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Schooling the State: Educators in Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan: c. 1890-c. 1960

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Schooling the State:

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By

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Committee in Charge:
Professor Beshara Doumani, Co-chair
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Professor James Vernon
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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the links between education and political culture by analyzing government-employed educators during the formative period of nation-state creation in the Middle East. It argues that a dearth of qualified personnel, coupled with local support of education, allowed educators in the government schools of Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan, to act as privileged intermediaries, backed by both the states that employed them, and by their societies. Educators' status as popular and scarce civil servants encouraged them to participate in anti-government protests while remaining government employees. The aggregate consequences of educators' ability to protest without losing their posts included ideological flexibility, the sidelining of educated groups from armed rebellions and the maintenance of non-representative regimes. Their stories articulate how local civil servants, frequently at the lowest levels of colonial bureaucracies, shape administration and governance.

During the late Ottoman period, educated individuals participated in a culture of petitions and negotiation, which connected civil servants and the Ottoman state. The British military and Mandate administrations incorporated Ottoman laws regarding education, as well as Ottoman-founded institutions and Ottoman-trained personnel into the educational systems of the Mandates. This continuity between British and Ottoman policies, institutions and personnel perpetuated Ottoman-era modes of interaction between educators and the governments that employed them.

British policy makers feared anti-colonial rebellions on the part of an educated unemployed, like uprisings that had taken place in both India and Egypt during periods of British control. Therefore, British officials in Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan restricted government schooling, particularly at upper levels, to a select few. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the region, and the League of Nations' requirements to prepare the Mandates for eventual independence, resulted in local and international demand for government-sponsored education. This situation of scarcity and need granted educators a privileged position vis-à-vis their employers. Educators used their rare status to manipulate and petition their governments, while rising through the ranks of the civil service. In so doing, they evinced a broader notion of agency than simple resistance to colonial domination.

Educators also theorized and articulated a variety of political ideologies, particularly during the interwar period. Educators' experiences as students and their relationships to their governments as well as their birthplaces and families shaped their concepts of political affiliation. The American University of Beirut (AUB) in particular functioned as a hub of pan-Arabism for educators; students from throughout the region met, studied, and learned to protest while at AUB. Their academic credentials permitted AUB graduates to put their philosophies into practice, as teachers, authors, administrators and later ministers throughout the Mandates. However, self-avowedly nationalist educators, even at their most extreme, overwhelmingly remained employed by their governments in some capacity despite their rebellious reputations. Educators' need to work within the government, to keep their present jobs, and the desire of local communities to preserve education and to safeguard their children's futures reinforced teachers and administrators' incorporation into government service.

In the late 1950s, three factors threatened educators' intermediary role. These factors denigrated teachers' social and economic status, and pushed them towards collective rather than individual action. Mass education reduced the scarcity of teachers; their formerly rare educational qualifications became more common, and less valuable. Standardization, through rigid modes of inspection and national examinations that dictated children's future careers, reduced educators' ability to teach beyond the prescribed curriculum. Repressive measures on the part of each government also limited the intermediary position teachers had previously enjoyed. The concurrent hardening of national borders reduced the fluidity of political affiliations once open to the Mandates' inhabitants.

From the late 1890s through the late 1950s, educators and former educators leveraged their scarcity. As both teachers and government ministers, they influenced the young minds of the region within and beyond the classroom. Their favored status lasted until colonial restrictions on education lessened, and mass education eroded their capacity for bargaining with their governments. The stories of these teachers and administrators underscore the importance of local civil servants to the functioning of imperial, colonial and independent governments. Their rebellions from within the government bureaucracy demonstrate how government education as an institution can simultaneously shore up and impair the authority of its state.

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Introduction

In November of 1936, James Somerville, Assistant Probation Office in Palestine, wrote to his friend Lionel Smith, Rector of Edinburgh Academy in Scotland, in order to do a young Palestinian a good turn. Somerville had been an educational advisor and inspector in Iraq during Smith's tenure as Director of Education there. The Palestinian in question, Farid 'Ali al-Sa'ad was trying to transfer from a post as principal of the Tribal School at Beersheba to the more prestigious one of District Officer in the Mandate for Palestine. Somerville asked Smith, who still had familial and friendly connections in Palestine's administration, to write letters on al-Sa'ad's behalf. Somerville noted, "I have the utmost confidence in recommending Farid to you as a straight honest dependable young man who will give … satisfaction wherever he is posted and it is a pleasure to me to think that I may possibly do him a service in this way."[1]

Farid al-Sa'ad was born in Umm al-Fahm Palestine in 1908. He received his BA at the American University of Beirut in 1928. He then worked as a teacher in Baghdad's government secondary school until 1930. al-Sa'ad became the Director of Secondary schools in Irbid, subsequently an Inspector of Education focused on English and Mathematics in Amman, Transjordan. After his stint as the principal of the Tribal School at Beersheba, back in Palestine, he was promoted to District Officer (presumably with Smith's intervention) in Haifa in 1937, later becoming mayor of Haifa, a member of the Haifa Arab National Committee, and Manager of the Arab Bank in Haifa. After 1948, he became a repeated member of the Senate in Jordan. [2] By 1972, he was the Jordanian Minister of Finance. [3]

Farid 'Ali al-Sa'ad as a Senator in Jordan. [4]

Farid 'Ali al-Sa'ad's transnational tale of teaching, politics, and rise through the ranks of government service is not unique. Six of the 17 prime ministers who served in Jordan from the end of the British Mandate through the early 1970s and five of the 13 prime ministers who served in Iraq from the 1950s through the 1960s were former teachers. [5] These politicians and their lesser-known peers who taught in the government schools of Britain's Mandates in the Middle East

[1] James Somerville, "Letter to A.L. Smith, 30 November 1936," Arthur Lionel Forester Smith Collection, GB165-0266, Box 1, File 3, Middle East Centre Archive. St. Antony's College, Oxford, UK. Hereafter MECA.

[2] Government of Palestine, *Civil Service List, (Staff List of the Government of Palestine) 1939* (Jerusalem: 1939)., *al-Kulliyah 17*, no 1. (November, 1930). 24

The International Who's Who of the Arab World (London: International Who's Who of the Arab World, 1984).439

[3] Majlis al-A'yān al-Urdunī, "Sa'ādat Al-Sayyid Farīd Al-Sa'd " http://www.senate.jo/node/473 (accessed April 12, 2015) "., Somerville.

[4] Majlis al-A'yān al-Urdunī, "Sa'ādat Al-Sayyid Farīd Al-Sa'd "

[5] Sulayman Al Nabulsi, Fawzi al Mulqi, Wasfi al-Tall, Abd al-Munim al-Rifai, Ahmad Touqan and Ahmad Lowzi were all teachers in the government schools in Jordan, In Iraq, Mustafa Mahmud el-Umari, Fadil Jamali, Ahmad Mukhtar Baban Tahir Yahya, and Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr all worked as government school teachers before their stints as Prime Minister.

worked for various governments across the transition from imperial to colonial states to independence or occupation.

From the late 19th through the mid-20th century, Ottoman, Mandate, and independent governments participated in the international trend of increasing government-funded and government-regulated schooling. Public education represented a way for states to improve their economies, armies, global standing as well as domestic approval. It also meant each government increasingly intruded into the lives of broader segments of the populations under their control, thus extending the reach of each state into society. Successive governments in the region enacted legislation, constructed buildings, commissioned textbooks, and hired a range of educated individuals to implement these new endeavors. Local populations constantly demanded more and better schools as government education promised a respectable job in burgeoning bureaucracies. However, Ottoman and to an even greater degree British policies linked public education with a career in the civil service. These policies also exacerbated a region-wide shortage of educators. Therefore, the pool of trained individuals available to teach and to staff government bureaucracies, in general, remained small.

This dearth of qualified personnel coupled with local support of education allowed educators to act as privileged intermediaries, backed by both the states that employed them and by their societies. Educators' status as popular government representatives had two paradoxical effects on their role in Britain's Mandates in the Middle East. On the one hand, teaching became not only a stepping-stone to political office, but also a platform for political agitation. Educators and those they educated often disagreed with government policies, particularly colonial and repressive tactics. This lack of replacements allowed educators to criticize the policies and colonial nature of the states that employed them, in print and in demonstrations, without fear of permanent dismissal. Educators also used their scarcity as a bargaining chip to negotiate for mundane benefits, such as bettering their social and economic status and that of their relatives and communities.

On the other hand, while teachers rendered their profession a site of protest, their symbiotic dependence on government for their livelihoods meant their rebellions were relatively conservative. Narratives of the role of public education in political participation worldwide tend to link more schooling with increased political activity, including both government-sanctioned modes such as voting or adhering to ruling ideologies, as well as anti-government protests. [6] The story of teachers in Britain's Mandates in the Middle East fleshes out this contradiction, while adding an important corrective: exclusion from formal schooling can also contribute to rebellion. During the transition from scant to mass education, the ways and extent to which various groups participated in the political sphere depended in part upon their investment in their governments, and vice-versa. In Iraq, Palestine and to a lesser degree Transjordan, those excluded from civilian schooling and the job security it promised, would take up arms. Whether or not the government was representative, educators and those they educated benefitted from the status quo, therefore reducing their desire and ability to agitate for radical political change.

[6] Filipe R. Campante and Davin Chor. "Why Was the Arab World Poised for Revolution? Schooling, Economic Opportunities, and the Arab Spring." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 26, no. 2 (2012), Elizabeth Frazer. "Introduction: The Idea of Political Education." *Oxford Review of Education* 25, no. 1/2 (1999). Carl F. Kaestle and Eric Foner. *Pillars of the Republic : Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.5,

Literature Review:

Public education and educators have occupied a prominent but thorny place in analyses of not only the Middle East but also accounts of a variety of key transformative events during the 19th and 20th centuries. Historians, political theorists, sociologists and politicians cite government education as facilitating the transition from tradition to modernity, including facets such as secularization and women's liberation, [7] from decline to progress and development, [8] colonial repression or civilization, [9] the growth of nationalisms, [10] and the promotion of both democratic

[7] Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West : A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the near East. 1,1, Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century.* (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1957)., Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: Free Press, 1968); Joseph S. Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973). Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age : 1798-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)., Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 2002)., Roderic Donald Matthews, Matta Akrawi, and American Council on Education., *Education in Arab Countries of the near East: Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1949)., Timothy Mitchell, "Colonising Egypt," (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)., Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women : The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[8] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education in the United States; a Collection of Sources and Readings to Illustrate the History of Educational Practice and Progress in the United States, by Elwood P. Cubberley* (New York: Houghton Mifflin company, 1934)., Muhammad Fadil Jamali, *The New Iraq: Its Problem of Bedouin Education* (New York: Teachers college, Columbia University, 1934)., Selçuk Aksin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908 : Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001).

[9] Arthur Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire* (London; New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938)., Catriona Ellis, "Education for All: Reassessing the Historiography of Education in Colonial India," *History Compass* 7, no. 2 (2009)., Hugh. Baron Caradon Foot, *A Start in Freedom* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964). Abdulqadir Mohammad Yousuf, *The British Educational Policy in the Arab Public Schools of Palestine During the Mandate* ([s.l.]: Indiana University, 1956); Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators : The British Indian and Colonial Education Service 1858-1983* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003)., Sami Khalil Mari, *Arab Education in Israel*, Contemporary Issues in the Middle East (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978); Sarah Graham-Brown and Neil MacDonald, *Education, Repression, Liberation : Palestinians* (London (20 Compton Terrace, N1 2UN): World University Service (UK), 1984)., Deena Taji Faruki, "In Fear of Palestine : British and Israeli Educational Policy and History Curriculum for Palestinians" (2007)., Ahmad Yousef al-Tall, *Education in Jordan : Being a Survey of the Political, Economic and Social Conditions Affecting the Development of the System on Education in Jordan, 1921-1977* (Islamabad, Pakistan: National Book Foundation, 1979).

[10] Peter Wien, *Iraqi Arab Nationalism : Authoritarian, Totalitarian, and Pro-Fascist Inclinations, 1932-1941* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006); Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991)., Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism : Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003)., Noah Nardi, *Zionism and Education in Palestine* (New York: AMS Press, 1972)., Weldon C. Matthews, *Confronting an Empire, Constructing a Nation : Arab Nationalists and Popular Politics in Mandate Palestine*, Library of Middle East History, V. 10 (London; New York; New York: I.B. Tauris ; Distributed by Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)., Joseph Andoni Massad, *Colonial Effects : The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001)., Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage : The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006)., Michael Eppel, "The Elite, the 'Effendiyya', and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921-1958," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998)., C. Ernest Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism; Essays on the Origins of Arab Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973)., Eric Davis, *Memories of State : Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)., Betty S. Anderson, *Nationalist Voices in Jordan : The Street and the State* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005).

and illiberal regimes. [11] These works tend to describe education as a black box or an input-output machine. Children enter schools, education happens, and modernity, nationalism or oppression results. [12] Yet how schooling facilitates these transformations and how educators in particular affect their course remains understudied.

