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Relationship Between Degree of Education

and

Dissatisfaction with Traditional Family Values

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Among

Saudi Employees of Aramco

and

by

Dissatisfaction with Traditional Family Values

Halim Isber Barakat

Among

A Thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

Saudi Employees of Aramco. of Arts

in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at

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American University of  
Beirut, August 1960

Halim I. Barakat.

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## ABSTRACT

As soon as one sets his feet in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia one is struck by the fact that an advanced, industrial and complex culture is face to face with a primitive one. The presence of such an advanced culture in Arabia is expected to introduce social change, though the natives look upon their values as sacred and above questioning.

The aim of this thesis is to study the social changes which are being introduced in Saudi family life in Abqaiq as a result of this cultural diffusion. Since education is a primary factor contributing to social change, a questionnaire was constructed to measure the level of education and the degree of satisfaction with traditional family values and attitudes. Putting it more concisely the aim is to study the relationship between education and the attitudes of Saudi Employees in Abqaiq towards traditional family values.

The amount of learning in a school was taken as a measure of the level of education. On this basis four main levels of education were chosen for study: Illiterates, those with lower elementary education, those with upper elementary education, and those with higher levels of education.

To measure the interviewees' attitudes towards traditional family values, thirty seven questions were constructed to determine the extent of their dissatisfaction with polygamy, extended type of family, endogamy, mahr, free divorce, woman's social status, attitudes towards sex, and familism.



In the light of such measurements the hypotheses of this research which deal with the relationship between education and social change in Saudi family life were tested. The results showed that the higher the level of education is the greater the respondents dissatisfaction with traditional family values in Saudi Arabia.

The chi square test, for statistical significance, was used throughout this study.

"Social change occurs because some group  
of persons is unsatisfied."

E.L. Thorndike, The Learning  
Process, 1913, p.60

CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

1. The Problem:

The aim of this thesis is to study the impact of Western culture, as expressed through education, upon the attitudes of Saudi employees in Abqaiq, Saudi Arabia, towards family traditional ways of life.

Ever since the Arabian Oil Company (Aramco) began its work in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia in 1933, change has been one of the most observable phenomena. Such a change has not been limited to one area, but has covered all aspects of life. A homogeneous, traditional, simple culture has been suddenly shaken by a heterogeneous, advanced, industrial, complex and dynamic one. Thus, Saudi traditional culture found itself face to face with such strange things as planes, trucks cars, wealth, radios, televisions, movies, highways, hospitals, schools, unveiled women, books, magazines, newspapers, peoples as well as new patterns of values.

As a result of this new socio-economic impact, new cities arose, bedouins began to settle down, and industry and commerce flourished.

Some people, however, believe that Saudi folk-life has not fundamentally changed. As one of the writer's colleagues put it, only the surface of the stagnant pool has been shaken, while the bottom is still as static as ever. This was well expressed by Ammar in describing an Egyptian village, "... social structure and organization and values have not changed very much. "1 It was long before any one accepted to wear

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1. Hamed Ammar, Growing up in An Egyptian village, Routledge and Kegan Paul LTD, London, 1954, P. 84.

trousers instead of the native "Dashashi", to eat with a spoon instead of their hands, or to wash with soap instead of sand. Some of them accepted such things, but very few have up till now seen their wives before marriage.

This belief is based on the idea that the natives still adhere to their traditional ways of life which are essentially contradictory to Western culture. Consequently, according to this belief, the impact of Western civilization upon the social values of Saudi Arabs could be described in the response designated by Toynbee as "zealotism," that is, "a state of mind and a pattern of behaviour which adheres to the traditional way of life with great scrupulousness and rigidity in the faces of the pressures of the Western challenge."<sup>1</sup> Some writers think that this tendency to resist change is deep rooted in Islam and The Arab mentality. A contemporary Egyptian author, for example, believes that the Muslim rulers are intolerant to any liberal movement and that intolerance is due to the fact that "Islam is not concerned with the relation between the individual and his God as much so with a legislative organization originally enacted for a small city in the desert."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Koran is meant for all places and all times and has, according to Muslims, an answer to every basic question. So, why change anything? As a result of this, a definite set laws were accepted as eternal and infinite. That is why "Arab culture is repetitive. It turns within a closed world already delimited.

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1. Ibid p. 68

2. Muhammad Muhi Ed-Deen, "A Revolution Against Modern Arab Mind" (Arabic), El-Adab, Beirut, Vol. 8, No. 1, January 1960, p. 28.

"1 Moreover, the author of this paper believes that the desert nature of Arabia and its historical isolation helped to a great extent in the creation of the closed and homogeneous type of culture now dominant.

The notion that change among Saudi Arabs is but of superficial nature seems to be the popular belief shared by some foreign Aramco employees. The writer is doubtful, however, of the objectivity of such point of view. This doubt is based on the sociological assumption that people, any people, are not born with innate tendencies to resist change and that a change in one aspect of society may affect its other aspects because it is an integrated living whole. "An example appears in Spicer's book where the introduction of a steel axe into the culture of an Australian tribe led to a complete social disorganization."<sup>2</sup>

Being a teacher of secondary classes at Abqaiq Industrial Training Center, the writer could observe a tendency towards dissatisfaction with family status quo.

This was the first clue to the main problem which has become more interesting when one of the leading newspapers in Jeddah asked for the opinion of some students regarding "marriage problems in Saudi Arabia." All of them expressed dissatisfaction. One of them said, "The problems facing us, so far as marriage is concerned, are, perhaps, the following: First, the Mahr is very expensive. Almost all young men cannot afford to pay the amount of money imposed by traditions. Second, women in Saudi Arabia are illiterate. Third, a young man who wants to marry cannot see

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1. Adonis, "An Attempt to Define Modern Poetry" (Arabic), Shi'r, Beirut, Vol. 2, No. 8, 1959, p. 89

2. Habib R. Habib, Relationship Between Occupational Security and Resistance to Technological Innovations in Rural Lebanon, M.A. Thesis at A.U.B., Beirut, Lebanon, June 1959, pp. 1-2

his wife before marriage. What is more unfortunate is that girls are not consulted as to whom should be their future husbands. Thus, the father would give his daughter in marriage to the one who pays most. Fourth, as a result of these three above-mentioned problems, the Saudi young men prefer to marry non-Saudi Arabs. What would happen to our girls?"<sup>1</sup>

As to the expensiveness of the Mahr, a young student cried, "Oh, fathers, lower the prices of your Jawari."<sup>2</sup> Another said, "We need a wife, not an article which is, sometimes, sold as if in a public auction."<sup>3</sup>

After having had some discussions with colleagues and upon first hand observation, the writer decided to study the attitudes of Saudi employees in Abqaiq of different degrees of exposition to Western culture as expressed through education towards traditional family values.

## 2. The Hypotheses:

The present study is to test the following hypotheses:

There is a positive relationship between the level of formal education, of the Saudi employees in Abqaiq (Saudi Arabia) and the degree of dissatisfaction, with traditional family values and attitudes.

There are two terms that need to be defined here, namely: Formal education, and traditional family values and attitudes.

Formal education is, simply, learning in a school. Operationally, the writer is interested in determining whether the subject is an illiterate, of a lower elementary, or secondary and university education level.

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1. El-Yamama (Arabic), Jeddah, Vol. 7, No. 201, December 20, 1959.
  2. Abid., No. 210, February 21, 1960
  3. Abid., No. 202, December 20, 1959

It is contrasted with informal education, that is, the degree of exposition of a Saudi to Western culture. Operationally, first, it is measured by the extent to which a Saudi comes in contact with non-Saudi employees such as Americans, Lebanese, Palestinians, Egyptians and others; and second, with such media of communication as movies, radios, televisions, books, magazines and traveling.

Since the definition of traditional family values and attitudes in Saudi Arabia needs a lot of elaboration, a special treatment of the subject is deferred to the next chapter.

From the main hypotheses stated above the following may be derived:

1. There is a positive relationship between the level of formal education and the degree of dissatisfaction with polygamy.
2. There is a positive relationship between the level of formal education and the tendency towards a nuclear type of family.
3. There is a positive relationship between the level of formal education and the tendency towards acceptance of exogamic marriages among different religions, social classes, nationalities and blood relationships.
4. There is a positive relationship between the level of formal education and the degree of dissatisfaction with traditional attitudes towards sex.
5. There is a positive relationship between the level of formal education and the degree of individualism as vs. family solidarity or familism.

### 3. The Methodology:

#### a. The Universe:

The universe of this research consists of all the Saudi employees enrolled in the Industrial Training Center, Abqaiq, Saudi Arabia. According

to the last statistical records, out of a total of 2368 Saudi employees living in Abqaiq, 1149 are enrolled as part-time trainees. As to the level of education this universe is divided into the following units:

1. Illiterates
2. Lower Elementary.
3. Upper Elementary
4. Higher Levels - Secondary and University.

b. The Sample:

Since education is the main variable in this study, the 1149 Saudi employees enrolled in the Industrial Training Center were stratified into lower elementary, upper elementary and secondary trainees. After stratification, it was found out that of the total 1149 Saudi Employees 417 enrolled in grades one and two (Lower Elementary) 428 enrolled in grades three and four (Upper Elementary), and 304 enrolled in the first, second, third, and fourth years (Secondary).

