed to direct the program.

Recruiting and Motivation

Since so much of the program's success depends upon the recruitment of volunteer students and the motivation of students to continue, strong measures are in order in these areas.

It is recommended that jobs above a certain level be

restricted to those who can demonstrate the attainment of basic literacy and that those who drive automobiles be required to have a valid, current driver's license and that one requirement for obtaining the license be the demonstration of basic literacy. Classes for learning to drive could be combined with those which teach reading.

To serve as a strong and positive incentive, it is recommended that a cooperative program be established in which workers are allowed to participate in adult reading classes wholly or partly during working hours. As in UNESCO programs (9, p. 22), business could also pay special bonuses or give preference for promotion upon successful completion of courses. As the worker's participation in the reading program benefits both government and industry, the two could be expected to share the cost of the worker's time lost from work. This practice would also serve as a strong motivator in that it would relieve some of the problem of lost leisure time of students.

Another factor which may be considered is a small amount of released work time for the use of Adult Reading Centers. More effective and more extensive use can also be made of the public media in an effort to bring illiterate adults to the reading classes and the reading centers.

It is recommended also that the use of the Qur'an as a reader be encouraged and expanded. The Qur'an has the advantage of being already familiar to the adult learner. It also serves as a strong incentive to learn, since learning to read the Qur'an seems to be the principal reason that many enter the reading program.

For use as a possible motivator, studies may be made of the use of larger classes, as indicated in the research previously cited (1, p. 123), in an effort to lower the rate of drop-outs. A search of related studies done through the use of ERIC indicates that classes with more than thirty-one adults may be more successful (1, p. 100).

It should be pointed out in passing that the greatest motivator as well as the greatest recruiting device is a successful program which effectively teaches adults to read. Success and the feeling of achievement which comes with it can provide the greatest incentives to continue (7, p. 105; 10, pp. 27-30). As Hamidi states, "Students are especially motivated by religion, and recruitment should emphasize this approach" (3, p. 138). Hamidi's suggested use of "social status and prestige" as a motivator can be seen in the recommendation for granting certificates of attainment. It is also inherent in the recommendation that jobs above a

certain level be open only to those who can demonstrate literacy.

Establishing Centers for Learning

The use of literacy centers was proposed in the first development plan, discussed in the previous chapter, as were summer literacy campaigns and regional training centers. The present author's recommendations regarding literacy centers go far beyond those of the development plan, giving the reading centers far greater importance in the total reading program. They also offer new concepts not included in the current program, such as counseling, individualized instruction, and granting of certificates of attainment.

Adult Reading Centers similar to Right to Read's Adult Academies (5, pp. 29-37) should be established in neighborhoods throughout Riyadh. These centers would provide instruction on a private or semi-private basis and would be open to all adults, whether they participate in the regular class sections or not. Separate facilities would be available, in order to satisfy the social custom of not having men and women participate in such activities together. These centers would offer continuing instruction via closed-circuit television and other audiovisual media, and ample reading material would be provided to encourage practice. The reading centers

should also provide counseling service to adults for both academic and personal problems.

It is important that these centers be conceived of and operated as neighborhood centers, small enough to offer a personalized approach toward learning. They should also be conveniently placed in order to serve those without automobiles. Mobile reading centers could be used for remote, suburban areas of the city. As with Right to Read Adult Academies, Riyadh's Adult Reading Centers should be locally run and should function within the framework of the community and its local agencies (5, p. 32). They should be manned by familiar, local people. They should remain open for use from early morning until late in the evening to insure availability even for those with unusual work schedules.

In short, the Reading Centers would be designated and operated so as to make learning to read as pleasant and as convenient an experience as possible. They would serve four very useful purposes: (1) as reinforcement and practice centers for adults currently participating in regular classes, (2) as primary learning centers for those adults who, because of time conflicts or for personal reasons, are not currently participating in the regular classes, (3) as practice and reinforcement centers for new readers, offering an interesting

and changing supply of reading material of varying degrees of difficulty, as well as advanced reading programs for readers with some basic skills, and (4) as meeting places where illiterates and new readers could discuss and receive counseling in problems common to those with no proficiency or low proficiency in reading.