Until the 1980s, much of the work that addressed the history of education in the Middle East was informed by neo-Orientalism and Modernization theory. These works shared the assumption that education, particularly mass public secular education, could facilitate the transition from traditional, backward Middle Eastern societies to a flourishing, Westernized modernity if Middle Easterners were willing and able to embrace a Western style of schooling. In neo-Orientalist works of the 20th century, schooling functioned as a vehicle for either westernization or continued stagnancy. These authors described Middle Easterners in two ways: infected by contact with the West and becoming (if usually imperfectly) enlightened through their exposure to Western learning and culture, or instead, perpetually repressed by continued rote memorization of religious texts in timeless madrasas. [13] Similarly, foreign policy and development experts have analyzed education within critiques or promotions of modernization through institutions. These approaches tend to highlight schooling as a means of social reproduction, reproducing status hierarchies rather than facilitating social mobility. [14]

More recently, authors informed by postcolonial theory have perpetuated this binary view of schooling as a means if not the only means by which tradition is displaced by modernity. These authors tend to assume that the reality of colonial educational institutions directly corresponds to educational policies, which purport to order that reality thereby modernizing the subject population. If the transition from premodern to modern is somehow imperfect or different from European or Western-style liberal democracies, the fault lies not with paradigms of nationalism and modernity but with the colonized and later often anticolonial nationalist populations. [15]

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[11] Shira Robinson, *Citizen Strangers Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State* (Stanford (Calif.): Stanford University Press, 2013).,, Massad., Danielle S. Allen and Rob Reich, *Education, Justice, and Democracy* (2013)., Judith Cochran, *Democracy in the Middle East : The Impact of Religion and Education* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2011).

[12] For a discussion of the "banking" concept of education, and its effect on schooling see Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. (New York: Continuum, 2000).

[13] See for example H. A. R. Gibb, and Harold Bowen. *Islamic Society and the West. A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the near East*. (London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1950).

[14] Joseph S. Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East*. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1973). Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi. *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East: Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon.* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949).

[15] Timothy Mitchell's Colonising Egypt constitutes one of the most prominent examples of the reliance on education to bring about modernity. For Mitchell, it is through schooling in part that plans for and of the imperial, colonial and subsequently national modern state became globally understood realities. However, Mitchell limits his treatment of schooling to the idea of education. He assumes that through this idea the disciplinary ideal described in the plans, syllabi, rules and regulations he examines, not only became a reality but altered reality. The crux of Mitchell's Foucault and Derrida based argument is that as colonial power became fundamentally a disciplinary type of power, it could then operate "always so as to appear as something set apart from the real world, effecting a certain, metaphysical authority." Educational policy is meant to facilitate this transition, but the plans Mitchell describes were never effectively or even partially implemented, undermining his description of the clean transition to a universally defined, but originally European, modernity. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, (University of California Press, 1991). 160 See Khaled Fahmy's take on the modernization of Egypt for a discussion of Mitchell's historical inaccuracy. Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men : Mehmed Ali, His Army and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2008).

These authors fail to address discrepancies between policy and practice, erasing the possibility for individual educators' agency. However, discarding the connections between public education, modernization, and modernity would be to throw out the baby with the bath water. Modernization and modernity were salient concepts throughout the 20th century that educators used as a way to make claims and demands on their governments for more and better education as well as political reforms and other forms of infrastructure. [16] Recent works, particularly Sara Pursley's and Orit Bashkin's analyses of education in Iraq have emphasized the more subtle effects of government schooling on changes that historical subjects viewed as modern: Iraq's public sphere, marriage patterns, gender roles, and sense of time. [17] My dissertation takes seriously how government-employed educators wrestled with ideas of modernity on a local level and how they shaped the implementation of new institutions, including those inherited from the Ottoman government's efforts at reform immediately before British occupation. This interpretation both undermines divisions between "Western" and "Eastern" notions of modernity, while allowing for a more nuanced view of the ruptures of this period and highlighting the unintended consequences of explicitly modernizing reforms. It also underscores the relationship between education, educators, and the rise of a transnational middle class that self-consciously wrestled with ideas of modernity, classifying themselves as moderns. While other authors, most notably Keith Watenpaugh have analyzed this group in particular locales, my dissertation points to the regional nature and effects of an educated stratum. [18]

The second theme that dominates accounts of education in the Middle East and, more broadly, colonial education is the politicization of colonized populations, specifically through the growth of nationalism and nationalist resistance to imperial domination. Both during and immediately after the colonial period, narratives of education underscored development and enlightenment; colonizers were meant to have civilized the ungrateful natives by teaching them Western thought. In contrast, nationalist histories written immediately after decolonization sought to counter these narratives of colonial benevolence by portraying colonial education as oppressive, preventing the indigenous nation from emerging.[19] Nationalist historians then sought to frame their nations formed in the wake of colonialism as having civilizational parity, and having achieved milestones in culture if not necessarily development in spite of colonial repression. [20] These histories tended to justify the governments of the newly created nation states because of their struggle against colonialism. On the other hand, if the nation state desired by each author did not

[16] Frederick Cooper. *Colonialism in Question : Theory, Knowledge, History*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[17] Orit Bashkin, "When Muawiya Entered the Curriculum: Some Comments on the Iraqi Education System in the Interwar Period," *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006); Orit Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009)., Sara Pursley, "Building the Nation through the Production of Difference," in *Writing the Modern History of Iraq : Historiographical and Political Challenges*, ed. Jordi Tejel Gorgas, and Riccardo Bocco.(London: Singapore, World Scientific, 2012); Sara Pursley, "The Stage of Adolescence: Anticolonial Time, Youth Insurgency, and the Marriage Crisis in Hashimite Iraq," *History of the Present* 3, no. 2 (2013).

[18] Keith David Watenpaugh. *Being Modern in the Middle East : Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006.

[19] Catriona Ellis, "Education for All: Reassessing the Historiography of Education in Colonial India," *History Compass* 7, no. 2 (2009). Ellis describes these progressions in the case of Colonial India

[20] See for example George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening : The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Harbor, FL: Simon Pub., 2001).

come into being, colonialism and colonial education would often be denigrated as one of the culprits.

Theoretical accounts of nationalism have similarly taken for granted certain stereotypes regarding the role of education and educated intermediaries in nationalist rebellions against colonialism and in the origins of nationalism as a whole. As searches for nationalism or its absence have dominated accounts of schooling in the Middle East, it is important to question the role of schooling in theories of nationalism. For example, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* assumes it is education, particularly state-funded compulsory education, which facilitates nationalism. More specifically, educated Creole elites began to identify along national lines as they traversed a bureaucratically delineated territory and faced a glass ceiling that excluded them from positions open to those born in the metropole. After they have taken the reins of the state apparatus, these elites use mass education to bridge the gap they perceive between themselves and the rest of their newly discovered countrymen. In Anderson's analysis, education permits both the forging of a national consciousness and its dissemination to non-elites.[21]

Anderson's assumption that education automatically inculcates the masses with nationalist sentiment allows him to portray non-Western, anticolonial, often undemocratic nationalisms as merely perversions of previous models. His omission of the realities of education facilitates his assertion of the modularity of nationalism. If education, as it does in his account, spreads nationalist sentiment based in European terms regardless of the goals of educational policymakers (which he ignores), then nationalism and its ruptures become inevitable. The violence and exclusion that nationalism entails both within and beyond national borders can then be more easily downplayed. Anderson's treatment of educational institutions precludes the possibility that different locations and peoples could affect the form and content of nationalism(s) more generally. His analysis universalizes and renders inevitable a rational, enlightenment based nationalism as the ideal type. Other nationalisms, such as those based on sectarian, familial or regional ties, or those that are not tied to democratic governments become distortions of Anderson's model.[22]

In the case of Britain's Mandates in the Middle East, the legacy of anticolonial struggles, and the growth of transnational groups, including the Muslim Brotherhood, as well as more militant organizations like al-Qaeda and al-Dawlah al-Islāmiyah fīl-ʿIrāq wa al-Shām(ISIS), have

[21] Anderson. 103

[22] Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London; New York: Verso, 1991). For an example of a work concentrating on colonial education that illustrates some of the pitfalls of Anderson's approach, see Sharkey. Sharkey's analysis of education in the Sudan focuses on the growth of nationalism among an educated elite class of intermediaries and government functionaries within a colonial system. In her definition, nationalism is a dialectical process, that can be directly attributed to colonialism, granting the colonized Sudanese little agency, as it is not only "the belief that colonial borders enclosed a community of people who shared a heritage and a destiny" but also "an ideological manifestation of compound social changes that colonialism set in motion." Ibid., 3. However, she concentrates overmuch on the idealized program of education the rather than the real, lived experience, makes unquestioned assumptions about the impact of schooling, its modernity and its benefit for its pupils, and gives limited literary movements disproportionate amounts of credit for inspiring nationalist sentiment. In her case, this focus elides key aspects of the history of the Sudan, namely the relationship between Northern and Southern Sudan's educational systems, particularly certain similarities such as demand for English. If, as Sharkey asserts, one of the "key" signifiers of the unified elite culture which sprang from the equally elite British run schools was a knowledge of English, then the educated Southerners were participants in this elite culture. Sharkey therefore reinforces the divide between the two, while she could have examined the similarities. Ibid. 134

led to a historiography overwhelmingly dominated by the issue of nationalism and how strong or valid it is across the region. These works tend to search for the origins of particular political ideologies: territorial nationalisms, Communism, or pan-Arabism. [23] Concentrating on the development of these ideologies pigeonholes educators as mere transmitters of nationalist ideals. [24] This focus effaces continuities between Ottoman, Mandate and Independence-era governance, undermines the connections between education and transnational movements, and ignores the ways educators supported and manipulated the states they represented across national borders.

The literature on education in the Mandate for Palestine is more plentiful, and politically fraught than that of Iraq and Transjordan due to a number of factors. These include availability of sources as well as the continued Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the searches for its causes, who to blame for its perpetuation, and how it can be solved. Education in the Mandate for Palestine, with few exceptions, is discussed merely as a tool for the repression or the development of nationalism, background for a case study of how Palestinians should be educated, fodder for an account of the modernization of women, and, lastly, an illustration of the failed but noble British colonial project as recorded by former officials. [25] The stakes of histories of nationalism are high; popular accounts of Israeli or Palestinian nationalism frequently use length of nationalism as the basis for claims to the land itself. [26]

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[23] Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh, *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine During the British Mandate* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973); Anderson; Antonius; William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist : Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati'al-Husri* (Princeton, New Jersey: Pinceton University Press, 1971); A. I. Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century : From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003); Dawn; Eppel, "The Elite, the 'Effendiyya', and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921-1958."; Fleischmann; Yoram Kahati, "The Role of Some Leading Arab Educators in the Development of the Ideology of Arab Nationalism" (1992); Liora Lukitz, *Iraq : The Search for National Identity* (London; Portland, Ore.: F. Cass, 1995); Massad; Weldon C. Matthews, "Pan-Islam or Arab Nationalism? The Meaning of the 1931 Jerusalem Islamic Congress Reconsidered," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 1 (2003); Matthews; Pursley; Wien, *Iraqi Arab Nationalism : Authoritarian, Totalitarian, and Pro-Fascist Inclinations, 1932-1941*.

[24] Nearly all works on education in Iraq, Transjordan/Jordan and Palestine focus on the development of nationalism.

[25] See for example Humphrey Ernest Bowman, *Middle-East Window* (London, New York etc.: Longmans Green and co., 1942)., Baron Hugh Caradon Foot, *A Start in Freedom* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964)., Edward Keith-Roach and Paul Eedle, *Pasha of Jerusalem : Memoirs of a District Commissioner under the British Mandate* (London; New York; New York, NY: Radcliffe Press ; Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by St. Martin's Press, 1994). Analyses are usually completely divided along national lines. For example, Adnan Mohammed Abu-Ghazaleh and Noah Nardi's works focus on Palestinian and Israeli nationalism respectively, either lauding education for promoting nationalism or criticizing the British mandatory regime for repressing that nationalism. Adnan Mohammed Abu-Ghazaleh, *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine During the British Mandate* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973)., Noah Nardi, *Zionism and Education in Palestine* (New York city,: Teachers college Columbia university, 1934). More recently authors have focused on women in part as an emblem of modernity. Through their use of memoirs, oral histories and missionary records they have created a detailed and nuanced picture of the experiences of educated women in the Mandate for Palestine. See Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women : The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003)., Ela Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow : Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press)., Inger Marie Okkenhaug, "'She Loves Books & Ideas, & Strides Along in Low Shoes Like an Englishwoman': British Models and Graduates from the Anglican Girls' Secondary Schools in Palestine, 1918-48," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002). The prevalence of missionaries in Palestine has also led to an abundance of easily accessible English language sources. Israel has also preserved a number of files from the Mandate for Palestine which provide a more bottom-up view of the Mandate.

[26] Oded Haklai, *Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). See for example Jewish-learning websites that include a section on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.

Many broader histories of Iraq and Jordan analyze government schooling in the context of political and social changes during the monarchy. [27] There are few scholarly works in English that focus on education in Iraq exclusively, and there are essentially none on Jordan. [28] Other historians concentrate on the military in Iraq, or the rise of a militarist culture. [29] However, the main questions that inform these accounts of education are ones of nationalism and the unrealized promise of a democratic or liberal Iraq. Historians have been driven in part by an analytical concern with the development of the nation-state as well as explanations of the rise of Saddam Hussein and the perpetuation of Jordan's Hashemite regime. Historians and political scientists are also now called upon to explain ISIS and its relationship to the post-World War I Middle Eastern states. [30] On the other hand, officials at the highest levels of both countries' educational bureaucracies were explicitly concerned with education and its connection to the nation as conceived in a variety of ways.