A random sample of forty employees was, then, chosen from each unit. Since every Aramco employee has an employment number, the numbers of the 417 lower elementary trainees, were put into serial order and every tenth was chosen. Discarding one of them, 40 subjects were to be interviewed. Going through the same process, forty subjects out of 428 upper elementary trainees were chosen. In the same way (but choosing every twelfth number this time), 25 subjects of a total of 304 secondary trainees were to be interviewed.

Thus, a random sample of nine per cent of 1149 Saudi employees enrolled at the Industrial Training Center were interviewed.

As to illiterates, they were taken from among the Saudi employees who were not enrolled in the Industrial Training Center but living in Abqaiq



itself. Three interviewers used to go to the Saudi Camp and interview anyone whom they happened to meet on condition that he neither reads nor writes.

Since the Saudi employees with university education (Senior Staff) are very few (only 21 are working now with Aramco), all of them were included. A questionnaire was mailed to each one after being informed about the project by phone. Sixteen of them filled the questionnaire and mailed it back. For a statistical reason one of them was discarded.

Below is a table showing the distribution of the final samples according to the level of education:

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>Total</u>
Illiterates	40
Lower Elementary	40
Upper Elementary	40
Higher Levels - secondary and university	40
	<hr/> 160

c. Questionnaire:

A questionnaire was constructed to measure the Saudi employees' background, level of education (formal and informal), and the degree of acceptance of traditional family values and attitudes to be presented in Chapter two. The items referring to the degree of satisfaction with traditional family values were measured on five point scale weighted ordinally from one to five with the purpose of verifying the hypotheses mentioned above.

4. Abqaiq Background:

Abqaiq, the universe of this study, is one of the three main districts of Aramco in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia (Dhahran and Ras Tanura being the other two).

Dhahran, the largest of these districts, is mainly for Aramco general administration, Ras Tanura (70 kms. to the north of Dhahran) for refining work, and Abqaiq (around 70 kms. to the south-west of Dhahran) for oil production. The fifty five oil wells in Abqaiq field (8 kms. by 56 kms.) produce about 243,000 barrels a day.<sup>1</sup>

The Eastern Province stretches all along the Western Coast of the Persian Gulf. In the west, it is separated from Najd by the Suman range of hills; to the north it stretches until it reaches Kuwait; while to the south lies Qatar and Rab' Al-Khali.

Before the discovery of oil, this province was one of the most underdeveloped parts of Saudi Arabia. The people were mostly Bedouins moving from one place to another, only a small number of them depended for livelihood on primitive agriculture and fishing. Dammam is the capital of this province as well as its most important port. To the south of it lies a commercial city called Al-Khobar. Other towns are El-Hofuf, Qatif and Jubail.

In May, 1933, the Saudi Ministry of Finance signed an agreement of concession which gives Arabian American Oil Company the right of oil exploration, producing and marketing in Saudi Arabia for a term of 66 years. After the discovery of oil in 1938, construction began to take place on a large scale.

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1. See Reports of Operations to the Saudi Arab Government by the Arabian American Oil Company of 1955, 1957, 1958.

At the end of 1958, Aramco had a total of 17,171 employees. Of these 12062 (70.2 per cent) were Saudi Arabs, 2593 Americans and 2516 of other nationalities (1042 Pakistanis, 880 Indians, 335 Palestinians and Lebanese, 101 Adenese, 71 Sudanese, 67 Italians, and 20 others). The per cent of the Saudi employees who had 10 or more years of service with the company was found to be 35 while 76 per cent of them had five or more years of continuous service. The Saudi employees come from all over Saudi Arabia (Hijaz, Najd. Najran...) but they are mostly from the Eastern Province.

Aramco employees in the three districts work in 850 different kinds of jobs. They are classified into three classes: Senior Staff, Intermediate Staff, and General Staff. The Senior Staff employees are mostly Americans."1 Every American no matter what level of education or skill he may have is classified as Senior Staff."2 The Intermediate Staff employees are mostly foreign-contract employees (non-Americans and non-Saudi Arabs); while the General Staff employees are mostly Saudi Arabs (in 1956 the Saudi employees were distributed as follows: 25 Senior Staff, 1967 Intermediate and 11221 General employees).

Each of these three classes has its own separate camp including housing, movie, cafeteria, club, post office, library and other facilities.

That the Saudi employees advanced in their jobs is seen from the following facts: 73 per cent of them had skilled or semi-skilled jobs in 1958, whereas five years earlier only 37 per cent had the same job class-

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1. Less than two per cent of the Senior Staff employees in Abqaiq are non-American.
  2. Some non-American employees are classified as Intermediate Staff, though they have a higher level of Education.

ifications. In other words, 3837 employees were promoted to skilled and semi-skilled jobs. Another indication of their progress is the raise in their average annual income."1

"Saudi Arab employees are provided not only opportunities for job advancement, but also professional assistance in acquiring knowledge and skills needed for higher level jobs and for competent performance."2

Aramco Training expenditures in recent years have averaged SR 16,400,000 (\$4,375,000) annually. In each of the three districts Aramco has established a school now called The Industrial Training Center where Saudi employees receive instruction in academic and practical subjects. Enrollment in these centers has continued to increase for the last three years. For example, an average of 4450 Saudi employees attended classes in 1958 as compared to 3775 employees in 1957. For this year (1960) the number of trainees enrolled in The Industrial Training Center at Abqaiq amount to 1149 employees. The courses offered are comparable to those offered in elementary and secondary schools in Lebanon, namely, English, Arabic, Mathematics, Science, History and others. Nevertheless, these educational centers are unique in so far as the type of students, the method of teaching and the object of training are concerned. All of the students are adults (some of them are above fifty years of age). What encourages them to study is the raise they get in their pay after completing a certain level. Not only tuition is free, but most of the trainees are being paid for the hours they attend school.

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1. The raise was, sometimes, given as an adjustment for the devaluation in the exchange rate of the Saudi Royal or for the rise in the cost of living.
  2. 1958 Report of Operation to the Saudi Arab Government By the Arabian Oil Company, p. 28.

Abqaiq school building contains twenty general class-rooms, a science laboratory, a drafting room, a business-machines class-room, a projection room, a visual aids workshop, a library, and the usual offices. Dhahran school building has the same basic facilities. The total cost of the two buildings was SR 2,687,157 (\$716,580).

According to a training manual, "The objective of each Industrial Training Center is to provide an opportunity to acquire knowledge and job related training to the extent necessary to enable Saudi Arab employees to develop their ability to perform Aramco jobs."

In addition, such an education is enabling the Saudi employees, consciously or unconsciously, to change their outlook, even towards some of what they believed to be sacred and above questioning.

#### 5. Education and Social Change:

Having presented an overall picture of the background of the Saudi employees in Abqaiq with a special emphasis on education, it is of importance, at this point, to consider the relationship between education and social change in general.

That there is a positive relationship between education and social change might seem a common-sense knowledge which does not need such research as this. However, many hypotheses which were thought to be common-sense knowledge were proved to be incorrect. "As a consequence, many supposedly obvious facts must actually be tested."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, research studies such as this are not concerned so much with the existence of relationship between

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1. William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research, McGraw-Hall Book Company, INC. New York, 1952, pp. 60-61

two variables as with degrees and proportions. Education as such might or might not be a factor of social change; for "The school as a major social agency is an instrument through which the people of a civilization may in significant measure determine the kind of life to be lived."<sup>1</sup> Some educators think that mere education, planned or not, may not automatically cause a social change. If a particular social change is desired, the educational process should be planned with that particular change in mind. "There is every reason to have confidence that desirable social changes can and will increase in number and importance as more persons in more communities deliberately pull their wisdom and their efforts to secure such changes."<sup>2</sup> Education, likewise, might be a primary factor in maintaining traditions. The writer thinks that Islamic education which aims at preserving the status quo contributed to the lack of an initiative spirit, since it is after "maintaining the standards of Islamic learning in which memorizing of the Koran comes first and foremost."<sup>3</sup> What is already known is the aim, not the unknown. Thus, education in Saudi Arabia where it is not supervised by Aramco, is an important factor in maintaining traditions. Yet many social changes in the Middle East are related to the spread of education. A study, for example, of 2250 college and secondary school students in Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Iraq and of 1660 students in U.S.A. in 1953-1955, showed that one of the factors that seem to affect the attitude towards the father's authority more than anything

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1. Joe Burnett, Hobert W. Burns and others, "Education in Society" Saturday Review, New York, November 21, 1959, p. 19.

2. Alice Miel, Changing the Curriculum, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. New York, 1946, p. 17

3. Hamed Ammar, op. cit. p. 212

else is education and contacts with foreigners. "It showed that the higher the level of education of the subject and his parents the less intense is his attitude towards authority."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, as education might contribute to social change or maintenance of status quo, depending on its particular nature, the aim of this paper is to study the relationship between education and traditional family values and attitudes in Abqaiq, Saudi Arabia.

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1. Levon Melikian, "The Dethronement of the Father," Middle East Forum, Beirut, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, January 1960, pp. 23-25.