It is also recommended that these reading centers grant certificates of attainment similar to those granted by the regular class program. These would be conferred upon the successful completion of examinations devised by the Ministry of Education.

It is recommended that libraries be maintained in the mosques. These libraries would feature religious reading materials and would provide adult men with quiet and pleasant reading areas in a place that they visit frequently.

Although multi-media may have caused some diversity in the function of libraries in the Western countries, the countries of the Middle East, and especially Saudi Arabia, are just beginning to promote literacy as a way of life for all people. Therefore, these Mosque libraries would enable the average Saudi male citizen to enhance his new reading skills in a place where he normally frequents. Libraries in a mosque and reading centers should be equipped mainly with

audio-visual materials dealing with adults' needs and should be chosen by a special committee.

The highly unsuitable practice of holding adult classes in the elementary schools was pointed out in the previous chapter. As an alternative, it is recommended that classes be held in the mosques. The mosques are natural meeting places with which adults are familiar. They are adult meeting places, while the elementary schools currently in use as adult classrooms are designed for use by children and are, therefore, degrading to adults obliged to use them. Mosques as classrooms for adults also enjoy the advantage of being a frequently visited place since Muslim men regularly pray five times a day.

Other locations in which classes could be held, when the use of public school facilities is needed, are the secondary schools and the universities. These have the psychological advantage of being less demeaning to adult students.

Methods and Materials

Hammad feels that the major problem of the Saudi Arabian educational and development system has been the vain attempt to adopt Western models, especially French and British, to Saudi problems (4, pp. 1-3). More specifically, he criticizes the "uncritical adoption of Western educational models rather

than an adaptation of these models within the Saudi heritage" (4, abstract).

However, this is not to say that foreign experiences should be ignored. Quite to the contrary, the adult literacy program should be built around what Smith refers to as the "eclectic approach" (7, p. 68). Smith describes the eclectic approach as "the soundest of all approaches," adding that

a good reading program for adults will include various approaches, with materials used in different combinations for each student. Attempts to group students homogeneously to get effective teaching have failed for a hundred years (7, p. 68).

As Smith's statement implies, the eclectic approach selects from a variety of sources the materials needed to fit the particular situation. As Smith states, "It selects from among the others the parts that best suit each student's needs and style of learning" (7, p. 68).

Use of the eclectic approach for adult literacy training in Riyadh would require the selection of appropriate materials and methods for individual study groups. For example, one group might progress well with materials presented mainly by means of audio-visual aids, while another group might do better by studying directly from a reader. Each group should

be taught with the methods and materials best suited to its needs.

It is recommended that the materials for each class or study group be selected by special teams created for this purpose. The team would include the teacher who would actually use the materials and specialists in the curriculum who would have knowledge of the materials available.

It is especially appropriate that materials which meet the needs of women be developed. These materials should be developed by Saudi women themselves in order that they might reflect the woman's point of view, since "women's social role is different," as Hamidi comments (2, p. 34).

The overall curriculum for the adult program should be reduced. Such reduction would allow for a more leisurely pace of study and for greater concentration on the development of reading skills. The present program attempts to pack far too much material into the time allotted. If more time is devoted to reading skills, the adult may learn to read with greater ease and proficiency and may thus be encouraged to progress naturally to other subjects.

Another program which should be considered for possible use in Saudi Arabia is the use of a format similar to the SRA Basic Reading Series, produced by Science Research Associates,

Inc. of Chicago. The extensive SRA program consists of six readers, an alphabet book workbooks, tests, and various auxiliary materials. The SRA is a proven system which makes use of a variety of approaches in an effort to produce independent readers as quickly as possible (6).

In order for this series to be used in Saudi Arabia, however, a complete new version rather than a translation would be necessary. Since the SRA method involves carefully planned introduction of words according to linguistic classification, it is obvious that literal translation of SRA texts to Arabic would be essentially meaningless. For use in the adult literacy program, the reading would, of course, have to be upgraded from elementary to adult level. So much would have to be changed in producing an Arabic, adult version of the series that the effectiveness of the result would depend greatly upon the skills of the authors of the Arabic version.