Former or current participants in the educational system have written several works on Palestine, and the majority of studies that focus specifically on education in Iraq and Jordan. These accounts have a tendency to use the words "nationalism" and "nationalist" without defining their nation or political platform, allowing later generations of historians to cite uncritical developments of various types of national affiliation freely. [31] My project argues that it is important to take into account educators' relationships to various forms of political ideologies, without projecting present-day politics back in to the past. During the 19th and 20th centuries, two factors in particular

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http://www.myjewishlearning.com/israel/Contemporary_Life/Israeli-Palestinian_Relations.shtml, (Accessed April 1, 2015), http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/The_Jewish_Claim_To_The_Land_Of_Israel.html. *Accessed April 1, 2015) See Rochelle Davis' account of how village histories combine scholarly works with memories to lay claim to their former homes, now within Israel. Rochelle Davis, *Palestinian Village Histories : Geographies of the Displaced* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011).

[27] Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*; Orit Bashkin, *New Babylonians : A History of Jews in Modern Iraq* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq : A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, Ba'thists and Free Officers* (London: Saqi, 2004); Davis; A. I. Dawisha, *Iraq : A Political History from Independence to Occupation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq : The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Lukitz; Reeva S. Simon, "The Teaching of History in Iraq before the Rashid Ali Coup of 1941," *Middle Eastern Studies* 22, no. 1 (1986); Reeva S. Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). Ma n Abu Nuwar, *The Development of Trans-Jordan 1929-1939 : A History of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan* (Reading, U.K.: Ithaca, 2006). Joseph Andoni Massad, *Colonial Effects : The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

[28] Bashkin, "When Muawiya Entered the Curriculum: Some Comments on the Iraqi Education System in the Interwar Period."; Cleveland; Pursley, "The Stage of Adolescence: Anticolonial Time, Youth Insurgency, and the Marriage Crisis in Hashimite Iraq." Betty Anderson's work is really the only monograph to focus on schooling in Jordan during the Mandate period, and her concern is about the growth of Jordanian vs. Palestinian nationalisms. Anderson.

[29] Mohammad A. Tarbush, *The Role of the Military in Politics : A Case Study of Iraq to 1941* (London; Boston: Kegan Paul International, 1982); Wien.

[30] Toby Dodge, "Can Iraq Be Saved?," *Survival* 56, no. 5 (2014). Interestingly, most of the analyses of the history of ISIS are left to politically conservative scholars and journals.

[31] Jamali., Abu Khaldun Sati Husri, *Mudhakkirati Fi Al-`Iraq 1921-1941* (Bayrut: Dar al-Tali`ah, 1967). Abd Allah Zahi Rashdan and Omar Ahmad Mohammad Hamshari, *Nizam Al-Tarbiyah Wa-al-Ta`Lim fi Al-Urdun, 1921-2002* (`Amman: Dar Safa lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi`, 2002)., Ahmad Yousef Tall, *Zuruf Al-Siyasiyah Wa-Al-Iqtisadiyah Wa-Al-Ijtima`Iyah Allati Aththarat Fi Tatawwur Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`Lim Fi Al-Urdunn, 1921-1977* ([`Amman]: Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa-al-Shabab, 1978)., Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac, 1956)., Abdulqadir Mohammad Yusuf, "The British Educational Policy in the Arab Public Schools of Palestine During the Mandate" (1956).

precluded codified nationalisms: the newness of territorial divisions together with a lack of correspondence between ideas expressed by educators, journalists, poets and other intellectuals in the public sphere and government policies. By taking seriously the importance of nationalism and political engagement to educators, I provide a more nuanced picture of the range of political affiliations available to educated individuals and their significance.

In considering colonial education, it becomes clear that nationalism is fundamentally tied up with issues of agency. The colonized are presumed to exhibit agency only through their outright resistance to colonial oppression. Nationalist histories have naturally tended to emphasize resistance to colonial policies, eliding many of the day-to-day workings of schools in which educators to one degree or another fulfilled the parameters of their employment. For example in the case of Palestine, historians have argued that Arab Palestinians who worked for the British Mandatory administration had to choose between collaborating with the regime and thereby retaining their "social status and prestige" or resisting that regime and maintaining their "beliefs and principles."[32] These histories do not acknowledge the possibility that working for the Mandate governments as educators could allow for a far broader array of possible relationships with the Mandatory regimes, which require a more extensive definition of agency.

Developments in the field of postcolonial studies have also led to an increase in works which focus on articulations of power relations and their connections to knowledge, authority, and pedagogy. [33] These works generally focus on a few select themes with regards to education: the ability of colonial discourse to dominate and subsume the discourse of the colonized, and the ability of education as a site of either control of the colonized population or of anticolonial resistance. [34] Agency therefore becomes limited to actions of resistance to the colonizer, as acceptance of colonial discourse in any form constitutes acquiescence to domination, the opposite of agency. However, more recently authors have sought to question this simple view of agency as resistance, although infrequently in the context of colonial education. [35]

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[32] Khalidi. 85

[33] Ellis, "Education for All: Reassessing the Historiography of Education in Colonial India." 366. For example, Sanjay Seth's *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* situates Indian education, particularly that of Indian Muslims within discussions of the "practices of colonial governmentality" arguing that for Muslims to be construed as backward, population had to have already been defined as "an object of knowledge and governance." Conversely, the British idea of Muslim as backward allowed for "new ways of thinking-and being-Muslim." Seth's work elucidates the fundamentally pedagogical and paternalist nature of British colonialism in late 19th century India, and how this affected British educational policies over time. However, his work pays less attention to individual educators as actors due to his concern with problematizing Western knowledge as an abstract, universal category and his focus on techniques and relations of power rather than individuals. Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons : The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). Another example of work which better addresses questions of discourse without falling into a binary of resistance vs. domination is Omnia S. El Shakry, *The Great Social Laboratory : Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007).

[34] Ellis, "Education for All: Reassessing the Historiography of Education in Colonial India."363

[35] For example, Julia Clancy-Smith's work Rebel and Saint Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904) describes how local political figures engaged in a variety of strategies with colonial regimes, including bet-hedging, and risk avoidance as well as armed revolt. Julia A. Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint : Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters : Algeria and Tunisia, 1800-1904* (Berkeley (Calif.): University of California Press, 1997). Saba Mahmood's Politics of Piety uses an ethnographic study of the women's mosque movement in Cairo during the late 1990s in order to argue that agency and self actualization can occur not only in rebellion, but also through the repetition of particular practices in accord with the subject's beliefs and desires.

In the case of educators who were employed by the British Mandatory governments, acceptance and perpetuation of British pedagogical practices were frequently coupled with a rejection of British authority. As the Mandate populations viewed government education as a common good, teachers were seldom seen as collaborating with the Mandate regimes. Moreover, the experience of teaching during this chaotic period often entailed material hardships such as lack of funding, overcrowded classrooms, and other routine concerns which are beyond the simple ideas of resistance or collaboration with a colonial regime. By taking seriously the hopes, dreams, political projects, personal successes and failures of educators, my project provides a more comprehensive and subtle view of agency within a colonial and postcolonial context.

Methodology and Contribution:

My project uses a unique source base, expansive geographical range, and novel periodization, in order to rewrite the role of government education and educators in the Middle East. It challenges existing accounts of the form and content of governance: namely, the institutions and personnel that link governments to those they governed during a period when both were in constant flux. Throughout regime changes and across shifting territorial borders, administrators, inspectors and teachers defined the limits of the states that employed them. As the largest and lowest-ranking segment of civil servants in each government, teachers in particular represented governments to their society's most impressionable members: children. Moreover, government-sponsored education constituted one of the few ways individuals could gain a stake in governance as a whole as public education guaranteed a government job. [36]

This dissertation uses collective biography, as well as techniques from social and cultural history, juxtaposing demographic surveys of educators and accounts of educational policies with sources that document the responses and opinions of the educators meant to implement these policies. The amount of information regarding these educators varies between the Mandates. The official newspapers of each country, the Palestine Government Gazette, the Iraq Government Gazette and the Jordanian *Jarida al-Rasmiyya*, all include records of educational legislation. The Mandatory administrations submitted annual reports to the League of Nations for the duration of each Mandate, underscoring how education was achieving, or at least had the potential to achieve the goals of each administration. Therefore, government gazettes and annual reports that the Departments or Ministries of Education published and submitted to the League of Nations illustrate the policies each Government sought to implement.

In terms of demographic information, the Palestinian and Jordanian government newspapers posted the names and sometimes the hometowns of individuals who passed the exams sponsored by the government, including teachers' exams and the matriculation exam. [37] Similarly, the Iraq Government Gazette provided names of teachers both appointed to and dismissed from higher ranks in the education system such as in the teachers' training college, or "on the secondary

Saba Mahmood. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.

[36] Gurminder Bhambra describes how being an intermediary gave educated elites a stake in colonial states. Gurminder K. Bhambra, *Rethinking Modernity : Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination* (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2007).

[37] Abd al-Razzaq Hilali and Ayif Habib Khalil Ani, *Tarikh Al-Ta`lim Fi Al-`Iraq Fi Al-`Ahd Al-Intidab Al-Baritani, 1921-1932* (Baghdad, al-`Iraq: Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa-al-I`lam, Dar al-Shuun al-Thaqafiyah al-`Ammah, Afaq `Arabiyah, 2000).

cadre" meaning they had been promoted from the first category to the second of the civil service, receiving a higher salary. The Ministry of Education in Jordan possesses records, albeit with some errors, of employees of the department of education from 1922 through the present day. I gained access to statistics on the first 10,000 employees of the Ministry of Education. These statistics include when each teacher, clerk or administrator was hired, when and how they ended service, and for some individuals where they attended school, as well as when they were born. The American University of Beirut keeps detailed records of its alumni; these records include a database on graduates from the late 19th century through the 1950s, *al-Kulliyah* an alumni magazine, as well as files on some prominent individuals. By combining these materials, it is possible to follow a large sample of individual teachers throughout their careers with all three governments, and to know how and when those careers ended.

The memoirs, diaries and private papers of colonial officials and native educators expose struggles over education both within and beyond the classroom. Although the diaries of educators are limited in quantity, and memoirs are written in hindsight, they provide a window into pedagogical, personal, and national concerns. Memoirs often seem to exaggerate their authors' role in and comprehension of historical currents. [38] They also highlight their authors' politicization, both at home and in school. However, less politicized aspects of education generally appear in similar ways: for example, whether or not students sit at desks, how many teachers were in each school, were their teachers old or young, etc.

Oral histories are a still more limited resource as most former educators in the Mandates are deceased. However, I conducted 20 interviews with elderly individuals who attended elementary school during the Mandate period or whose parents or grandparents worked as teachers in the Government schools. My interviewees included former Iraqi citizens living in the United Kingdom (UK), the United States (US) and Israel as well as Palestinians and Jordanians living throughout the Middle East. My interviewees were by no means representative demographically of the Mandate populations. All interviews were conducted in English, which my subjects all spoke fairly fluently, with some Arabic or Hebrew thrown in. These interviews provided insight into day-to-day experiences of schooling, as well as the aspects of education that continue to resonate with these individuals, and those that do not. For example, one Iraqi from a wealthy and influential Jewish family recalled going on strike at his private school, being expelled and attending a government school instead, but could not recall what the strike had been about. [39]All the interviewees remembered their exams, a favorite or a hated teacher, the songs they sang, and the punishments they received. They also emphasized what they viewed as the most enduring or important legacies of their education, from pan-Arab nationalisms to their knowledge of European history. Some individuals were quite used to narrating their life stories and it was difficult to break them from their set account, regardless of my questions. [40] Others were suspicious of my interest in them. One memorable interview with a still-Communist Kurdish professor in London began with a declaration that he believed I was a spy, but didn't care. [41]

[38] For example, in Muhammad Izzat Darwazeh's monumental autobiography, he is at different events at the same time.
[39] Interview with A.S. August 3, 2011.
[40] Interview with Hanna abu Hanna, June 8, 2012.
[41] Interview with Kamal Majid. March 3, 2013.

The number and quality of these interviews is clearly insufficient to provide the sole source of the lived experience of schooling during the Mandate period. However, by blending interviews with documentary sources, and by taking seriously the current situation of my interviewees and their perception of me, I have been able to incorporate a variety of fresh voices into my dissertation and to enliven my analysis of schoolchildren's experiences in a way documentary sources do not allow. For Iraq in particular, oral histories have provided an invaluable resource as many types of documents, which are available for Jordan and Palestine, remain inaccessible.

Teachers, administrators and colonial officials produced and received a host of texts, often on a daily basis, that describe how and what teachers should teach. These included syllabi, textbooks, and teachers' personnel files. Teachers' personnel files in particular allow for a detailed view of the relationship between educators, the communities they served, and their governments. These files contain inspectors' reports, credentials, teachers' and villagers' petitions, medical records, and correspondence between British or local officials employed by the Departments of Education and the populations of the region. They are unfortunately not available for Iraq. I examined approximately 450 personnel files from the Mandate for Palestine, 10 files from the Mandate period in Transjordan, and 50 files from the 1950s in Jordan. [42] Handwritten and typed pages of varied sizes and shapes, English and Arabic, different styles of writing and at times excessive uses of punctuation comprise these documents. They range in length from a few pages to hundreds depending how long each teacher served, how often they became ill, how many times they petitioned their Departments or Ministries of Education, and how frequently they got into trouble with their communities, their peers, or their governments.