## CHAPTER II

### ASPECTS OF THE TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC FAMILY

A proper way of defining traditional Islamic family values and attitudes would be to have an overall representation of its main aspects. First, the following underlying basic assertions may be stated:

1. Islam is the source of family values and attitudes in Saudi Arabia, for it is the most dominant institution. Social values-be they concerned with familial, economical, educational or political life-are based or even derived from Islam. Islam is the highest value.
2. The Muslim family was not a creation of Mohammad, though he introduced some changes. The Arab Muslim family is "The original Arab family, placed within the framework of a higher religion."<sup>1</sup>
3. Muslim Law (El-Sharia'ah) is a canon law. It was already stated that the Muslim law is eternal and infinite. It is meant for all times and places. "The Muslim law, since it is derived from the Qur'an and the tradition, and so fails to separate the spiritual from the temporal, is a canon law."<sup>2</sup>

It is in the light of these assertions that the following aspects of the traditional Islamic family life are presented:

#### 1. Aspects of Marriage

1. Polygamy is an accepted form of marriage:

Though polygamy is an accepted form of marriage, yet a Muslim may not marry more than four wives: "Marry of the women, who seem good to

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1. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, Trans. from French by John Maggergo, London, George Allen and Unwin LTD., 1954, p. 127.

2. Ibid. p. 127



you, two or three or four; and if ye fear that ye cannot do justice (to so many) then one (only) or (the captives) that your right hands possess. Thus it is more likely that ye will not do injustice."1 Beside four wives, a Muslim can have as many captives as he wants. Though these captives may be treated as wives, Islam does not call this relationship marriage or "complete bed". It is called Tassarri (concubinage) or "incomplete bed", that is, not bound by marriage regulations and privileges."2

In short, Islam "has maintained the polygamy which was customary among the Bedouin, but it has limited to four the number of wives a man may have at one time",3 plus as many concubines as possible.

2. The Traditional Islamic Family is extended rather than nuclear:

"Be careful of your duty toward Allah in whom ye claim (your rights) of one another, and toward the wombs (that bare you)."4 As the verse makes it clear, next to God, a Muslim should honor his parents and be careful of fulfilling his duties towards them. Thus it is a tradition in Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Islamic world for the sons to continue living with their parents after marriage. Usually three generations live under one roof. Moreover, the tribal nature of social organization in Saudi Arabia has encouraged an extended type of family. In describing an

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1. The Glorious Qur'an, Text and Explanatory, Trans. by Marmaduke Pickthall, Hyderabad-Deccan (India), Government Central Press, 1938, Surah II (The Cow), No. 22, p. 43

2. Ali Abdul-Wahid Wafi, The Family and Society (Arabic), The Egyptian Philosophy Society, Cairo, 1948, pp. 89-90

3. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., pp. 135-136.

4. The Glorious Qur'an, op. cit. Surah IV (Women), No. 1, p. 96.

Egyptian village Ammar says, "The extended family could be regarded as an intermediate social unit between the conjugal economic family and the clan."<sup>1</sup>

3. Endogamy rather than exogamy is the traditional type of marriage.

These are more than one aspect of endogamy in Saudi Arabia:

a- Religious Endogamy: "Wed not idolateresses till they believe: for lo! a believing bondwoman is better than an idolatress though she please you; and give not your daughters in marriage to idolaters till they believe, for lo! a believing slave is better than an idolater though he please you."<sup>2</sup> "And so are the virtuous women of the believers and the virtuous women of those who received the scripture before you (lawful for you)."<sup>3</sup> It is preferable, however, that marriage be restricted among the believers, though a Muslim can have a Christian or Jewish wife. A Muslim woman, on the other hand, cannot marry except a Muslim. "Inter-marriage between Suni'tes and Shia'ites has been made unlawful by some Muslim sects."<sup>4</sup>

Shafiq Yamout, a well known Lebanese Muslim Shaikh, was recently asked as to what reaction he might have if his daughter falls in love with a non-Muslim; he said, "I choose the proper husband for my daughter... I cannot nor can any Muslim accept the idea of giving my daughter in marriage to a non-Muslim, when it is forbidden by God."<sup>5</sup>

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1. Hamed Ammar, op. cit. p. 44.

2. The Glorious Qur'an, op. cit. Surah 11 (The Cow), No. 221, p. 43

3. Ibid., Surah V (The Table Spread), No. 5, p. 135

4. Ali Abdul Wahid Wafi, op. cit. pp. 29-30

5. Shafiq Yamout, "Religious intermarriage", El-Sayad, (Arabic), Beirut, Vol. 17, No. 796, December 10, 1959, p. 43.

b- Blood-Relationship Endogamy: The marriage of cousins is usually arranged well ahead in Saudi Arabia. This attitude is due to the tribal nature of social organization rather than Islam. According to Islam it is lawful to marry any one except the following: "Forbidden unto you are your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your father's sisters, and your brother's daughters and your sister's daughters, and your foster-mothers, and your foster-sisters, and your mothers-in-law, and your step-daughters who are under your protection (born) of your women unto whom ye have gone in-but if ye have not gone in unto them, then it is no sin for you (to marry their daughter)-and the wives of your sons who (spring) from your own loins. And (it is forbidden unto you) that ye should have two sisters together, except what hath already happened (of that nature) in the past."<sup>1</sup>

c- Socio-economic Class Endogamy: Though there is no caste system in Saudi Arabia, a father would prefer to give his children in marriage to somebody of his own social class. Such attitude was not without influence on some Muslim sects. Abu-Hanifa sect, for example, "believe that a non-Arab (A'jami) is not worthy of an Arab woman, and the non-Kuraishi is not worthy of a Kuraishiah. According to Abu-Hanifa, ancestry, occupation, liberty, and money are the elements of social stratification. One, belonging to a humble family, is not worthy of an honorable family... The slave is not worthy of the free;... The poor is not worthy of the rich."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Glorious Qur'an, op. cit. Surah IV (Women), No. 23, pp. 101-102

2. Ali Abdul-Wahid, op. cit. pp. 34-36

Generally speaking, "Marriage between non-Muslims is forbidden. The Qur'an had made an exception for the women of the tributaries (Ahl Al-Kitab), whom Muslims were permitted to marry; but the Doctrine, under the Shafi'ites in particular, made such unions practically impossible. Along the same line of ideas, the Qur'an permitted a woman to marry a man of a rank beneath her own only in exceptional circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

4. Marriage is a religious ceremony rather than a civil contract:

According to some Muslim authors marriage in Islam is rather a civil contract, "There is nothing in the Koran nor in the Tradition that makes marriage a religious ceremony."<sup>2</sup> Mustafa El-Zarqa, a professor of Islamic law, says "The Islamic law looks upon marriage as a civil contract. Like any other contract, it is written down and signed upon the agreement of both parties concerned in the presence of two witnesses."<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, one might consider Islamic marriage as a religious ceremony, since it is based on Islamic principles rather than civil one. The number of marriages, the Mahr, divorce, as well as the rights of both parties are defined by Islam and the marriage contract is drawn accordingly. To be valid, for example, a marriage contract must have the consent of the man except "when he has not reached puberty or is unfit: In those cases a tutor intervenes to give the consent. A woman is always unfit: Scholars disagree as to whether she can, or should, give her consent."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Maurice, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit. p. 130.  
 2. Mohammad Izzat Darwaza, The Koranic Constitution, (Arabic), Dar-Ihia' El-Kutob El-Arabia, (?), 1956, p. 451  
 3. Mustafa El-Zarqa, "Islamic Law and the Rights of The Family," Islamic Culture and Modern Life, (Arabic), Ed. by Muhammad Khalaf-Allah, Maktabat El-Nahda El Masria, Cairo, 1955, p. 151  
 4. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit. pp. 128-129.

As in the pre-Islamic Arabia, the tutor still "has the right to force his daughter into marriage (Jabr)"<sup>1</sup>. Such a "marriage contract has, among people who confuse the spiritual and the temporal, no specifically religious character."<sup>2</sup>

5. The Muta' Marriage:

El-Muta' (enjoyment) is a form of marriage whereby a woman agrees to live with a man as wife for a definite period of time in return to a certain amount of money. When this period is over, the marriage is broken automatically. However, this period might be extended upon the agreement of the two parties concerned.

This form of marriage was practiced in Pre-Islamic Arabia. The Sunites say that the prophet has forbidden it and made it legal only to his soldiers; while Shia'ites look upon it as legal; being authorized by the Koran which says, "seek them with your wealth in honest wedlock, not debauchery. And those of whom ye seek content (by marrying them), give unto them their portions as a duty. And there is not sin for you in what ye do by mutual agreement after the duty (has been done)."<sup>3</sup>

6. Bride - Price - The Mahr:

In pre-Islamic Arabia, "marriage was looked upon as a kind of sale in which, after the consent of the parties has been given, the husband made to the wife's father a payment called Mahr."<sup>4</sup> Islam has kept this ancient custom, but considered it as a good way to prevent divorce or

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1. Ibid., p. 129

2. Ibid., p. 129

3. The Glorious Qur'an, op. cit. Surah IV (Women), No. 24, p. 102.

4. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit. p. 128

at least to make it less frequent. That is why the Sharia'h has, as a principle, limited the right of divorce to men, the party who pays.

The Mahr payment consists of two parts: The Mouqaddam and the Mou'akhar. The Mouqaddam (the amount paid in advance) is paid directly after writing the contract, while the Mou'akhar (the delayed amount) is paid only in case of divorce.

## II ASPECTS OF DIVORCE

### 1. Divorce is part of the male ethos.

In a Muslim community "The right and power to divorce one's wife is part of the male ethos."<sup>1</sup> According to the Sharia'h, a man has the right to divorce his wife at any time without any reason what so ever. The divorce is recognized as final only when a man says to his wife, "you are divorced threefold" (Talqa bi El-Thalatha) or when he repeats "you are divorced" three times.