Above all, materials must be made available which are appropriate for adults. Measured by criteria accepted by authorities in the field of adult education (7, pp. 63-77; 9, pp. 22-23), the reader currently in use in the adult literacy program in Riyadh is inappropriate. The teacher, with the approval of the special materials team described above, should be allowed to select from a variety of other approved

materials, or if need be, select or create special materials to meet the special needs of his class. Materials for the adult literacy program in Riyadh should reflect the interests and needs of adult citizens of Riyadh. Materials for use with adult women of Riyadh should be based on the needs and interests of adult women of Riyadh. The materials should be chosen for the needs of the individual class and the individual student. As Smith states, "Different methods work best with different students; no single book, series, kit, or machine-based program is best for all" (7, p. 69).

Use of the Media

Smith states, "Since programs designed for mass media cannot adjust to individual differences, they appear doomed to failure before they start" (7, p. 66). This does not mean, however, that the media, especially television, cannot play a vital role in the literacy program.

Discussing the educational potentialities and limitations of radio and television, Waniewicz writes,

There are a number of things the media can do as well or better than the average teacher and traditional teaching methods and facilities. On the other hand, there are a number of things the media cannot do as well as the teacher and the regular school, but under conditions where a teacher and school are not available, it may be better to have the job done at least to such an extent as is possible

through the media. And of course there are a number of things the media cannot do at all. The answer to these questions will depend, therefore, on the kind of education, the kind of objectives, subject matter, audiences and so on, with which the media will be expected to deal (10, pp. 35-36).

One of the things that the media cannot do at all is to provide individualized instruction in reading which responds at once to the needs of the student. It is recommended, therefore, that in the adult literacy program television be utilized as a reinforcer rather than as a primary teaching device. It would serve mainly as back-up for material presented in the classrooms and in the reading centers.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of the present television programming, the programs should be reevaluated and revised with the above criteria in mind. Revision should be done with the help of the finest educational and technical assistance obtainable.

Qualified personnel, both technical and educational, would have to be brought in from countries such as the United States where educational television has been in use for some time. Eventually, key positions could be filled by Saudis who have gained training and experience in foreign universities and work experiences. Training of personnel for educational television is discussed in detail by Waniewicz

(10, pp. 104-110).

In order to determine the most advantageous airing times for televised lessons, studies should be made. For example, the current schedule might be amended to include morning lesson broadcasts, which would be more convenient for women. As previously pointed out, morning programming would be more convenient for women because most Saudi women are at home during the morning hours.

Other Recommendations

The present author is in agreement with Hammad's recommendation (4, pp. 264-266, 309) that functional rather than academic literacy should be the goal of the adult reading program. Aiming at functional literacy has the advantage of practicality, since the adult learner is exposed at once to matters encountered in his daily life. In the same way, functional literacy training can also serve as a strong motivator, since the learner can see from the start a practical application for his newly acquired skills.

Large government bodies such as the Ministry of Defense and the National Guard should be encouraged to establish their own reading center for the use of their employees and to create systems of incentives for those who participate in

literacy training. Similar motivation might be offered by large private companies. Government bodies and companies should be encouraged also to set up their own programs of literacy training, using their own teachers and facilities. These independent programs should receive assistance when needed from experts in adult literacy education provided by the Ministry of Education. These programs could have several advantages, one of which would be the organization's ability to compel its employees to participate. Another major advantage would be gained through the use of high grade military officers and business executives as teachers, since the respect commanded by their position would tend to carry over into the classroom and to enhance their effectiveness as teachers. In the case of both private and government programs, employees should be allowed to participate in literacy education during regular working hours.

Program Evaluation

Upon implementation of the program an evaluation process should be developed in order to provide an input of information that would aid in program improvement. This evaluation system would include periodic interviews with instructors as well as interviews conducted with enrollees (a ninety-day interval would be appropriate).

These interviews would be conducted by a team selected by the Minister of Education. The team would report its findings to the committee selected to run the overall program.

Information sought through these interviews would include a demographic profile of students attending class (i.e., age, sex, income, occupation, reason for attending).

Other information provided through these interviews would be data on class attendance, materials used and corresponding results, specific needs of specific students, and overall program success.

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