Personnel files demonstrate shifting bureaucratic norms, as interactions between teachers and their employers began to follow clear-cut patterns. These files also describe teachers' professional personas, with insights into their personalities and concerns, although these must be taken as what teachers sought to present to their employers rather than absolute truth. For example, teachers often requested transfers (and increases in salary) due to familial circumstances: an elderly father, a sick wife, the desire to keep a daughter in school. [43]The stories and phrases they used in attempts to appeal to their governments point to the arguments teachers thought their governments would find most compelling, not necessarily the facts on the ground, as inspectors and district officers often discovered. However, these files permit a reading of the facades teachers presented to their employers, and how officials within the Mandate bureaucracies read and interpreted teachers overall.

Personnel files portray teachers in their professional capacity, while the prolific and varied writings of teachers, inspectors, and administrators allow for a cultural history of educators; their

[42] Clearly the volume of material on the Mandate for Palestine as opposed to Iraq and Transjordan/Jordan means these files provide a more complete view of Palestinian teacher than those of the other two countries. In addition, there are more personnel files available in Jordan, however they were somewhat unceremoniously dumped in a warehouse which is in poor condition, and may or may not be infested by snakes. I was unable to go to the warehouse and therefore made do with a random sample carted in by employees at the Ministry of Education Human Resources Archives Department.

[43] Letter from 'Abd er Razzaq Khalidi to the District Inspector of Education. November 20 1947 "Abd er Razzaq Khalidi" 1048 42 M, Israel State Archive, Jerusalem. Hereafter ISA. Letter from Ibrahima Jadallah to the District Inspector of Education. December 1933. "Ibrahim Jadallah" 1018 6 M, ISA. " Letter to the Director of Education thro the District Inspector of Education. May 30 1946. Jaber Khuri Kfar Kanna Village School" 1017 6 M, ISA.

textbooks, memoirs, fictional works and journal articles provide insight into their ideas of nation, society, schooling, and themselves. In the case of Iraq, I have included fictional materials in part because Iraqi educators wrote more of these works, and because of a lack of other sources.[44] Throughout this dissertation, I contrast the individual stories of better-documented educators with statistics that demonstrate demographic trends. By using this combination of materials from teachers that produced a host of documents as well as those whose information is limited to their name and career in government service, I have been able to construct a collective biography of educators and to analyze them quantitatively and qualitatively as a social group.

Historians generally limit their analyses to one Mandate and one nation that succeeded it. My dissertation employs a comparative and transnational approach that includes all three of Britain's Mandates in the Middle East. On an empirical level, it is necessary to include multiple Mandates in order to follow the lives and careers of educators as they moved in and out of service with various governments. For example, Farid al-Sa'ad's story traversed Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine, and required archival materials from the United Kingdom, Jordan, and Lebanon. This approach has brought to light not only the lives of transnational individuals, but also the growth of a region-wide educated class that moved in and out of government service. In addition, comparing the Mandates highlights the importance of local individuals to the outcomes of colonial policies; although the British sought to implement the same educational framework throughout the region, scope for local initiative had different results in each location.

By employing an alternative periodization, my project has brought to light continuities in educational policy, tactics of governance, and state-society interactions despite political ruptures. Scholars of the region, including those who address education, with few exceptions, [45] generally take the lifespan of regimes as their temporal framework. They analyze schooling during the

[44] My use of literary works is inspired by that of Orit Bashkin. Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq.*

[45] al-Tall., *Education in Jordan : Being a Survey of the Political, Economic and Social Conditions Affecting the Development of the System of Education in Jordan 1921-1977*., Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny*., Davis., Michael Eppel, *Iraq from Monarchy to Tyranny : From the Hashemites to the Rise of Saddam* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004). Interestingly, historians of Iraq tend to define their periodization in Iraq's "modernity", which generally overlaps with the Hashemite monarchy, or include the rise of Saddam Hussein. Bashkin., Lukitz., Magnus Thorkell Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past : Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

Ottoman Empire, [46] or the Mandate governments, [47] or the Hashemite monarchies, [48] or the state of Israel. [49] This focus on discrete political regimes is symptomatic of historians' concerns with nationalism. It also tends to overemphasize the role of the British both in educating, and in "modernizing" the region, by ignoring the importance of Ottoman-era reforms as well as the role played by local educators after the cessation of the Mandates.

My project begins with the late-Ottoman period and continues the stories of educators through the beginning of the 1960s, when the status of teachers shifted due to mass education as well as the changing political landscape. This approach exposes a confluence of late-Ottoman and British policies as seen through the perspective of educators whose training and careers spanned the Ottoman-Mandate transition. Tracing educators' stories past the end of the Mandate period has specific implications for the history of Palestinians, as well as the history of Transjordan/Jordan and Iraq. Histories that focus on Palestinians tend to either end or begin with 1948, glossing over the 1950s overall in favor of stories of the tragedy of the Nakba or the rise of the PLO in the 1960s.[50] Instead, my project follows individuals who lived through 1948, underscoring the Nakba's effects on Palestinians beyond refugees and guerilla fighters. In Iraq, Jordan, and Israel, national independence brought a newly rigid systematization of schooling and the supplanting of civilian intermediaries by military leaders, occupation and martial law. Under these conditions, educators became a more professional but more politically limited group. On the other hand, as the number of educated individuals overwhelmed each government's ability to employ them, governments faced greater protests on the part of formerly incorporated segments of society.

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[46] Ibrahim Vehbi Baysan, "State Education Policy in the Ottoman Empire During the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876)" (University of Manchester, 2004); Emine Önhan Evered, "The Politics of the Late Ottoman Education : Accomodating Ethno-Religous Pluralism Amid Imperial Disintegration" (The University of Arizona, 2005); Benjamin Carr Fortna, "Education for the Empire: Ottoman State Secondary Schools During the Reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909)" (The University of Chicago, 1997); Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom : Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Michael Provence, "Late Ottoman State Education," in *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*, ed. Jørgen S. Nielsen(Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012); Selçuk Aksin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908 : Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, V. 22 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001)., Abd al-Razzaq Hilali, *Tarikh Al-Ta`lim Fi Al-`Iraq : Fi Ahd Al-`Uthmani 1638 M.- 1917 M* (Baghdad): Sa`dat Wizarat al-Ma`arif `alá nashr, 1959).

[47] Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq : Contriving King and Country*, Library of Middle East History, V. 12 (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007)., Dodge, *Inventing Iraq : The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied*., 'Abdarrazzaq al Hilali, *Ta'rih at-Ta'lim Fi l-'Iraq Fi 'Ahd Al-Ihtilal Al-Britani 1914-1921* (1975)., Ylana N. Miller, "From Village to Nation : Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920-1948" (University of California, 1975); Ylana N. Miller, *Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); Nardi; Inger Marie Okkenhaug, "'She Loves Books & Ideas, & Strides Along in Low Shoes Like an Englishwoman': British Models and Graduates from the Anglican Girls' Secondary Schools in Palestine, 1918-48," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002); Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete : Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*, trans., Haim Watzman (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000); Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand : British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000); Tibawi; Yousuf.

[48] Massad., *Colonial Effects : The Making of National Identity in Jordan*, Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*., Pursley, "The Stage of Adolescence: Anticolonial Time, Youth Insurgency, and the Marriage Crisis in Hashimite Iraq."

[49] Mari *Arab Education in Israel*; Robinson *Citizen Strangers Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State.*

[50] Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity : The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). 177-179

This dissertation reinterprets the ways in which colonialism and government education contributed to the perpetuation of non-representative regimes in the Middle East. By focusing on teachers, my project has brought to light not a collision between older tactics of political engagement and new notions of citizenship but rather a combination which allowed the perpetuation of older forms of politics in new idioms and with new players. Teachers employed by Britain's Middle Eastern Mandate governments had a peculiar status, hovering between loyalties to their posts, their students, their societies and themselves. The goals of those who taught and enrolled in state-sponsored schooling were significantly in favor of participating in their governments as bureaucrats and ministers rather than overthrowing those governments in violent revolutions. By exploring the possibilities open to this group and the ways in which they influenced schooling and governance, my project rewrites narratives of the rise of territorial nationalisms, monarchies and dictatorships by focusing on their alternatives.

Chapter Summaries:

My dissertation is divided into five chronologically organized chapters. **Chapter 1: Educators and the Ottoman Legacy** underscores the importance of Ottoman educational reforms and governance for the trajectory of education in the Mandates for Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan. It also illustrates how modernizing states can take shape within a context of variability, idiosyncrasy, and personal interactions. Beginning in the 19th century, the Ottoman state promulgated ambitious plans for systemized public education. However, the implementation of educational reforms was a haphazard, regionally variable and contested project that was essentially adopted by the British during the military administration of World War I. This chapter juxtaposes memoirs, biographies, and poetry with secondary literature in order to provide a broad view of Ottoman-era educational policies as well as a bottom up view of the transition from Ottoman to Mandate governance. The results of Ottoman educational endeavors included networks of people across the Arab provinces and beyond, strong connections between state-schooling and state-employment, and an emphasis on flexibility and negotiation. These factors formed systems of schooling, affiliation and employment which persisted even after the imposition of Mandate borders.

Chapter 2: Colonial Prescriptions and Local Adaptations: Educators in the 1920s drives home two key points of the dissertation: that government education implied government service with a wide range of ideological and political positions, and that educators were able to capitalize on their shortage in numbers in order to avoid dismissal. British colonial policies in the Mandates combined with Ottoman traditions and local demand for schooling unintentionally promoted educators' autonomy. Educators used that leeway in order to advance their own careers and to promote a range of ideological and moral prescriptions including varied professional standards and types of affiliation, all of which perpetuated the assumption and reality that government schooling implied a government job. This chapter includes an account of the goals of education, according to British and local policymakers as well as an overview of the history of British colonial education, and adaptations of British policy from previous colonial experiences.

Chapter 3: Border Crossings: Bursary Scholars at the American University of Beirut analyzes how scholarship students forged transnational identities, and bridged the shifting boundaries between their states and their societies. This chapter also underscores the American University of Beirut (AUB)'s place as a hub of pan-Arabism during the 1920s and 1930s. The Mandate governments subsidized bursary scholars' education, but required these individuals to

serve as teachers in return. Scholars therefore viewed themselves as part of their governments, as they were in essence already on their states' payroll. As teachers, they sought to apply the ideas and nationalist practices they learned at AUB; to modernize and unify an Arab World while bargaining with and protesting against their governments. Using records and publications of student organizations, the AUB alumni bulletin and official reports, this chapter traces the forging of a transnational network of graduates as well as a united vision of the Arab world expressed in educational methods, a proliferation of textbooks, pan-Arab and anticolonial agitation.

Chapter 4: Nationalist Teachers and Others' Revolts focuses on the 1930s, arguing that it was those denied the benefits of education and a clear path to civilian government service who led rebellions in Iraq and Palestine. Educators' need to work within the government to keep their present jobs and the desire of local communities to preserve education to safeguard their children's futures led to educators overwhelmingly remaining employed by the government in some capacity. However, this did not preclude but in fact encouraged educators to teach a variety of political ideologies. This chapter highlights educators who promoted explicitly "nationalist" teaching in order to show that their nationalisms were varied and encompassed a variety of ideological tendencies. Educators' main form of protest was in print and discussion; they saw little contradiction between political engagement and drawing a government salary.

Chapter 5: The Professional Teacher: Educators in the 1940s and 1950s traces the effects of political independence and mass education on teachers from 1941 through the end of the 1950s. It argues that devoting greater amounts of funding and attention to schooling erased the privileged, intermediary role teachers had enjoyed during the Mandate period. Guarantees of employment by the government bureaucracy began to dissolve as degree-holders increased beyond the capacity of the government to find them jobs. While former teachers enjoyed positions in the upper levels of the state bureaucracy, those who began their careers during the 1940s in Iraq and the 1950s in Jordan generally remained teachers. The connections between government schooling and government employment began to fall apart, not only as the number of educated individuals increased beyond the government's ability to employ them, but also as independence led to an opening up of the private sector, tourism, and in Iraq, oil. The strengthening of ties between the nation-state and its educational system brought by independence actually weakened the links between that system and government employment, reflecting shifts in the practices of governance as well as education.

The conclusion to my dissertation returns to the question of national affiliations, and the changed status of teachers in the post-independence period. It examines the radical shifts in the political possibilities open to educators after the 1950s. The second half of the 20th century marked the codification of political ideologies and the severe crackdown on those who did not adhere to them. Disjuncture between Nasserist, Ba'thist, and previous forms of Arab unity stemmed in part from varied ideological content. Moreover when these ideologies were put into practice, they often excluded former pan-Arabists from positions of power. Simultaneously, national boundaries made hard and fast by independence undermined nebulous forms of alliance and cultural affinity. Moreover, the profession of teacher was no longer prestigious or frequently financially sustainable. Even without a feminization of the profession, as occurred in the United States, Europe and other countries, teaching still became a low-paying, little-valued job.