### 2. Precautions against divorce:

Though divorce is accepted by Islam without any definite limits, it is looked upon as the most disfavored among the lawful things of God; while marriage is the most favored. For this reason some precautions against divorce are recommended by the Koran:

"Divorce must be pronounced twice and then (a woman) must be retained in honour or released in kindness. And it is not lawful for you that ye take from women aught of that which ye have given them; except

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1. Hamed Ammar, op. cit. p. 200.

(in the case) when both fear that they may not be able to keep within the limits (imposed by) Allah."

"And if he hath divorced her (the third time), then she is not lawful unto him thereafter until she hath wedded another husband."1

3. It is not impossible for a wife to divorce her husband:

According to El-Sharia'h, it is not impossible for a wife to ask for divorce. Sometimes, the husband may accept to divorce his wife if she is ready to give up some of her rights and pay him a certain sum of money they agree upon. This is called "El-Khala'". Having in mind to divorce without paying the dowry, the husband might treat his wife so harshly, "Which will drive her to buy his repudiation by abandoning her dowry, or even by payment of an indemnity."2 If a husband does not agree to divorce his wife, she cannot have a divorce unless the Qadi (judge) sees to it that she is being treated very harshly. If she is able to get the approval of the judge, she cannot marry another person before a period of seven years during which she is called a "Nashiz."

The Hanafite rite, however, "approves the Ta'liq Al-Talaq, that is, the introduction into the marriage contract of clauses requiring the husband to repudiate his wife, and so to give her her freedom, if certain circumstances should arise,"3 such as marrying another wife. This is not practiced in Saudi Arabia.

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1. The Glorious Qur'an, op. cit. Surah II (The Cow), No. 229-230, p. 45-46.  
2. Maurice Qaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., p. 135  
3. Ibid., p. 133.

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In short, it can be inferred that it seems almost impossible for a wife to divorce her husband in Saudi Arabia at the present time.

4. El-Idda (Waiting Period):

In case of divorce or death of husband, a wife cannot marry before the lapse of a definite period (not less than three months). During this period (El-Idda), the wife is kept under observation to see whether she is pregnant or not.

5. Desertion:

El-Hajr (desertion) is not unfamiliar in Islamic communities. After the "first or second divorce", the wife usually lives with her parents waiting either for reconciliation or for "final divorce." The Koran favors reconciliation: "And if ye fear a breach between them twain (the man and wife), appoint an arbiter for his folk and an arbiter from her folk. If they desire amendment Allah will make them of one mind."<sup>1</sup>

"El-Ila'" or El-Muzahara" is a unique form of desertion in Arabia whereby the husband swears he won't approach his wife by saying, "Thy back is as my mother's back for me"<sup>2</sup> This is usually said to a wife who begets only girls. Sometimes, a husband might do this as a revenge or with a purpose of delaying the payment of El-Mahr and other expenses. This form of desertion was familiar in Pre-Islamic days; now it is rarely practiced, though it is known among Bedouins.

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1. The Glorious Qur'an, op. cit., Surah IV (Women), No. 35, p. 105.

2. Abdul-Jalil El-Tahir, Bedouins and Tribes in the Arab World, (Arabic), Arab League High Studies, Cairo, 1955, p. 58.



To avoid such harm be done to women the Koran proclaims: "And make not Allah, by your oaths, a hindrance to your being righteous and observing your duty unto Him and making peace among mankind."<sup>1</sup>

"...Nor hath He made your wives who ye declare (to be your Mothers) your mothers,... This is but a saying of your mouths."<sup>2</sup>

This custom was not totally abolished. The Koran itself, on the other hand, said; "So good women are the obedient, guarding in secret that which Allah hath guarded. As for those from whom ye fear rebellion, admonish them and banish them to beds apart, and scourge them. Then if they obey you, seek not a way against them."<sup>3</sup>

### III ISLAMIC ATTITUDE TOWARD SEX

#### 1. Men are in charge of women:

"Men are in charge of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excell the other, and because they spend of their property (for the support of women." Wives are supposed to look after the house affairs. This does not mean that the "house is their kingdom", as it is usually said; for even in the house, a wife in Saudi Arabia does not eat with her husband and unless alone no obvious intimacy is allowed. In the street, a woman is supposed to walk behind her husband. In Pre-Islamic days, female infanticide was practiced by some tribes. Though Islam could

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1. The Glorious Qur'an, op. cit., Surah II (The Cow), No. 244, p. 44.
  2. Ibid., Surah XXXIII (The Clans), No. 4, p. 548.
  3. Ibid., Surah IV (Women), No. 34, pp. 104-105.
  4. Ibid., pp. 104-105

abolish this custom, yet women still have an inferior status to men. For example, the birth of a girl is not welcomed. The parents do not celebrate the occasion or even accept congratulations as they do in case of a boy.

Thus men are in charge of women not only because they are the supporters, but also superior to women: "Men have a degree above them"<sup>1</sup>. "And call to witness, from among your men, two witnesses. And if two men be not (at hand) then a man and two women."<sup>2</sup> Hence, a woman, according to the Koran, "is worth half a man in matters concerning ransom for a murder, inheritance, and the giving of evidence."<sup>3</sup>

## 2. The veil:

A point of view says that Islam, as a religion, has nothing to do with the veil. Another point of view says that unveiling means non-abiding by the Koran and the Tradition. What the truth is, is difficult to determine. Yet the veil has been used in most Muslim communities all through its history. Islam must have something to do with it, regardless of the assertion of the first point of view that "covering the face and hands, as it is traditionally known among the Muslims, is not based on the Koran or the Tradition"<sup>4</sup>. The other point of view which says that every part of woman's body is taboo "A'ura" cannot be based on nothing. The following verses might refer to such basis:

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1. Ibid., Surah II (The Cow), No. 228, p. 45.
  2. Ibid., No. 282, p. 59.
  3. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., p. 132.
  4. Mohammad Izzat Darwaza, op. cit., p. 473

"And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest,... and to draw their veils over their bosoms, and not to reveal their adornment save to their own husbands or fathers or husbands' fathers, or their sons or sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves, or male attendants who lack vigour, or children who know naught of women's nakedness."<sup>1</sup>

"O Prophet! Tell thy wives and daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks close round them (when they go abroad)."<sup>2</sup>

"And when ye ask of them (The wives of the Prophet) anything, ask it of them from behind a curtain. That is purer for your hearts and for their hearts."<sup>3</sup>

Regardless of this controversy, a woman in Saudi Arabia, now, is totally cloaked in black.

### 3. Adultery:

The punishment for adultery in Saudi Arabia is very severe. The adulterer and the adulteress are either stoned to death or thrown from the Mi'zanah (minaret). However, the Koran prescribes the following punishment: "As for those of your women who are guilty of lewdness, call to witness four of you against them. And if they testify (to the truth of the allegation) then confine them to the house until death take them."<sup>4</sup>

"The adulterer and the adulteress, scourge ye each one of them (with)

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1. The Glorious Qur'an, op. cit., Surah XXIV (Light), No. 31, pp. 460-461

2. Ibid., Surah XXXIII (The Clans), No. 59, p. 559

3. Ibid., No. 53, pp. 557-558

4. Ibid., Surah IV (Women), No. 15, p. 100

a hundred stripes. And let not pity for the twain withhold you from obedience to Allah."1 If the maids (Amat), on the other hand, "commit lewdness they shall incur the half of the punishment (prescribed) for free women."2

The Koran did not mention stoning to death as a punishment for adultery, but Umar Bin El-Khattab said that the Prophet himself used it and he attributes to him what is called the oral Koranic law, "The adulterer and the adulteress, stones them to death. It is a punishment from God."3 Also, it is attributed to Mohammad Abdul-Wahhab (the founder of El-Wahhabia movement now dominant in Saudi Arabia) that he could not but stone an adulteress to death when she came to him asking for forgiveness.

#### IV FAMILISM VS. INDIVIDUALISM

Familism rather than individualism is the traditional characteristic of Islamic family. Such terms used by Arabs in referring to the different branches of the tribe as "the abdomen" (El-Batn), "the thigh" (El-Fakhz), and the like, imply the organismic point of view of the family institution. The tribe or the family is looked upon as an organism with all its parts functioning harmoniously for the welfare of the whole. Now, more or less as in Pre-Islamic days family interrelationship is so

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1. Ibid., Surah XXIV (Light), No. 2, p. 456
  2. Ibid., Surah IV (Women), No. 25, p. 103.
  3. Musa Suleiman, "Marriage in The Laws of Hamourabi, Moses and Mohammad" (Arabic), Afaq, Beirut, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 47.

cohesive that it forms, "from the social and judicial point of view, what is similar to one person. Any property of the family is owned by its symbolic personality."<sup>1</sup> One would support this family whether they are wrong or right, oppressors or oppressed.

Life for an individual, as Dr. Najarian describes the traditional attitude of the Middle-Eastern one, "is primarily a duty to one's family and second to one-self."<sup>2</sup>

In other words, family life is of such cohesive, intimate and solid nature that there is no room for individual right or choice.

To recapitulate, the traditional Islamic family life in Saudi Arabia is based on such values and attitudes as polygamy, endogamy, woman's submissiveness, patriarchal authority, chastity, and familism.

In the light of these facts regarding the traditional Islamic family life, the following collected data will be presented with the purpose of verifying the hypotheses of this research.