Educators in Britain's Mandates in the Middle East briefly enjoyed an advantageous position as popular intermediaries, suspended between the Mandate governments and the societies

they governed. While this position allowed educators to criticize imperial and colonial policies, it also rendered these teachers, inspectors and administrators dependent upon the institutions they censured. Their incorporation into government service during the Mandate-era also made them more conservative, precluding their participation in attempts to overthrow their governments. The connections transnational educators forged during the first half of the 20th century underlie the lingering idea of a unified Arab region without a comparable inheritance of representative, mass-based political institutions. The legacy of Mandate education particularly national examinations define the region's schooling to this day.

Chapter 1: The Ottoman Legacy

Humphrey Bowman, the Director of Education in Iraq from 1918-1920 and the Director of Education in Palestine from 1920-1936, claimed in his memoirs that, upon arrival in Palestine, "Once more, as in 'Iraq, I found myself responsible for formulating an educational policy for a country which had never possessed one… we were fortunate in beginning with a *tabula rasa.*"[1] Sir Arnold Wilson, the British Civil Commissioner in Baghdad from 1918-1920 argued, in 1921, that in order to adhere to international law, to win the war, and to fulfill "the desire that we all had of setting the Arab on his feet," it had been imperative to obliterate the Ottoman administration, implying that the British did so. However, Wilson also complained that he was forced to maintain aspects of this system and to employ formerly Ottoman officers, "whose presence among us was one of the principal causes of the (1920) revolution," a revolt which forced the British to reevaluate their entire strategy with regard to controlling Iraq. [2]

Despite these colonial administrators' claims, Ottoman institutions, policies and personnel circumscribed British attempts to educate and to control the Mandate populations. This chapter uncovers substantial continuities between the Ottoman imperial and the British colonial regimes. It argues an Ottoman legacy of training and tactics allowed for a particular type of agency on the part of educated individuals, particularly teachers, which persisted into the Mandate period. These individuals petitioned, argued, and promoted their own interests within first an Ottoman, and then a British system of proclaimed, but not imposed, and frequently experimental legislation. This mode of governance granted educated individuals enviable careers, connecting state schooling with state employment. Simultaneously, this notion of government pushed the educated population of the region towards participation in the state, creating a culture of petitions, rather than coups, individual rather than collective action.

Effacing the Ottoman system of education, both state sponsored "public" schools and their more loosely controlled private counterparts, allowed Bowman and Wilson to claim responsibility and to displace culpability for the form, content, and outcome of the British-run system of education. If the Mandate inhabitants, whose "tutelage" the League of Nations charged the British with providing, failed to achieve modernity it was their initial backwardness, Ottoman neglect, and formerly Ottoman employees which precluded British success. [3] If they did in fact become modern, the British could highlight their own efforts in education, development and governance to explain that accomplishment. Either way, British Mandate officials asserted that a clear division, not only politically but also pedagogically took place.

Similarly, historians have periodized the study of education in the Mandates neatly between Ottoman and British eras. [4] This tends to overemphasize British effects on schooling, and on the

[1] Humphrey Ernest Bowman, *Middle-East Window* (London, New York etc.: Longmans Green and co., 1942). 252, 268

[2] Sir A.T. Wilson Papers, the British Library. (Hearafter BL). MSS/Additional/-52459. January 14, 1921, 98

[3] League of Nations, "The Covenant of the League of Nations (Including Amendments Adopted to December, 1924)," (Champaign, Ill.; Boulder, Colo.: Project Gutenberg) *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, (accessed April 4, 2015)

[4] It is difficult to find books that specifically address the years of the late Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Mandates, much less to find works which focus on education.

development of modern and modernizing forms of governance in the region. [5] State power in the British Empire, and Britain's Mandates, was exerted through a small number British officials, and also through the mediation of a larger amount of indigenous bureaucrats. While this form of colonial rule did retain consistency throughout the empire, the implementation and content of colonial policies varied wildly due to the actions and desires of local intermediaries and their constituents. Continuity between Ottoman and Mandate governments underscores the dominance of local rather than colonial traditions and the productive nature of the interactions between varied authorities.

Educators in the Mandates communicated local desires to the government, and represented the state's prescriptions for society to its subjects, albeit in frequently adapted ways. An emphasis on negotiation and mediation, which both Ottoman and British authorities accepted, played itself out within the classroom and within the educational branch of the state bureaucracy. The word "negotiation" coupled with the concepts of "pragmatism" and "flexibility" is currently experiencing a backlash in reference to histories of the Ottoman Empire, particularly those that discuss the early modern period. [6] Early modern negotiation and multinational or at least multicultural empires have been recently portrayed as the positive antithesis to modernization, and the exclusive "uncompromising modern state." This view has been criticized as much too rosy and too sharply divided between early modern and modern forms of governance. [7] As this chapter demonstrates, even beyond the early modern period, negotiation was one of the main methods by which educators and civil servants interacted with and became part of the state. This does not mean however that the Ottomans, and likewise the British, were floundering in early modern methods of governance. Instead, this chapter documents a transition, and a different type of modernity that spanned the Ottoman and British periods.

This chapter begins by outlining the Ottoman educational policies that persisted through the early decades of the Mandates. It then focuses on the Arab provinces, highlighting the intellectual legacy of the Nahda, or "renaissance." This 19th century "renaissance" in Arabic language and literature shaped the type and quantity of schooling demanded by the inhabitants of the Arab provinces. The Nahda also forged networks based on the production and consumption of Arabic language reading materials. The third section traces the Ottoman educational legacy through the eyes of educators whose lives bridged the Ottoman British transition. These teachers and administrators represent a key segment of the educated population of this region. Examining how educational reforms were implemented and perceived provides a window into the complicated interactions between state and society, as well as the lasting effects of state policy regarding education. [8] The writings of these educators do not fit neatly into linear narratives of modernization, or top-down discussions of imperial and colonial policies. Across regimes, educators sought to improve education, while bettering or at least maintaining their social status.

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[5] Baron Hugh Caradon Foot, *A Start in Freedom* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism : Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). ibid. 1-3

[6] Murat Dagli, "The Limits of Ottoman Pragmatism," *History and Theory* 52, no. 2 (2013).

[7] Huri Islamoğlu, "Islamicate World Histories?," in *A Companion to World History*(John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2012). 456-7.

They also frequently complained about and altered the standards proclaimed by the Ottoman and Mandate governments, from within each state's bureaucracy.

Trends and Prescriptions: Ottoman educational reforms of the 19th and early 20th centuries

In the 19th century, the Ottoman state promulgated ambitious plans for systemized governance. These included measures geared at improving, expanding and modernizing education, and increasing the role of the state in the rearing of its subjects. Ottoman officials asserted that education in the natural sciences in particular was necessary for progress and improvement in economic and moral life. [9] As early as 1824 the Ottoman sultan had proclaimed primary education compulsory for Muslim children living in Istanbul, although this was never enforced. [10] Instead, resources were devoted towards the creation of modern colleges and updating older institutions in order to train doctors, army officers and civil servants to service the new styled Ottoman army. [11] These early reforms focused on Istanbul and then spread gradually to the provinces. By the latter half of the 19th century the pace and intrusive nature of reforms radically escalated. [12] Like France, Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, and the United States, the Ottomans sought to use government education to strengthen the state. Although the Ottoman Regulation for Public Education, which stipulated that education should be universal and compulsory, was not actually implemented in the provinces for a good 20 years after its promulgation in 1869, the Ottoman Empire was in step with its contemporaries. For example, early attempts of the British government to educate its entire population were also beyond its resources and its will. [13] Britain did not have a law requiring compulsory elementary public education until 1880. [14] Indeed, in 1869 a British politician complained that the entire British Empire spent less on education than the state of Massachusetts. [15]

The *Maarif-i Umûmiye Nizamnâmesi* or Ottoman Regulation of Public Education (RPE) defined official educational policies in the Ottoman districts that would become the Mandates during periods of both Ottoman and British control. Published if not implemented in 1869, the RPE articulated an ambitious plan for educational expansion, standardization and improvement. Until the enactment of the Education Law in 1929 in Iraq, [16] the British Education Ordinance in

[9] Selçuk Aksin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908 : Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, V. 22 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001).87

[10] Ibrahim Vehbi Baysan, "State Education Policy in the Ottoman Empire During the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876)" (University of Manchester, 2004). 40

[11] Ibid. 43-47, 57-58

[12] For example, in Iraq educational reforms took place as early as the 1840s, but it was in the late 1860s and 70s that state-sponsored education began to take a firm hold. Ebubekir Ceylan, *The Ottoman Origins of Modern Iraq : Political Reform, Modernization and Development in the Nineteenth Century Middle East* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011). 206

[13] Muriel Evelyn Chamberlain, *Britain and India: The Interaction of Two Peoples* (Newton Abbot, Hamden, Conn.,: David & Charles;Archon Books, 1974). 73.

[14] Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal and David Strang, "Construction of the First Mass Education Systems in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Sociology of Education* 62, no. 4 (1989).278

[15]W.V. Harcourt in W. H. G. Armytage, "The 1870 Education Act," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 18, no. 2 (1970). 126

[16] In describing the 1929 Public Education Law, the High Commissioner of Iraq complained that Iraqi law in general included all of the Ottoman laws which were not specifically repealed, and which were promulgated before November 1914. He noted dryly "I doubt very much whether any legist could be found in 'Iraq competent to draw up with certainty a complete schedule of all previous laws, regulations, or orders relating to education law which contradict the provisions of the new 'Public Education Law…'" Acting High Commissioner for Iraq Hubert Young, "To the

Palestine in 1933, [17] and the 1939 Education Regulations in Transjordan, [18] the only laws specifically governing education were based on the RPE. Policies relating to curriculum, duration of schooling, certification of teachers, inspection and endorsement of private schools, sources of funding and the formation of local educational councils remained roughly the same under both the early British and the late Ottoman administrations.

Furthermore, educational regulations designed to streamline and unify educational policies within each Mandate, actually tended to reify Ottoman legislation. For example, only those aspects of the 1933 British Education Ordinance in the Mandate for Palestine which were comparable to Ottoman policies were successfully enforced. As late as 1946 the British lamented that only in areas where the provisions of the 1933 law had already been established well before the law's enactment was the law actually put into effect. [19] The RPE therefore provides a blueprint of both Ottoman and British educational legislation. Moreover, its haphazard execution and regional variability illustrates the precedents of negotiation, as well as foreign, local, and individual initiatives that characterized the trajectory of education in the Ottoman provinces and Mandates for Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan.

On paper, the RPE made four years of elementary education compulsory for both boys and girls. [20] It required each village community to open an elementary school and each large town a secondary school. [21] These schools were preferably to be religiously mixed. The RPE placed rhetorical emphasis on elementary schools rather than secondary or advanced institutions. [22] It defined teachers' professional standards and dictated the formation and organization of provincial educational councils and commissions.[23] The members of these councils fell into two categories. Those appointed by the Ottoman government to the most powerful positions, such as the *Sancak* director of education and educational inspectors, were generally professional Ottoman bureaucrats from Istanbul, selected by the Ministry of Public Education. The rest of the members were local notables, namely members of the most prominent and wealthiest families of the region as well as religious scholars. [24] Educational councils in the provinces were given most of the responsibility for enacting the RPE, including dealing with finances, schools, teachers, examinations and providing annual reports to the Ministry of Public Education. [25] Yet, these educational councils were set up slowly; in 1872 only two provinces possessed fully functioning educational councils,

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Right Hon'ble Lord Passfield, Pc, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 25 October 1929," CO 730/149/6, Colonial Office Records, the National Archives Kew. (Hearafter NA). 2

[17] Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac, 1956).134

[18] Roderic Donald Matthews, Matta Akrawi, and American Council on Education., *Education in Arab Countries of the near East: Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1949). 302

[19] Government of Palestine Department of Education, "Education in Palestine General Survey 1936-1946," (Jerusalem1946). 5

[20] Baysan. 158

[21] Tibawi.219

[22] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908 : Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*.87-89

[23] Ibid. 8-10

[24] Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908 : Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*.93

[25] Ibid. 93-94

one of which was Baghdad. [26] Under the British administration, local educational councils were in fact pushed to continue their work throughout the Mandates. [27]

The RPE defined the relationship of the Ottoman state with missionary, "national" or locally founded schools, and Islamic institutions, which frequently constituted a majority of the elementary schools available in the Arab provinces. Article 129 of the RPE sought to assert control over these private, or non-government run schools of the Empire. Article 129 required that (1) non-government schools obtain official permission from the local educational administration (in the provinces the permission of the provincial governor was also necessary), (2) all teachers be certified by the local education administration or the Education Ministry, and (3) each institution must "attest to the fact that no lessons 'contrary to custom and (state) policy' (*adab'a ve politika' ya mugayir*) will be taught..."[28] The Ottoman government wished not only to use education as a way of inculcating its subjects with loyalty to the Ottoman government, but also to prevent non-government schools from exacerbating religious and ethnic divisions within the Empire. Subversive ideas could include critiques of Ottoman government policies, immoral behavior, and, most importantly, the encouragement of separatist nationalisms under the auspices of foreign powers' support. [29] Therefore it attempted to control which schools were allowed to open, which teachers could teach, and also what students would learn, particularly about the state itself.

Both Ottoman and later British policymakers were caught between their concern with the subversive possibilities inherent in education, and the lack of funding available to strictly control educational institutions and educators. During the Tanzimat period, state sponsored education had generally been limited to secondary institutions, geared directly towards producing state employees and located in Istanbul, the capital.[30] During the Hamidian period, Ottoman officials argued that educating different social classes together might lead to problems, as less well-off boys would have more trouble finding jobs after completing the *idadi* level of schooling than their wealthier peers. Officials feared that frustrated ambitions would accompany mass education and that the subsequent educated unemployed would unite in opposition to the Ottoman state.[31] However, the Ottoman state, like the British Mandatory administrations, needed to rely heavily on local participation in order to keep costs down. For both, professional, non-local bureaucrats required expensive salaries, and local individuals could raise and use funds more efficiently for each community.[32]The solution proposed in the mid-1890s was to provide preparatory or *ibtidai* schools "in every village" which would focus on literacy and moral instruction, while restricting

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[26] Ceylan. 208

[27] Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the near East : Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949).302 Tibawi.25 "Intelligence Report No 8, Baghdad 14th April 1927, 1927," IOR/R/20/A/1238,India Office Records, BL. In the Baghdad Times, it was noted that the local council of Baghdad met, in order to in part petition the Ministry of Education to "permit the meeting of the council twice a month instead of only once at present" as well as "to ask the Ministry of Education to define the powers of the council." *The Baghdad Times* August 2, 1922.

[28] Benjamin C. Fortna, "Education for the Empire Ottoman State Secondary Schools During the Reign of Sultan Abdulhamid I I (1876-1909)" (UMI. Dissertation Services, 1997). 74-75

[29] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom : Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). 92-93, 96

[30] For example, the Civil Service School (*Mülkiye Mektebi*) was created in 1859. Emine Önhan Evered, "The Politics of the Late Ottoman Education : Accomodating Ethno-Religous Pluralism Amid Imperial Disintegration" (The University of Arizona, 2005). 43

[31] Somel.119

[32] Ibid. 94

higher levels of education by instituting fees. This fear of the educated unemployed as a possible source of subversion as well as the stated desire to separate schooling by class was also a, if not the, main feature of British Colonial policy in all three Mandates and, more generally, the British Empire.

The RPE was never fully implemented either during the late Ottoman period or during the British Mandate, therefore standards of schools and teachers varied wildly from the late 19th into the 20th century. Applying laws required funding and a consolidation of political power, which could lead to the repression of certain reforms and the promotion of others. In the late 1870s, Sultan Abdulhamid II secured his authority by suspending the 1876 Ottoman Constitution indefinitely. The Ottoman government then began to consistently set up educational committees, inspect schools and to regulate activities in the provinces. Inspection was never fully regular and random, and the contradictions between the subject matter promoted in state schools and the arbitrariness of the Ottoman regime led to the very sedition Abdulhamid II was seeking to prevent. The first members of the Young Turk organization, the Committee of Union and Progress were in fact students at the Royal Medical College in Istanbul, whose exposure to "biological materialist ideology" and frustration at Abdulhamid II's suppression of the 1876 constitution led them to form this radical group.[33] They used the network of school inspection in order to work against Sultan Abdulhamid II and to disseminate their political platform.[34]

The educational committees of the late Ottoman Empire were extremely variable, based on their location and the composition of their members. For example, the educational committee or "society" of Basra, which was not formed until after the deposition of Abdulhamid II, included "army officers, pashas, prominent merchants, mullahs and government officials…" [35] Educational committees in the late 1880s would often seize authority which they did not legally possess, shutting down foreign schools, informing the Ministry of Public Education only after the fact.[36] The Ministry of Public Education itself was unable to control foreign schools due in part to the system of capitulations which prevented foreign citizens from being tried in Ottoman courts and thus subject to Ottoman laws. This meant schools run by foreigners, generally missionary schools, were not well regulated; nor did these schools pay taxes to the Ottoman government. [37] In 1894, almost thirty years after the proclamation of the RPE, only 27 out of 427 foreign-run schools documented by Ottoman officials possessed the state permissions Article 129 of the RPE had stipulated. [38]

The number and quality of schools these committees oversaw depended on the qualifications of the Directors of Education, the local committee members involved, and the amount of funding which communities were willing to provide. For example, the Educational Contribution Tax promulgated in 1885 was not implemented in Syria until 1888 because local

[33] M. Sükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). 71, 75
[34] Fortna, "Education for the Empire Ottoman State Secondary Schools During the Reign of Sultan Abdulhamid I I (1876-1909)". 79
[35] Dorothy Van Ess Papers, 1905-1975, John Van Ess, ""Address before Basrah Education Society" Neglected Arabia. Published Quarterly by the Arabian Mission, July-September 1909," 78-M124, Box 1, File 18. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (Hereafter SL). 13
[36] Somel.137
[37] Philip Marshall Brown, "The Capitulations," *Foreign Affairs* 1, no. 4 (1923).73-74
[38] Fortna, "Education for the Empire Ottoman State Secondary Schools During the Reign of Sultan Abdulhamid I I (1876-1909)".74

notables were concerned that the tax would go to Istanbul and would not directly contribute to regional infrastructure. The governor of Syria had to persuade and guarantee to the notables that the Educational Tax would go not to the state treasury but towards local public works, "providing education for all subjects without any discrimination and for the interest of the local population."[39] In Mosul, locals took initiative and began to tax the export of sheep intestines to European countries in order to fund elementary rather than secondary institutions, as the few government-sponsored middle and high schools were in danger of closing due to a lack of students. [40] The RPE specified that government primary schools in the provinces, including the salaries of the teachers who staffed them, were to be provided by the local community. As these communities had incredibly varied resources, the quality and quantity of the schools could not be standardized.[41]

Provincial officials and missionary schools retained a significant degree of leeway in terms of appointing instructors due to the limited pool from which these teachers could be drawn. Although administrators were generally professional bureaucrats, the lack of qualified teachers led to a flexible attitude towards not only credentials but political leanings. The Ottoman government generally used non-local administrators and judges. These officials were appointed according to a fixed, empire wide system. In contrast, teachers were almost always from the region, speaking the local vernacular. Although Teachers' Colleges were founded during the late Ottoman period, in both Istanbul and in the provinces, they did not produce enough graduates to staff the schools of the Empire. [42]Therefore, despite the RPE's statement that all teachers, in government and private schools, should have achieved the same standard of learning, the lack of qualified teachers led local officials, particularly in the provinces, to hire anyone they chose who had some degree of educational qualifications. [43]

[39] Somel.148
[40] Evered. 234-5
[41] Somel.153
[42] Evered. 90
[43] For example, the governor of the *Sancak* of Acre in the early 1870s petitioned the Ministry of Public Education numerous times requesting an instructor for the upper elementary school the governor had created in part of a local mosque. When the Ministry of Public Education did not appoint a teacher, the governor took initiative and hired an "educated political exile" as the school's headmaster, retaining the mosque's preacher as assistant teacher. Ibid.114, 115

Students at the Higher Teachers' Training College in Istanbul c. 1880- c. 1893[44]

In practice, in the Arab provinces, teachers would seldom be the modern, well-dressed and well-trained graduates of Teachers' Colleges, like those shown above. Instead, their ranks included Ulema, military officers, foreign and missionary-educated intellectuals and translators.[45] The disparate qualifications of instructors, as well as the aforementioned unequal levels of funding precluded standardization either across the Ottoman Empire or even within the locales of the Mandates, depending on the religious affiliation, density, and wealth of the population as well as the presence of non-government schools.

This pattern of variability between villages and towns and indeed between schools due to the wide range of available financial resources, instructors and administrators continued throughout the Mandate period, as did the disjuncture between non-local government officials in

[44] Abdullah Frères. *[Students, College for High School Teachers] / Abdullah Frères, Photographes De S.M.I. Le Sultan.*: [between 1880 and 1893]. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalogue, Hereafter LoC. Abdul-Hamid II Collection. http://www.loc.gov/item/2001700198/. (Accessed May 14, 2015)

[45] Evered. 31. Through the Mandate period educators had widely varied backgrounds. For example, Sati al-Husri was educated by tutors, Khalil Totah attended Quaker schools and Hussein Ruhi learned English in Chicago as part of the Bahai delegation there in 1899. William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist : Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati'al-Husri* (Princeton, New Jersey: Pinceton University Press, 1971)., Thomas M. Ricks and Khalil Totah, *Turbulent Times in Palestine : The Diaries of Khalil Totah, 1886-1955* (Jerusalem; Ramallah: Institute for Palestine Studies ; PASSIA, 2009)., Justice Universal House of, *The Bahái World : An International Record Vol.13, 1954-1963* (Haifa, Israel: The Universal House of Justice, 1971). 938

more powerful positions and local educators and administrators. During the period of British control over the region, British civil servants frequently held prime posts, paralleling the Ottoman use of professional bureaucrats rather than locals. The Mandatory authorities in all three Mandates retained the Ottoman Government's system of taxation, with the exception of a few taxes such as that tax paid by Ottomans who sought to avoid military service.[46] The continuation of this system of taxation perpetuated disparities in funding between individual schools, due to the different economic status of villages and towns. The Mandate Departments of Education, following Ottoman and colonial practice, generally required communities to bear the brunt of the financial burden of supporting their local elementary schools. For example, in Iraq in 1922-23 the schools built and repaired were all paid for by "public subscription" and not the Government treasury.[47] Similarly in Palestine, the Mandate Department of Education required Arab Palestinian villages to provide suitable school buildings, all "necessary equipment," and to maintain not only the physical schools but also stable attendance in order to qualify for government aid, which in the Mandate included half of teachers' salaries.[48] This meant that villagers directly funded much of the upkeep of their local school, including half the salary of the government-appointed teacher, which then led to the clustering of government schools in wealthier villages and a lack of schools in poorer ones. As Humphrey Bowman noted in his memoirs, schools in Palestine, therefore, "varied considerably in standard. Much depended on the character and outlook of the teacher: much too on the attitude of the villagers, on the local administrative officer, and on the District Inspector of Education"[49] Although in the Mandate, the Ottoman law requiring a school in each village was still in force, it was no longer applied. Villagers were required to fund any schools they created themselves, yet they were not penalized by the government for not producing a school other than being without one.

Educational policies in the Ottoman Empire shifted with the rise of the Young Turks and the beginning of the First World War. Before the deposition of Abdulhamid II in 1909, the language of instruction in elementary government schools was the local vernacular; therefore, schools across the empire taught a prescribed curriculum in a multitude of languages including Turkish and Kurdish. [50] The Provisional Law of Elementary Education, enacted in 1913, further reorganized education committees, granting local authorities still more control as well as responsibility for funding. [51] The 1913 law specified that children ages six and older were required to attend school, and that state funded elementary education "was to be compulsory and free of charge." The Young Turks, who consolidated their power during 1913 and 1914, clearly anticipated an eventual dramatic increase in the number and quality of schools throughout the empire. [52] The other innovation of the 1913 education law was the insistence that Turkish be taught

[46] Harry Luke and Edward Keith-Roach, *The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1934).233, 237-8

[47]"Irak Report on Education, Report on the State of Education for the Year 1922-23"1923. General Reference Collection, BL. 10

[48] Government of Palestine Department of Education, "Department of Education Annual Report for the Scholastic Year 1925-1926," (Jerusalem1927). 4

[49] Bowman, *Middle-East Window*. 278

[50] Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks : Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).91-92

[51] M.; Elayed Winter, A.; Hadj-Salah, A.; Salmi, J.; Sana'i, Mahmud. , "Maʿārif," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. Th. Bianquis; P. Bearman; , C.E. Bosworth; , E. van Donzel; and W.P. Heinrichs. (Brill Online, 2010).

[52] Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks; the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). 140

in all schools. Before this law, Ottoman Turkish was the language of instruction in colleges that prepared their students for government service and required these students to know the language of governance. This attempt at imposing the Turkish language throughout the Empire failed due to local opposition to "Turkification" and the advent of World War I. Although the range of schools available to young citizens of the Arab Provinces continued to increase, institutions of higher learning were concentrated only in bigger cities and in the capital.

The following section will examine the educational climate of the Arab provinces, specifically those areas which became the British Mandates, during the late Ottoman period. This section underscores the changing intellectual culture with its renewed focus on reading and producing Arabic literature, local educational initiatives, the intellectual pilgrimages undertaken by future educators in the Mandates, and the diversity of educational experiences and backgrounds that would continue into the 1920s.

The Arab Provinces: State, Missions and the Nahda

The Nahda, like the Tanzimat reforms, was fundamentally concerned with reforming educational institutions and language. Although the specific areas that would become the British Mandates were not hubs of literary production, their inhabitants benefitted from journals stemming from Egypt, as well as areas of present-day Syria and Lebanon. These regions were renowned as centers of "al-Nahda" or "the renaissance" which took place in Arabic language and literature, leading to a proliferation of written material in Arabic, frequently produced by graduates of missionary institutions. These individuals debated concepts of progress, civilization and the place of Arabs and Muslims globally as well as within the Ottoman Empire, the rule of law, religion, secularism, science, and the place of women in relation to all of these debates.[53] Questions of identity and civilization gave rise to a variety of ideas centered on the connections between nation or nations and states, although these conceptions bore little resemblance to current definitions of territorially defined nation states. The availability of written materials and intellectual efforts on the part of their authors and patrons both reflected and in part contributed to a rise in demand for "modern" education.