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1. Ali Abdul-Wahid Wafi, op. cit., p. 9-10

2. Pergroubi H. Najarian, "Changing Patterns of Family Life," Middle East Forum, op. cit., p. 11

### CHAPTER III

#### Data Analysis-Relationship Between Education and Saudi Traditional Family Values and Attitudes

Before proceeding to analyze the data with the aim of verifying the hypotheses of this research, certain delimitations need to be referred to: First, the writer would like to emphasize the notion that formal education is not the sole variable contributing to dissatisfaction with traditional family. Some other variables such as informal education age, "1 religious sect, type of settlement, socio-economic class and birth place might be equally important. The data show, for example, that there is a high relationship between the degrees of formal and informal types of education. The table below shows that the higher the level of formal education the higher is the degree of informal education:

#### Relationship Between Formal and Informal Education

Formal Education	Mean Scores of Informal Education
Illiterates	1.87
Lower Elem. Education	2.12
Upper Elem. Education	2.68
Higher Levels of Education	3.24

This might suggest a positive relationship between informal

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1. Of a total of 160 subjects 27 were 20 years or less of age, 83 were between 21 and 30 years of age, 41 were between 31 and 45 years of age, and only 9 were above 45.

education and dissatisfaction with traditional family values, and attitudes. For, since the higher the level of formal education the higher the dissatisfaction with family status quo, and since the higher the level of formal education the higher is the degree of informal education, then it is possible to conclude that the higher the degree of informal education the higher is the degree of dissatisfaction with family status quo. However to confirm such a relationship, a new stratification of data needs to be made. Since this is almost impossible so far as this thesis is concerned the writer would like to delimit data analysis to formal education as presented henceforth.

### I. Attitudes towards Polygamy

Out of the total of 160 subjects 123 were married. As shown in table one, 85, 25, 9 and 4 of them married once, twice, thrice, and four times, respectively. However, only 9 subjects have two wives at the same time. This might be due to the fact that the Mahr is very expensive.

As regards the subjects' fathers 55, 50, 27, 15, and 13 (of a total of 160) married once, twice, thrice, four times and five or more wives respectively (of the last group two married 13 wives each).

This is how things are in practice. This study, however, is more essentially concerned with change in attitudes towards polygamy. Is there any difference in the attitudes of the four levels of education? If yes, to what degree and proportion. The illiterates and those with lower elementary education seemed to be moderate (more or less indifferent), while the higher levels of education were more inclined to disagree. The mean

scores of the four levels of education shows clearly that the higher the level of education, the more is dissatisfaction with polygamy. There is a difference of 2.65 between the mean score of illiterates and that of those with higher level of education.

Thus, the hypotheses that there is a positive relationship between the level of education and the degree of dissatisfaction with polygamy is found to be true.

The relationship between education and attitudes towards polygamy was checked to be significant at (.01) level; in other words, it is sure at 99 percent level that there is a relationship.



TABLE 1

Polygamy-Number of Marriages

	Single	One Wife	Two Wives	Three Wives	Four Wives	Five Wives	Total
Illiterates	3	17	11	5	4	-	40
Lower Elem. Education	10	21	6	3	-	-	40
Upper Elem. Education	11	22	7	-	-	-	40
Higher Levels of Education	13	25	1	1	-	-	40
Total	37	85	25	9	4	-	160

TABLE 2

Distribution of Father's Number of Marriages

	One Wife	Two Wives	Three Wives	Four Wives	Five Wives or More	Total
Illiterates	12	9	7	7	5	40
Lower Elem. Education	11	12	11	2	4	40
Upper Elem. Education	16	14	5	3	2	40
Higher Levels of Education	16	15	4	3	2	40
Total	55	50	27	15	13	160

TABLE 3

Acceptance of Polygamy

	Strongly agree	Agree	Do not know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	17	19	-	1	3	1.85	40
Lower Elem. Education	11	11	-	13	5	2.75	40
Upper Elem. Education	4	12	-	10	14	3.37	40
Higher Levels of Education	2	1	-	11	26	4.50	40
Secondary Education	2	1	-	7	15	4.28	25
University Education	-	-	-	4	11	4.73	15

2. Attitudes Towards Nuclear-Extended Types of Family Settlement.

As stated in Chapter Two, it is traditional in Saudi Arabia and the Islamic communities in general for the sons to continue living with their parents after marriage. Thus, out of the total of 160 families, 129 were extended while only 31 were nuclear. The 31 nuclear families however, are not really separated from their family of orientation. It is only a temporal situation imposed by the limited settlement facilities offered by Aramco and the moving of their work locus away from the family home. Still, however, they feel they are a branch of the main family.

As regards preference of nuclear type of family, there is a difference of 1.73 in the mean scores obtained by the illiterates and those with higher levels of education. Yet all of the four levels of education seemed to be more inclined to favor the extended type of family. Still, the hypotheses that there is a positive relationship between the level of education and the tendency towards a nuclear type of family is significant at (.01) level (99 percent sure).

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF EXTENDED AND NUCLEAR TYPES OF FAMILIES

	Extended	Nuclear	Total
Illiterates	38	2	40
Lower Elem. Education	34	6	40
Upper Elem. Education	33	7	40
Higher Levels of Education	24	16	40
Total	129	31	160

TABLE 5

ACCEPTANCE OF THE NUCLEAR TYPE OF FAMILY

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	19	11	2	8	-	1.97	40
Lower Elem. Education	13	8	-	13	6	2.77	40
Upper Elem. Education	7	11	1	12	9	3.12	40
Higher Levels	11	8	4	16	11	3.70	40
Secondary Education	-	6	4	10	5	3.56	25
University Education	1	2	-	6	6	3.93	15

### 3. Attitudes Towards Endogamy-Exogamy Types of Marriage.

#### a. Blood-Relationship Endogamy.

Out of the married interviewees 48 per cent married cousins, while only 38.12 per cent married non-relatives.

When interrogated as to whether one should marry a relative, out of the 160 subjects 120 expressed their agreement (76 out of them strongly agreed), while 33 expressed their disagreement (10 of them strongly disagreed).

Though there is, more or less, a general agreement that one should marry a relative, there is a notable difference in the attitudes of the different levels of education. The mean scores obtained by the four levels of education were respectively 1.27, 1.48, 2.18, and 3.25. The relationship is significant at (.01) level (99 per cent sure).

Table 6

Blood-Relationship Endogamy - Per Cent of Related  
and Non-Related Wives

	Marriage with cousins %	Marriage with Far Relatives %	Marriage with Non- Relatives %	Total
Illiterates	57.50	20.00	22.50	100
Lower Elem. Education	42.84	16.66	40.50	100
Upper Elem. Education	58.33	5.56	36.11	100
Higher Levels of Education	33.33	13.33	53.34	100



Table 7

Acceptance of Blood-Relationship Endogamy  
Should One Marry A Relative

	Strongly agree	Agree	Do not know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Mean score	Total
Illiterates	31	7	2	-	-	1.27	40
Lower Elem. Education	28	9	-	2	1	1.48	40
Upper Elem. Education	13	16	4	5	2	2.18	40
Higher Levels of Education	4	12	1	16	7	3.25	40
Secondary Education	3	11	-	9	2	2.84	25
University Education	1	1	1	7	5	3.93	15

b. Religious Endogamy

A point was missed here. The questionnaire should have had asked about the religion of the wife so as to see whether there was any religious intermarriage.

As to the attitudes expressed by the interviewees there seem to be a general feeling of disfavor of intermarriage among Sinites and Shia'ites or among Muslims and Christians. The mean scores obtained by the four levels of education as to the acceptance of intermarriage among Sinites and Shia'ites were 1.32, 1.85, 2.20, 3.73 respectively; while the degree of the acceptance of intermarriage among Muslims and Christians was notably less. However, the higher the level of education the less is the resistance to marrying a Christian wife. There is a difference of 2.22 in the mean scores obtained by the illiterates and those with higher levels of education. This relationship is significant at (.01) level.

c. Socio-Economic Class Endogamy.

Regarding attitudes towards intermarriage between Hattars and Bedouins, the four levels of education expressed acceptance. The illiterates obtained a higher mean score than the second and fourth levels of education. Those with upper elementary education seemed to be the most favorable (the mean score was 4.10).

In the case of intermarriage among the different social classes, all levels were more inclined to express acceptance. Those with lower elementary education seemed to be the most favorable among the four levels

of education: Thus, it could be inferred that there is a negative relationship between the level of education and the degree of acceptance of intermarriage among Hadars and Bedouins or between different social classes.

d. National Endogamy (Preference for Saudi or non-Saudi Wife)

Only four of the total married interviewees had non-Saudi wives. One of them married a non-Arab (American). As regards the preference of the nationality of the wife, all levels of education expressed their preference of marrying a Saudi. Only one preferred to marry an American, eleven preferred a non-Saudi Arab, 22 were undecided, while the rest (126) preferred to marry a Saudi. The higher the level of education the higher is the acceptance of marrying a non-Saudi. However, the difference is very slight (the difference between the lowest and highest score was .9 only), but the relationship is significant at (.01) level.