Proponents of the Nahda were focused on the idea of modernity, expanding the Arabic language to include technical terms and educating the population to be at home in the rapidly changing world. More generally, an increase in the production of newspapers created a reading public centered in Cairo, Alexandria and Beirut.[54] Many although not all of the leading figures of the Nahda were educated to some degree abroad or in local missionary schools. These educational experiences broadened their horizons, putting them in touch with a changing global community in print and in person. Overwhelmingly they, like the Ottoman state, sought to reform institutions, decreasing the influence of religious authorities, both foreign and domestic, over politics and education. In the case of Muslim proponents of the Nahda and the state, they sought to adapt Islam to fit the current needs of the Muslim community and to improve the lives of Ottoman citizens through social and educational programs. [55]

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[53] Elizabeth Suzanne Kassab, *Contemporary Arab Thought : Cultural Critique in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010). 20-22

[54] Ami Ayalon, *Reading Palestine Printing and Literacy, 1900-1948*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004). 67-68

[55] Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2010). 40-41

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the quality and quantity of education available in the Arab provinces began to improve and increase. These changes were due to a boost in demand for literacy, competing educational institutions, and a variety of local, imperial, and global agendas. Earlier in the mid- 19th century, American Protestant missionaries in greater Syria, including what would become the Mandates for Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Lebanon, had founded 17 village schools at the primary level, educating approximately 500 pupils including 150 girls. The teachers at each school were locals as well as Americans. Catholic missionary institutions had almost five times as many students in their institutions. [56] Missionary institutions competed with one another as well as local and government schools in order to fill their classrooms with students.

The Ottoman government as well as local Muslim individuals had a keen interest in preventing missionaries and their schools from increasing the divisive effects of influential foreign governments undermining religious and moral teachings in the region. Therefore, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries the Ottoman Government began to increase the number of state schools available and to encourage students of all creeds to attend. Although it is difficult to determine precisely how many schools were built in the Arab provinces during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there was a clear, drastic increase in quantity and quality of institutions, government and non-government alike. The variety of missionary and state institutions formed during this period included the Syrian Protestant College (later renamed the American University of Beirut), a number of Christian schools from missionary organizations such as American Quakers, Greek Orthodox, French Catholics and Russian Orthodox in cities including Jerusalem, Ramallah, Basra, Kerak and Baghdad. A conservative estimate indicates that throughout the Empire there were 427 foreign schools in 1894. [57]

The Ottoman government also sought to provide local teachers for new state schools, founding three teacher training institutions in Iraq at Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra. However, two were founded after 1910, and so there was a limited number of qualified teachers before World War I. [58] In Baghdad, government schools included a civil preparatory and high school for boys founded in 1890, a civil high school for girls founded in 1898, four elementary schools and two military institutions by 1906, and by 1908 a law school. [59]

In greater Syria which included the areas that would become the Mandates for Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan, there were approximately 400 state schools overall, with 900 students in secondary and higher schools, and 21,000 students in elementary institutions. In Iraq as a whole, there were three institutes for teacher training as well as a school of law in Baghdad. By World War I, there were approximately 170 government schools overall, with 1200 students in secondary schools as well as the teacher training colleges and school of law. In elementary schools, there were approximately 7400 students enrolled. [60] The figures regarding government elementary schools in particular indicate a huge proportional increase from the beginning of the

[56] Abdul Latif Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine* (London; New York: Macmillan; St. Martin's Press, 1969). 142
[57] Benjamin Carr Fortna, "Education for the Empire: Ottoman State Secondary Schools During the Reign of Sultan Abdulhamid Ii (1876-1909)" (The University of Chicago, 1997). 60
[58] Matthews et al.160
[59] Gökhan Çetinsaya, *The Ottoman Administration of Iraq, 1890-1908* (London: Routledge, 2011). 17
[60] Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems* (London: Luzac, 1972). 84

century, when there were essentially no elementary schools controlled by the government in the provinces that would become the British Mandates.

Missionary education, the rise of Arab cultural nationalism, the Nahda, the Arabic language, literacy, and schooling were fundamentally intertwined. [61] The Nahda was part of a global trend of interest in language and its connections to culture and identity. Certain elite Arab educators and authors, arguably through their exposure to European education, but also due to religious and local concerns, began to codify and promote the Arabic language in dictionaries, works of grammar, pedagogy, journalism and literature. These educators had generally studied abroad, either at their own or government expense, and/or had completed schooling at one of the missionary institutions throughout the Arab world, which combined study of Arabic with study of the language of the Mission, be it English, French, Greek, Russian or Italian. Foreign languages were highly valuable for commerce and government posts. Many of the founders of the Nahda became government ministers, such as Rifa'at al-Tahtawi, whose career began as an Islamic scholar and ended as a bureaucrat working for the Egyptian government.[62] Other graduates of missionary schools at times founded their own institutions emphasizing the Arabic language and moral education rather than explicitly Christian teachings, regardless of their own faith.[63]

Some of these individuals explicitly linked the Arabic language with ideas of a nation, of fuzzy territorial and even discursive boundaries. For example, Butrus al-Bustani, a Maronite and later Protestant Christian Arab born in Mount Lebanon in 1819, attended a Maronite seminary in the area, which provided a liberal arts education with an emphasis on the Arabic language in addition to Latin, Syriac and Italian.[64] He would go on to not only create a dictionary of the Arabic language but to found a school of his own which emphasized "modern sciences" as well as Arabic. [65] al-Bustani explicitly advocated for the revival, modernization and standardization of Arabic as a way of promoting an Arab nationalism which in no way sought to undermine or separate from the Ottoman state. Instead, Arabs would be a unified nation or "*ummah*" protected by the Ottoman regime. [66]

This cultural nationalism or proto-nationalism has played a controversial role in the historiography of Pan Arabism, Syrian nationalism and, more broadly, nationalism in the Middle East. Historians who had experienced the late Ottoman period in the Arab provinces frequently highlighted the Nahda as the catalyst for Arab nationalism. Authors writing after World War II sought to focus less on the Christian Arab Nahda writers, and to concentrate on the Muslim majority, particularly Sunni elites in areas like Damascus. More recent historians have looked to

[61] Michael Provence, "Late Ottoman State Education," in *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*, ed. Jørgen S. Nielsen(Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012). 115

[62] Tarek El-Ariss, *Trials of Arab Modernity : Literary Affects and the New Political* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2013). 174

[63] For example, both Khalil al-Sakakini and Butrus al-Bustani created national or *Watanniya* schools but both attended Christian institutions. Sheikh Mohammed al-Saleh also founded a national school, Rawdat al-Ma'arif in Jerusalem.

[64] Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Christians between Ottomanism and Syrian Nationalism: The Ideas of Butrus Al-Bustani," *International journal of Middle East studies* 11, no. 3 (1980). 289

[65] Albert Habib Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1789 - 1939*, 16 ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). 99

[66] Abu-Manneh, "The Christians between Ottomanism and Syrian Nationalism: The Ideas of Butrus Al-Bustani." 293-298

more rural areas of the Arab provinces to complete the 19th-20th century picture. [67] Rather than seeking the religious or demographic origins of particular types of nationalism, I argue, particularly in later chapters, that conceptions of nation, nationalism and affiliation which began during the 19th century were exceedingly fluid, changeable and shifted in and out of definitions and connections to the state.

The Ottoman government sought to regulate all of these new institutions in order to prevent rebellion and to promote loyalty to the rapidly dwindling Ottoman state. However, as described in the previous section, regulations were unevenly applied, leading to a profound lack of systemization despite the government's best efforts. For example, in 1912 in Basra, an American, Protestant missionary couple, John and Dorothy Van Ess, navigated the litigation process necessary to found a school for boys and one for girls. Dorothy Van Ess described this experience in the 1913 bulletin of the "Arabian" missionary branch of the Reformed Church of America to which she and her husband belonged. She and her husband had to begin with local officials, a highly variable process. Much depended on the personality and standing of the sought out individual official. As Van Ess explained, "If by rare good fortune they are friendly, the application slides through and a recommendation is sent on at once to the Head Bureau of Education in Constantinople; but if, as is far more likely, they are time serving individuals, whose sole interest is in their purses, the permission is a matter of months or years." Although Van Ess blamed this partially on the nature of the "Turk," she also noted that, as intermediaries, these local individuals were afraid both of losing their position with the government and their standing with the local community. Therefore, they hedged their bets, negotiating with the missionaries and stalling as long as possible. [68] Once the petition made its way successfully to the Ottoman capital, the missionary needed to negotiate not with an Ottoman official but instead to lobby the American ambassador, who would then put pressure on the Ottoman government to permit the opening of the school.[69] This demonstrates the overt links between foreign interference in Ottoman policies and the founding of missionary schools. Moreover, it was unclear where real authority lay even once the schools were opened. John Van Ess wrote that when they first opened the school, the Turkish Director of Education forbade teaching of the Old Testament. Van Ess asserted, "I thereupon notified him officially that inasmuch as the Quran does not discriminate thus, I would telegraph the Minister of Education at Istanbul accusing the director of being a blasphemer and an infidel unless he rescinded the order within 24 hours. Within an hour he came puffing up the stairs imploring me for Allah's sake to teaching anything I liked."[70]

Despite this increase in availability of education, such as the missionary school founded by Van Ess, institutions beyond the *idadi* or preparatory level, including teacher training institutions and other professional schools directly linked to government employment, were concentrated in cities and the capital of Istanbul. Students, often regardless of their religion, sought out those schools, which they (or their parents) believed, could give them the best chance at success. While higher state schools were seen as guarantors of employment in the bureaucracy, the gaps between *kuttab, ibtidai*, *idadi*, *ruşdiye* and *sultaniye* schools were often insurmountable without schooling

[67] See Rashid Khalidi, "Ottomanism and Arabism in Syria before 1914 : A Reassessment " in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, ed. Rashid Khalidi(New York: Columbia University Press, 1991). 50-53

[68] Dorothy Van Ess, ""The Minaret and the School Bell" Neglected Arabia, No 86. Published Quarterly by the Arabian Mission, July-September 1918," Box 1, File 18. SL. 13

[69] Ibid. 13-14

[70] John Van Ess, ""Educating the Arab" Neglected Arabia., July-December 1946, Box 1, File 18. SL.10

beyond the state purview. For example, by 1914 in the area which became Transjordan, there were only 19 government schools, 29 teachers, and no preparatory or secondary schools.[71] Those inhabitants of the Arab provinces who sought further education and a government job had to travel if not to Istanbul than at least to the capital of their province or region.

The following section will delve into the memories of those educated in the Ottoman Empire who became future Mandate educators. It will show how the educational climate, the fluctuating relationships between the government and its constituents, and the networks of individuals, and texts created during this period contributed to the rise of a political and social persona based on a flexible interpretation of government and a conception of national affiliation which encompassed multiple layers of territory and identity.

The Lived Experience of Ottoman Education:

The educators employed in the first years of the British military and then Mandate administrations received their education at a wide variety of national, missionary, and frequently the first Ottoman government elementary schools founded in the Arab provinces. This section analyzes five educators and textbook authors: from Palestine, Khalil al-Sakakini (1880-1953), Muhammad ʻIzzat Darwazeh (1887-1984) and Omar Saleh al-Barghouti, (1894-1965); from Transjordan, Mustafa al-Tell (1899-1949), and from Iraq, Talib Mushtaq (1900-1977). [72] Although the careers of these extraordinary men are not representative of the hundreds of male and female Arab teachers employed during the Mandate period, their writings point to the political possibilities education and government service afforded. [73] Talib Mushtaq and Mustafa al-Tell worked as teachers and government officials, while Darwazeh and al-Sakakini headed schools and, along with al-Barghouti, authored textbooks in History and Arabic grammar read by generations of schoolchildren. The placement of these men in positions of authority, their textbooks, and their control of day-to-day functions of the education system allowed them to have a great impact on their students. Although I have included more educators from Palestine rather than from Iraq or Transjordan, their experiences reveal the wide range but limited quantity of schools available in the late Ottoman period. The haphazard implementation of rules and regulations that benefitted and frustrated these educators continued into the Mandate period, leading to a degree of teacher autonomy and a perception of government as flexible but frustrating.