Table 8

Acceptance of Exogamy-Saudi vs. Non-Saudi Wives

	Prefer a wife to be a Saudi relative	Prefer a wife to be a Saudi non-relative	Undecided	Prefer a wife to be a non-Saudi Arab	Prefer a wife to be a non-Arab	Mean score	Total
Illiterates	34	2	4	-	-	1.25	40
Lower Elem. Education	29	3	7	1	-	1.50	40
Upper Elem. Education	25	5	6	4	-	1.58	40
Higher Levels of Education	14	14	5	6	1	2.15	40
Secondary Education	13	6	3	3	-	1.84	25
University Education	1	8	2	3	1	2.46	15

Table 9

Acceptance of Religious and Social Exogamy  
(Mean Scores)

	Acceptance of Inter-marriage between Sunites and Shia'ites	Acceptance of Inter-marriage between Christian and Muslims	Acceptance of Inter-marriage between Bedouins and Hadars	Acceptance of Inter-marriage between different social classes	Acceptance of marrying a Non-Saudi wife	Cumulative Means	Total
Illiterates	1.32	1.13	3.83	3.67	1.25	10.22	
Lower Elem. Education	1.85	1.55	3.78	3.83	1.50	12.51	40
Upper Elem. Education	2.20	1.88	4.10	3.53	1.58	13.29	40
Higher Levels of Education	3.73	3.35	3.80	3.68	2.15	16.71	40
Secondary Education	3.60	3.32	4.04	3.68	1.84	16.48	25
University Education	3.93	3.40	3.40	3.80	2.46	16.99	15

#### 4. The Mahr

There is a general feeling that the Mahr should be decreased. The relationship is significant at (.02) level (98 percent sure). As to the amount being paid, 35.85 per cent of the married interviewees paid an average of (SR.1000). 32.57% of them paid (SR.1000-2000), 25.28% paid (SR.2000-5000), 5.43% paid (SR.5000-10000), while less than one percent paid (SR.10,000 or more)

#### 5. Divorce

It was already mentioned that the 123 married interviewees had 178 wives. Since only 9 of them had each two wives at the same time, 46 must have been divorced or dead. The data says that 33 have been divorced (18.54 percent). 27 divorced only once, while three divorced twice.

As to the 160 fathers of the respondents, they have married 361 wives (an average of more than two wives each). Out of 361 wives 152 were divorced (42.22 per cent). Thus, divorce might be looked upon as a factor behind the low rate of polygamy.

In this part of the Muslim community divorce is only in the hand of the husband. It is almost impossible for a wife to ask for divorce. From the data presented below it is possible to conclude that the lowest three levels of education expressed the opinion that the wife has no right to ask for divorce, while the highest level tended to grant her this right, hesitantly, however. The relationship was checked to be significant at (.01) level.

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1. The SR. 1000 is equal to \$225 nearly.

TABLE 10

AMOUNT OF THE MAHR PAID BY THE MARRIED INTERVIEWEE

	Percent paid SR 1000 or less	Per cent paid SR 1000- 2000	Per cent paid SR 2000-5000	Per cent paid SR 5000-10,000	Per cent paid SR 10,000 or more	Total
Illiterates	48.64	43.24	8.12	-	-	100
Lower Elem. Education	37.3	27.4	35.3	-	-	100
Upper Elem. Education	24.14	44.82	20.70	6.90	3.44	100
Higher Levels of Education	33.33	14.82	37.03	14.82	-	100

Table 11

Acceptance of Lowering The Amount of El-Mahr

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean score	Total
Illiterates	3	5	-	11	21	4.05	40
Lower Elem. Education	3	2	3	9	23	4.17	40
Upper Elem. Education	-	2	1	13	24	4.47	40
Higher Levels of Education	-	-	-	5	35	4.87	40
Secondary Education	-	-	-	1	24	4.96	25
University Education	-	-	-	4	11	4.73	15



Table 12

Number of Fathers' Divorces

	Never divorced	Once	Twice	Three times	Four times	Five times or more	Total
Illiterates	11	13	11	2	-	3	40
Lower Elem. Education	17	9	8	1	1	4	40
Upper Elem. Education	22	12	3	1	-	2	40
Higher Levels of Education	24	11	4	-	1	-	40
Total	74	45	26	4	2	9	160

Table 13

Acceptance of a Woman's Right to Divorce Her Husband

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean score	Total
Illiterates	33	5	-	2	-	1.28	40
Lower Elem. Education	25	6	1	6	2	1.85	40
Upper Elem. Education	18	7	2	11	2	2.30	40
Higher Levels of Education	3	3	2	21	11	3.85	40
Secondary Education	2	2	1	12	8	3.80	25
University Education	1	1	1	9	3	3.80	15

#### 4. Attitude Towards Sex

##### A. Attitude towards woman.

The lowest three levels of education highly expressed the belief that the wife should always be submissive to the husband, while those with higher levels of education seemed to be moderate as to this point of view.

As regards the custom that the wife should stay behind her husband while walking in the street, the lower two levels of education seemed to agree, the third level was somehow indifferent, while the fourth level was more inclined to disagree.

All levels of education (except the fourth) were more or less indifferent as to whether the wife should be asked to participate in discussing family problems. Only those of higher education said that they would agree.

As will be seen later, very few were convinced of the opinion that the wife has the right to divorce her husband. The right to divorce, according to them, should be limited to the husband - the party that pays. Only the fourth level of education somehow tended to agree as with this opinion.

The same thing applies to the question of whether a girl can choose her husband. According to all levels of education (except the highest), a daughter cannot refuse the husband chosen by her father who has the right to give her in marriage to whomever he wants whether she likes or not.

Almost all levels of education (except the lowest which seemed more or less indifferent) were oriented towards the notion that women should be educated, but not as much as man.

Table 14

Attitude towards woman  
(Mean Scores)

	Acceptance of educating woman	Acceptance of sharing wives in discussing family problems	Dissatisfaction with wife being always submissive to the husband	Dissatisfaction with wife walking behind her husband	Acceptance of wife's right to divorce her husband	Comulative mean score	Total
Illiterates	3.24	2.67	1.13	1.73	1.28	10.05	40
Lower Elem. Education	4.05	3.28	1.35	2.18	1.85	12.71	40
Upper Elem. Education	4.25	3.28	1.80	2.90	2.30	14.53	40
Higher Levels of Education	4.75	4.02	3.40	4.30	3.85	20.27	40
Secondary Education	4.68	3.96	3.12	4.20	3.8	19.76	25
University Education	4.87	4.13	3.87	4.40	3.80	21.07	15

Table 15

Acceptance of Woman's right to choose a husband.  
(Mean Scores)

	Acceptance of Woman's right to refuse the husband chosen by her father	Dissatisfaction with father's right to give his daughter im marriage against her will	Cumulative mean score	Total
Illiterates	1.13	1.18	2.31	40
Lower Elem. Education	1.20	1.30	2.50	40
Upper Elem. Education	1.70	2.43	4.13	40
Higher Levels of Education	3.38	4.70	8.08	40
Secondary Education	2.96	4.80	7.76	25
University Education	4.06	4.53	8.59	15

Table 16

Education of Parents and Wives

	Father		Mother		Wife		Total.
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Illiterates	7	33	-	40	-	100	100
Lower Elem. Education	9	31	-	40	7.14%	92.86%	100
Upper Elem. Education	13	27	-	40	13.88	86.12%	100
Higher Levels of Education	24	16	8	32	53.34	46.66	100
Total	53	107	8	152			

3. Attitude towards sex

a. Attitude towards Adultery:

Stoning woman to death as a punishment for adultery was accepted by all levels of education (except the highest which was more or less indifferent). The same thing applies to stoning an adulterer, but with less emphasis.

b. Early Age of Marriage:

Early marriage is favored so as to avoid a possible shame. 11.55 percent of the interviewee's wives married at 12 years of age or less. 43.74 percent of them married between 13 and 15 years of age. Thus, 55.29 percent married at 15 years of age or less. While only 4.74 percent married between 21 and 25 years of age, none of them married at 26 or more.

As to the husbands, none of them married at 12 years of age or less. Most of them (61.04%) married between 16 and 20 years of age, while only a few (7.09%) married at 26 or more.

As regards the attitudes towards girls' early age of marriage, the mean scores obtained by the lowest two levels of education reveal an inclination to accept it. Those with upper elementary education were more or less indifferent. Only the highest level tended to disagree. The relationship is significant at (.01) level.

Table 17

Attitude Towards Adultery  
(Mean Scores)

	Dissatisfaction with stoning a woman to death as a punishment for adultery	Dissatisfaction with stoning a man to death as a punishment for adultery	Cumulative mean score	Total
Illiterates	1.20	1.27	2.47	40
Lower Elem. Education	1.68	1.93	3.61	40
Upper Elem. Education	2.05	2.10	4.15	40
Higher Levels of Education	3.73	3.83	7.56	40
Secondary Education	3.36	3.76	7.12	25
University Education	3.80	3.80	7.60	15



TABLE 18

AGES OF WIVES WHEN FIRST MARRIED

	12 years or less %	13-15 years %	16-20 years %	21-25 years %	26 years or more %	TOTAL %
Illiterates	14.28	61.43	22.86	1.43	-	100
Lower Elem. Education	11.90	54.77	28.57	4.76	-	100
Upper Elem. Education	6.16	38.88	41.68	2.77	-	100
Higher Levels of Education	3.33	20.	66.67	10.	-	100
Average	11.55	43.74	39.97	4.74	-	100

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGES OF HUSBANDS MARRIED AT DIFFERENT AGES

	12 years or less %	13-15 years %	16-20 years %	21-25 years %	26 years or more %	TOTAL
Illiterates	-	18.92	75.68	5.40	-	100
Lower Elem. Education	-	10.	73.33	10.	6.67	100
Upper Elem. Education	-	-	65.52	27.58	6.90	100
Higher Levels of Education	-	3.70	29.62	51.87	14.81	100
Averages	-	10.87	61.04	21.	7.09	100

TABLE 20

## ACCEPTANCE OF GIVING A GIRL IN MARRIAGE AT AN EARLY AGE

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Do not know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	28	7	-	4	1	1.58	40
Lower Elem. Education	17	8	-	11	4	2.42	40
Upper Elem. Education	7	13	-	11	9	3.05	40
Higher Levels of Education	-	5	2	15	18	4.15	40
Secondary Education	-	4	1	8	12	4.12	25
University Education	-	1	1	7	6	4.20	15

c. The Veil:

Almost half (50.17%) of the interviewees' wives were seen by their husbands before marriage. However, most of those who said that they have seen their wives before marriage meant to say that they knew them in childhood - that is before being nine years of age. So, with the exception of those who had non-Saudi wives and the very few interviewees from Najd and Assir (where women in some villages do not cover their faces), it would be possible to conclude that almost most of them did not see their wives before marriage.

The wife is chosen by a female member of the family. Only 24.34 per cent of all the respondents said they chose their wives by themselves, but with the agreement of their parents.

Of a total of 160 interviewees 77 disagreed (54 strongly disagreed) of the idea that one should see his wife before marriage. On the whole, the highest two levels of education were inclined to believe that one should see his wife before marriage, those with lower elementary education) were indifferent, while only the illiterates displayed disagreement.

When it comes to the question of unveiling, 102 (63.75%) respondents disagreed (67 of them strongly disagreed). The lowest two levels of education expressed disagreement; those with upper elementary education were somewhat indifferent; while only the highest level was inclined to agree.

When questioned as to whether a woman can unveil at home, 47 of the respondents said that she should not. The illiterates only seemed to agree to this. Those with lower elementary education were indifferent, while the highest two levels expressed their disagreement.

The same outlook applies to the question of whether every part of a woman's body is a taboo (El-Mar'a Kulha A'oura). Of the total 160 interviewees 95 said this is true (73 strongly agree). The respondents belonging to the lowest two levels expressed their agreement, those with upper elementary educations were moderate, while the highest level simply disagreed.

c. Birth Control:

When it comes to the question of whether they would accept birth control or not, there was a general feeling that it is not lawful (Haram). Of the total 160 subjects 114 respondents disagreed of using any sort of birth control (89 strongly disagreed). It is "Haram" as most of them used to express it. It is unlawful to refuse a child when "it is written for you" to have one. Only 29 respondents were of the belief that it is not unlawful to use birth control. While the lowest three levels disagreed to it, the highest level seemed to be more or less indifferent.

Thus, on the whole the hypotheses that there is a positive relationship between the level of education and the degree of dissatisfaction with traditional attitude towards sex is true and significant at (.01) level. Yet, there is somehow a general feeling of satisfaction with such an attitude.

TABLE 21

PERCENT OF WIVES SEEN & CHOSEN BY THEIR HUSBANDS BEFORE MARRIAGE

	Percent of wives seen by their husbands before marriage	Percent of husbands who choose their wives themselves.
Illiterates	37.28	16.21
Lower Elem. Education	42.85	19.48
Upper Elem. Education	63.88	25.
Higher Levels of Education	56.66	36.66
Averages	50.17	24.34

TABLE 22

ACCEPTANCE OF ONE SEEING HIS WIFE BEFORE MARRIAGES

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	27	11	-	2	-	1.43	40
Lower Elem. Education	23	9	2	3	3	3.55	40
Upper Elem. Education	4	2	-	10	24	4.20	40
Higher Levels of Education	-	1	-	4	35	4.83	40
Secondary Education	-	1	-	-	24	4.88	25
University Education	-	-	-	4	11	4.73	15

TABLE 23

ACCEPTANCE OF UNVEILLING

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	32	8	-	-	-	1.20	40
Lower Elem. Education	23	9	2	3	3	1.85	40
Upper Elem. Education	10	10	2	8	9	2.88	40
Higher Levels of Education	2	7	4	16	11	3.68	40
Secondary Education	1	6	1	10	7	3.64	25
University Education	1	1	3	6	4	3.78	15



TABLE 24

ACCEPTANCE OF UNVEILING AT HOME

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	17	12	-	6	5	2.25	40
Lower Elem. Education	10	2	-	13	15	3.52	40
Upper Elem. Education	3	3	2	14	18	4.02	40
Higher Levels of Education	-	-	-	8	32	4.80	40
Secondary Education	-	-	-	5	20	4.40	25
University Education	-	-	-	3	12	4.80	15

TABLE 25

ACCEPTANCE OF THE BELIEF THAT EVERY PART OF A WOMAN  
BODY IS A TABOO (A'URA)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Do not know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	34	5	-	1	-	1.20	40
Lower Elem. Education	25	7	1	4	3	1.83	40
Upper Elem. Education	13	9	5	6	7	2.63	40
Higher Levels of Education	1	1	5	21	12	4.05	40
Secondary Education	1	1	2	12	9	4.08	25
University Education	-	-	3	9	3	4.00	15

TABLE 26

ACCEPTANCE OF THE USE OF BIRTH CONTROL

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Do not know	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	33	3	1	-	-	1.05	40
Lower Elem. Education	23	7	7	2	1	1.78	40
Upper Elem. Education	24	8	4	4	-	1.70	40
Higher Levels of Education	9	7	-	16	8	3.18	40
Secondary Education	9	7	-	7	2	2.45	25
University Education	-	-	-	9	6	4.4	15

## 5. Familism.

The Saudi family is known for its solidarity and cohesiveness, for it is a natural evolution of the tribal system. There is no place for individual choice; every body is functioning cell of the pyramidal structure with the eldest male on top. The Saudi family solidarity can best be understood if it is looked upon from two dimensions - the inner - patterns of relationships and the outer - pattern of relationships.

### a. The inner - Pattern of Relationships

The sister-brother pattern of relationship is noted by the obedience of the sister - more or less absolute obedience. When asked whether the sister should obey her brother whether right or wrong - the lowest two levels of education were inclined to agree, the third level was moderate, while only the highest level expressed disagreement.

The brother-brother pattern of relationship is noted for the obedience of the younger to the older, similarly, more or less absolute obedience. When asked whether the younger brother should obey his older brother being right or wrong, the lowest two levels of education approved, the third level was indifferent, while only the highest level tended to display disagreement.

As to the father-son pattern of relationship, the son, according to the lowest three levels, should obey his father whether right or wrong, but the highest level was more inclined to disapprove.

It was already stated, regarding husband-wife pattern of relationship that the lowest three levels agreed (somewhat) strongly of the opinion that the wife should always be submissive to the husband.

As mentioned above, the eldest male should be on top of this py-

ramidic structure. The Saudi disrespect for the female is contrasted by a great respect for the eldest male. The lowest three levels of education believed that the eldest male member of the family should always have the main responsibility of the family, while the highest level tended to be indifferent. Nearly the same thing applies to whether the eldest son should always succeed the father.

Thus, simply, the inner pattern of family relationship is greatly cohesive with the eldest male as the benevolent despot.

b. The Outer-Pattern of family relationship:

The outer-pattern of family relationship was no less cohesive. On the contrary, it seemed somewhat more so. The lowest three levels of education believed (the lowest two levels strongly believed) that the enemy of the father is their personal enemy, while his friend is theirs. The highest level tended to be indifferent.

Another outer indication of family solidarity is the fact that one is to support members of his family whether they are the oppressors or the oppressed. The lowest two levels were highly convinced of this opinion; those with upper elementary education tended to be indifferent; while only the highest group was more or less inclined to disagree.

Thus, though there is more or less a general agreement, it is possible to conclude that there is a negative relationship between the level of education and the degree of family solidarity. (It is significant at (.01) level.

TABLE 27

DEGREE OF INDIVIDUALISM AS COMPARED WITH FAMILISM  
 (INNER PATTERN OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIP)  
 (MEAN SCORES)

	A sister should obey her brother whether right or wrong	A younger brother should obey his older brother whether right or wrong	A son should obey his father whether right or wrong	A wife should always be submissive to her husband	Cumulative Mean	Total
Illiterates	1.92	1.47	1.09	1.17	5.85	40
Lower Elem. Education	2.25	2.00	1.65	1.35	7.25	40
Upper Elem. Education	3.23	3.10	2.65	1.80	10.78	40
Higher Levels of Education	4.45	4.05	3.90	3.40	15.78	40
Secondary Education	4.08	3.76	3.60	3.12	14.56	25
University Education	4.40	4.46	4.40	3.87	17.13	15

TABLE 28

ATTITUDE TOWARDS AGE  
(MEAN SCORES)

	Dissatisfaction with the Tradition by which the eldest should always have the main responsibility of the family	Dissatisfaction with the oldest always succeeding the father	Cumulative Mean	Total
Illiterates	1.53	1.57	3.10	40
Lower Elem. Education	1.78	1.63	3.41	40
Upper Elem. Education	2.25	2.13	4.38	40
Higher Levels of Education	3.40	3.45	6.85	40
Secondary Education	3.40	3.28	6.68	25
University Education	3.40	3.73	7.13	15

TABLE 29

DEGREE OF INDIVIDUALISM AS COMPARED TO FAMILISM  
(OUTER PATTERN OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIP)  
(MEAN SCORES )

	The enemy of my Father is my enemy; his friend is mine.	One should support members of the family whether they are the oppressors or the oppressed.	Cumulative Mean	Total
Illiterates	1.17	1.47	2.64	40
Lower Elem. Education	1.15	2.23	3.38	40
Upper Elem. Education	1.70	2.85	4.55	40
Higher Levels of Education	3.28	3.85	7.13	40
Secondary Education	2.96	3.68	6.64	25
University Education	4.06	4.13	8.19	15



TABLE 30

SATISFACTION WITH SAUDI FAMILY LIFE IN GENERAL

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Undecided	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Mean Score	Total
Illiterates	28	11	-	1	-	1.35	40
Lower Elem. Education	22	13	2	2	1	1.68	40
Upper Elem. Education	12	14	4	8	2	2.85	40
Higher Levels of Education	1	9	1	22	7	3.63	40
Secondary Education	1	6	1	11	6	3.6	25
University Education	-	3	-	11	1	3.66	15

6. Satisfaction with Saudi Family Life.

From the data presented in table 30, it could be inferred that none of the four levels of education indicated a rather high degree of dissatisfaction with the present status quo of Saudi family life. Only the highest level of education was inclined to be dissatisfied, while the third level maintained an attitude of indifference.

## CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of the data in the preceding chapter leads to the following conclusions: There is more or less a positive relationship between the level of education of the subjects studied and the degree of dissatisfaction with traditional family values and attitudes. The higher the level of education is the greater the respondents dissatisfaction with polygamy, extended type of family, endogamy, Mahr, free divorce, women social status, chastity, and familism. This dissatisfaction is more or less limited to those with higher levels of education. While those in upper elementary levels seemed to be somewhat indifferent, the lowest two levels tended to be satisfied. Still the relationship between education and dissatisfaction with traditional family values was checked to be significant at (.01) level.

This dissatisfaction is not, however, so remarkable as to introduce change in the near future and that is for four main reasons: First, education is not wide spread in Saudi Arabia, Second, education tends to be traditional where it is not supervised by Aramco. Third, the degree of coming in contact with other nationalities is nearly limited to the Saudi employees with Aramco, while the rest of the Saudi folks are still somewhat in a state of isolation. Even some of those working with Aramco are living to a certain extent in isolation for the mean scores obtained by them as to informal education are fairly low. Fourth, the attitude presented throughout this study are verbal or expressed attitudes.

Though one is free to generalize these findings to include all Saudi employees working with Aramco in the three districts because they have the same background, it would be more objective to limit such generalizations to those working in Abqaiq.

Moreover, since education is not the sole factor contributing to dissatisfaction with present family life, an exact prediction of social change cannot be made unless such study is generalized to include a representative sample of Bedouins, Shia'ites, Sinites, different ages, and different provinces of Saudi Arabia. Such a research can be made among Bedouins or in Katif (a town inhabited by Shia'ites only) as well as in the Western Provinces of Saudi Arabia.

This study has suggested many areas, for future research the most important of which would be the following:

First, the relationship of religious to family social values. This would be a comparative study as to the attitudes of Shia'ites and Sinites as well as different levels of religious intensity.

Second, the relationship of the type of settlement and family social values; that is a comparative study of the attitudes of Bedouins and Haders (city dwellers) as to traditional family values.

Another area might be the relationship of age, sex, or ecological distribution to family social values.

If one would do that, one would be in a better position to predict more precisely what changes might be expected.

APPENDIX  
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Present occupation \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age \_\_\_\_\_
3. Birth \_\_\_\_\_  
(City or village & province)
4. Settlement \_\_\_\_\_,  
(Hadar) (Bedouins)
5. Religion \_\_\_\_\_,  
(Sinite) , (Shia'ite)
6. Marital status \_\_\_\_\_  
(Single)
- \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
(married) , (deserted) , (divorced) , (widow)
7. Age when first married \_\_\_\_\_
8. Number of marriages \_\_\_\_\_
9. Present number of wives \_\_\_\_\_
10. Number of divorces \_\_\_\_\_
11. Are your wives related to you.

First wife \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
Yes No (How is she related if Yes)

Second wife \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
Yes No (How is she related if Yes)

Third wife \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
Yes No (How is she related if Yes)

Fourth wife \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
Yes No (How is she related if Yes)

12. What are the nationalities of your wives:

	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Saudi	_____	_____	_____	_____
Iraqi	_____	_____	_____	_____
Egyptian	_____	_____	_____	_____
Syrian	_____	_____	_____	_____
Others	_____	_____	_____	_____

13. What were the ages of your wives when first married?

\_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
First , Second , Third , Fourth

14. Have you seen your wives before marriage?

\_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
Yes No

15. Who chose your wives for you \_\_\_\_\_

16. What was the average amount of the "Mahr"? \_\_\_\_\_  
(less than 1000)

\_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
(1000 - 2000) ; (2000 - 5000) ; (5000 - 10,000) ; (10,000 or more)

17. Where it not for the "Mahr" would you marry more than one wife?

\_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
Yes No







If "Yes", how often? daily , every other day ,  
weekly , monthly , rarely

3. Do you watch the television? Yes , No

"If "Yes", what do you usually watch \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If "Yes", how often? daily , every other day  
monthly , weekly , rarely

4.

4. Do you do any outside reading? Yes , No

If "Yes", what do you usually read? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If "Yes", how often? daily , every other day  
weekly , monthly , rarely

5. For how many years have you been with Aramco? Three years or less

4 - 7 years , 8 - 11 years , 12 - 15 years

16 years or more

6. How far do you come in contact with non-Saudi employees?

1. No contact with them \_\_\_\_\_
2. Come in contact with them in work only \_\_\_\_\_
3. Come in contact with them outside work but rarely \_\_\_\_\_
4. Come in contact with them outside work usually \_\_\_\_\_
5. Have some of them as friends \_\_\_\_\_

7. Have you travelled outside Arabia? \_\_\_\_\_ , \_\_\_\_\_  
Yes No

If "Yes", where to? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

If "Yes", how long did you stay? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

#### IV. DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH TRADITIONAL FAMILY VALUES

The following statements refer to opinions regarding family affairs in Saudi Arabia, about which some people agree and other disagree. How do you feel about them.

1. Marriage with more than one wife should be encouraged.

1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Agree. \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know. \_\_\_\_\_
4. Disagree. \_\_\_\_\_
5. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

2. After marriage, the new couple should continue to live with his parents.

1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

3. Women should be educated.

1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_

4. The husband should discuss all family problems with his wife.

1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_

5. The wife should always be submissive to the husband.

1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

6. While walking in the street the wife should walk behind her husband.

1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

7. Women should not be educated as much as men.

1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

8. The sister should obey her brother whether right or wrong.

1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

9. If a woman is found guilty of adultery, she should be stoned to death.

1. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Strongly Agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

10. If a man is found guilty of adultery, he should be stoned to death.

1. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

11. One should see his wife before marriage.

1. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

12. Women have the right to discontinue wearing the veil.

1. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

13. Social contacts of the opposite sexes at all ages should be allowed.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

14. Marriage should be based on love.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

15. Women should not wear the veil at home.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

16. All the body of a woman is Taboo (A'oura)

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

17. The wife should have the right to divorce her husband.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly Agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

18. One should marry a relative.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

19. One should obey his father whether he is wrong or right.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

20. The main responsibility of the family should always be given to the eldest.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

21. The woman has the right to refuse the husband chosen by her father.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

22. The enemy of your father is your enemy, and his friend is your friend.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_ %

23. The younger brother should obey his older brother whether he is right, or wrong.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

24. When the father dies, the oldest son should take his place.

- 1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_



25. One should support members of his family whether they are the oppressors or the oppressed.

- 1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

26. The father should be sure that his daughters marry at an early age.

- 1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

27. The father have the full right to give his daughter in marriage to the husband he chooses whether she likes it or not.

- 1. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Agree \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

28. The amount of the Mahr should be decreased.

1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

29. How do you feel towards marrying a non-Saudi Arab girl.

1. I do not like it at all \_\_\_\_\_
2. I do not like it \_\_\_\_\_
3. I do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. I would like it some how \_\_\_\_\_
5. I would like it very much \_\_\_\_\_

30. I would prefer my wife to be:

1. A Saudi relative \_\_\_\_\_
2. A Saudi non-relative \_\_\_\_\_
3. Undecided \_\_\_\_\_
4. Non-Saudi Arab \_\_\_\_\_
5. Non-Arab \_\_\_\_\_

31. How do you feel about the education of women?

1. Education is not necessary at all for women \_\_\_\_\_
2. Education is not necessary for women \_\_\_\_\_
3. Undecided \_\_\_\_\_
4. Education is necessary for women \_\_\_\_\_
5. Education is very necessary for women \_\_\_\_\_

32. How do you feel towards using birth control?

1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

33. How do you feel towards intermarriage of Sini'tes and Shia'ites?

1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

34. How do you feel towards intermarriage of Moslems and Christians?

1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

35. How do you feel towards intermarriage of Bedouins and Hadeers?

1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

36. How do you feel towards intermarriage of different social classes?

1. Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_
2. Disagree \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do not know \_\_\_\_\_
4. Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_
5. Agree \_\_\_\_\_

37. How satisfied are you with Saudi family life in general?

1. Very satisfied \_\_\_\_\_
2. Satisfied \_\_\_\_\_
3. Undecided \_\_\_\_\_
4. Dissatisfied \_\_\_\_\_
5. Very dissatisfied \_\_\_\_\_

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