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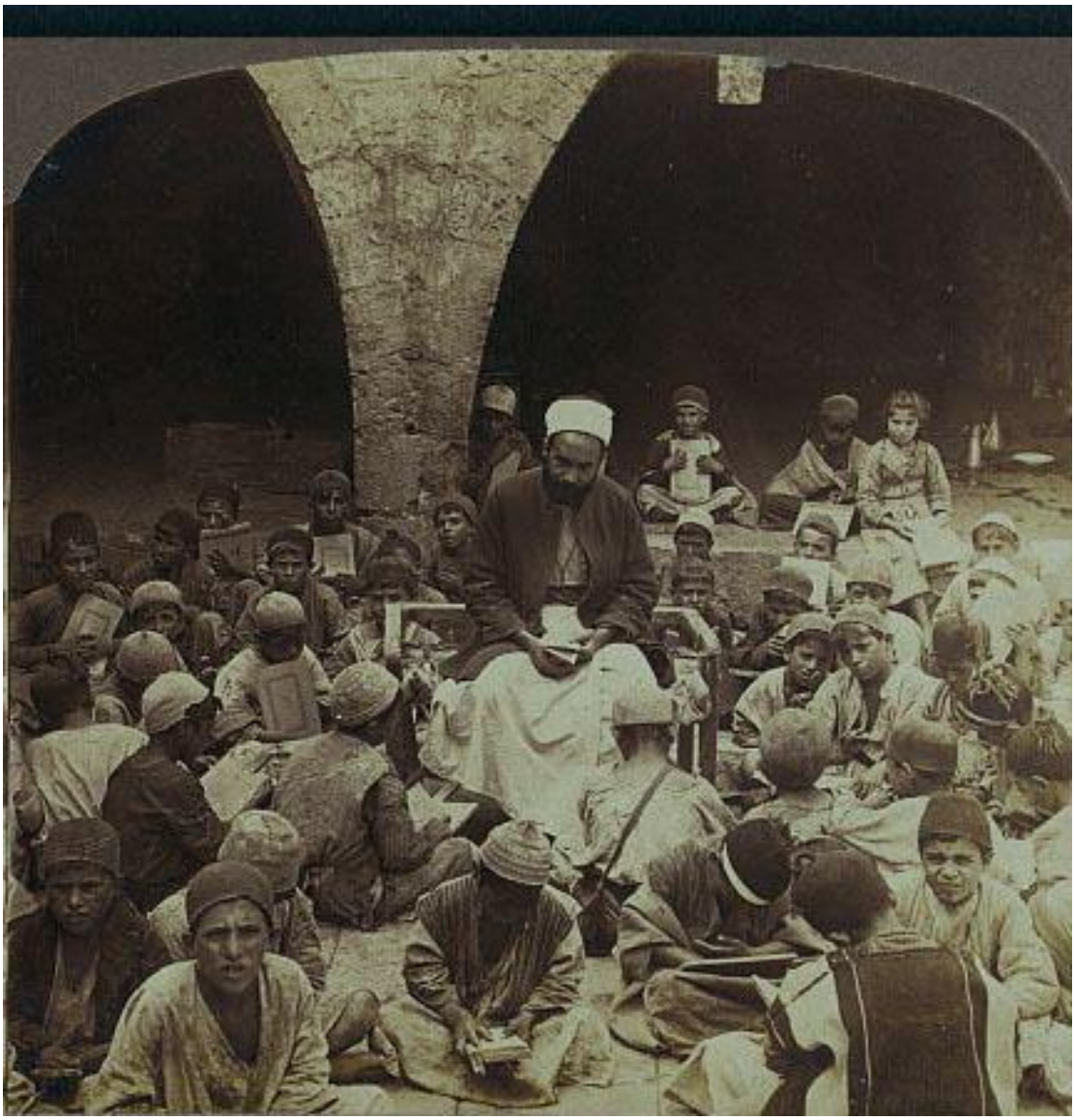
[71] Ahmad Yousef al-Tall, *Education in Jordan : Being a Survey of the Political, Economic and Social Conditions Affecting the Development of the System on Education in Jordan, 1921-1977* (Islamabad, Pakistan: National Book Foundation, 1979).51

[72] Yoram Kahati, "The Role of Education in the Development of Arab Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent During the 1920s," in *Political Thought and Political History : Studies in Memory of Elie Kedourie*, ed. Elie Kedourie, Gammer M. Kostiner Joseph Shemesh Moshe(London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003). 30

[73] Although increasing female education was touted by both Ottoman and British policymakers as emblematic of development and progress, actual increases in educational opportunities for girls in many cases lagged behind their male peers. I was also unable to find memoirs of a female teacher who attended school during the late Ottoman period. The changes in female education during the British period have been well addressed in several books focused on the modernization of Arab Palestinian women. Although a comparison between Ottoman and British policies would be fruitful, it is beyond the scope of this paper. For works on female education see Ela Greenberg, "Between Hardships and Respect: A Collective Biography of Arab Women Teachers in British-Ruled Palestine.", ———, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow : Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine*. , Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women : The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948*.and Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure : Anglican Mission, Women, and Education in Palestine, 1888-1948*, Studies in Christian Mission, V. 27 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002).

Inhabitants of the Arab provinces, if they were Muslim, generally began their education at *Kuttab*s: a local, elementary school frequently attached to a Mosque in which a Sheikh would teach the rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic, and students would memorize the Qur'an.



Kuttab Bireh, Palestine c. 1905[74]

The "traditional" *kuttab* and more modern institutions existed simultaneously, highlighting a disjointed transition between supposedly premodern and modern forms of schooling. [75]In Palestine, Omar Saleh el-al-Barghouti and Muhammad 'Izzat Darwazeh remembered their earliest schooldays in local *Kuttab*s as frightening and exasperating. Both authors emphasized the old

[74] Griffith & Griffith, publisher. *Native Mohammedan School in Beeroth [I.E., Bīrah], Palestine*. LoC, c1905 October 10. http://www.loc.gov/item/2006676321/. (Accessed May 14, 2015)

[75] See for example Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) wherein *Kuttab* education is contrasted to the disciplinary practices of attendance, the precise ordering of time as well as the lack of spectacular punishment.

fashioned and poor nature of their education, highlighting the pedagogical differences between these schools and the newer institutions they would attend, as well as the differing levels of government involvement. Their memoirs, like most others of the 19th century, emphasize the corporal punishments students experienced. [76] Darwazeh complained that Sheikh Masoud, who ran and taught at the *Kuttab* Darwazeh experienced in Nablus, treated his students cruelly, insulting them and beating them. Darwazeh noted that over one hundred students, between 6 and 15 years of age, attended the school, and that these students "mostly learned from each other," repeating in chorus the Sheikh's shouted lessons. Sheikh Masoud would keep next to him wooden sticks of various lengths: longer sticks in order to goad the students who sat in the back of the classroom, and shorter sticks for those who sat in front. [77] al-Barghouti's memoir also describes how the Sheikh in his village would keep handy a large stick as well as a bastinado (used for beating the soles of his students' feet). The Sheikh would strike whichever student was unlucky enough to be the last to arrive in the morning with both the stick and the bastinado until they screamed. [78]

In their *Kuttab*s, Darwazeh and al-Barghouti learned to read and write a little, and to memorize the Qur'an. Both men complained of the style of education as well as its content, particularly the emphasis on rote memorization. Similarly, Talib Mushtaq who grew up in Kadhimain, a predominantly Shiite area of Iraq close to Baghdad, would go each morning at dawn to a local shrine where he would study the Qur'an under the tutelage of a Sheikh. However, Mushtaq notes that he spent much of his time as a tour guide, taking Iranian visitors around the shrines. Mushtaq emphasized the religious nature of his environment and education, and that he actually participated in Shi'ite rather than Sunni rituals, despite the fact he was born Sunni. [79] All three boys were required to memorize the Qur'an before moving on to the next stage of their studies.

After completing their preliminary studies, Darwazeh, al-Barghouti and Mushtaq transitioned to schools that were planned along more modern lines. The recollections and experiences of these educators highlight the diverse pedagogical qualifications and methodologies both Ottoman and Mandate era teachers possessed. Moreover, all of these individuals saw education as a path to social mobility, specifically towards government employment, an assumption borne out by their future careers. In order to continue their education, they were required to live in a large town, if not a city, to commute or to board either at the school or with relatives even at tender ages. al-Barghouti, wealthy scion of a Palestinian notable family, enjoyed access to the variety of institutions Jerusalem possessed, for those who could afford to pay their fees. After his elementary and preparatory schooling in Palestine, at Jewish and Christian institutions, al-Barghouti then continued his studies at the *Sultaniye* in Beirut in the hopes of becoming an Ottoman civil servant. For Mushtaq, there was no elementary school in Kadhimain, forcing him to study first at a library and then to commute to Baghdad. Darwazeh completed the

[76] Corinne Blake, "Training Arab-Ottoman Bureaucrats : Syrian Graduates of the Mülkiye Mektebi, 1890-1920" (Princeton University, 1991). 81

[77]Muhammad Izzat Darwazeh, *Mudhakkirat Muhammad `Izzat Darwazeh, 1305 H-1404 H/1887 M-1984 M : Sijill Hafil Bi-Masirat Al-Harakah Al-`Arabiyah Wa-Al-Qadiyah Al-Filastiniyah Khilala Qarn Min Al-Zaman*, vol. 1 (Bayrut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1993). 146

[78] Umar al-Salih Barghuti, *Al-Marahil* (Bayrut: al-Muassasah al-`Arabiyah lil-Dirasat wa-al-Nashr, 2001). 81-82

[79] Talib Mushtaq, *Awraq Ayyami* (Bayrut: Dar al-Tali`ah lil Tiba`ah wa-al-Nashr, 1968). 10-11, Dina Rizk Khoury, "Ambiguities of the Modern: The Great War in the Memoirs and Poetry of the Iraqis," in *The World in World Wars : Experiences, Perceptions and Perspectives from Africa and Asia*, ed. Heike Liebau(Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2010). 325

schools available in Nablus, but his father did not have sufficient funds available to send him to Beirut or Istanbul to continue his schooling. Instead, Darwazeh got a job as a clerk in the posts and telegraphs department in Nablus, then was promoted, moving to Beirut not for study but for work. He became the principal of the private al-Najah school briefly, emphasizing its nationalist activities rather than its schooling.

In his account of elementary school, al-Barghouti was struck by the dissimilarities between the *kuttab* in Deir Ghassaneh, his village and the Jewish Alliance Israélite Universelle in Jerusalem. al-Barghouti carefully lists the differences between the *kuttab* and the Alliance school, in terms of order, discipline, cleanliness and methods of teaching. He remembers the Alliance school as "hygienic" and clean, having "a wide field for recreation and playing, and around it a garden and flowers…The students came to class at the appointed time, the bell would ring thrice, and the students would rush to line up, each in their class in complete order..."[80] When the teacher entered the classroom, students would stand while the teacher took attendance. Students would eat, play and study in carefully defined intervals punctuated by the ringing of the bell. Moreover, the teacher would take upon himself a somewhat parental role, monitoring the cleanliness of the students, "looking after their clothes, their hands, their heads and all of their aspects." [81] The plentiful teachers at the Alliance school, according to al-Barghouti, were each required to teach only one subject. The children were divided into numerous classes and sat not on mats as in the *kuttab* but in wooden chairs. They had a band and were friendly with each other.[82] al-Barghouti does not recall methods of punishment. Instead he simply describes how children energetically adhered to the disciplinary framework of the Alliance School. Teachers exhibited professional specialization and engaged in regularizing practices of attendance and division into classes. For al-Barghouti, this school was the beginning of his modern education, due to its subject matter and its methods.

The fact that al-Barghouti's parents chose to send him to a school that functioned as an arm of the French Jews' *Mission Civilisatrice* and that al-Barghouti praised the school highly underscores the importance of an education that would prepare individuals for a career in government, regardless of who ran the school and to which religion they belonged. The Alliance schools provided a strong background for al-Barghouti in both the French and Turkish language, which would enable him to further his career in the advanced Ottoman schools in Istanbul.[83] After studying at the Alliance school, al-Barghouti attended the French Catholic Frères School, graduated from the Anglican St. George's School, and matriculated at the Ottoman government run high school (*Sultaniye*) in Beirut, designed to prepare students for higher study in Istanbul. Whether the schools al-Barghouti attended were Jewish, Christian or sponsored by an Ottoman Muslim state, his parents were most concerned with which type of education would prove most useful to his future career. al-Barghouti therefore attended some of the best schools in the area, irrespective of the amount they cost and of the creed the school espoused. Learning the language of the state, in al-Barghouti's case Ottoman Turkish as well as French, paralleled the experience of students under the Mandate, for whom knowledge of English granted the opportunity for state employment.

[80] Barghuti, *Al-Marahil*. 93
[81] Ibid. 93
[82] Ibid. 94
[83] Tamari, "The Last Feudal Lord in Palestine." 31

Both Darwazeh and Mushtaq attended Ottoman government run primary schools, the first of their kind in Darwazeh and Mushtaq's hometowns, of Nablus and Kadhimain respectively. For Mushtaq, the school opened after his first year of elementary school, therefore, he spent one year attending elementary school in Baghdad, then two years at the new school in Kadhimain. [84] Attending a more local school meant Mushtaq no longer needed to take a horse drawn tram to Baghdad, an experience frequently interrupted by floods and one that caused Mushtaq to complain in his memoir about the inconvenience of his commute. Darwazeh, on the other hand, remained in Nablus referring to the new Government school as the official, government or somewhat governmental school of Nablus and the school of Sheikh Mahmoud Zaitr.

Darwazeh's account of government schools in Nablus provides a window into the scope for local initiative the haphazard implementation of educational reforms in the Ottoman provinces allowed. Darwazeh wrote about his scholastic experiences with the benefit of hindsight, and as a committed Arab nationalist politician. This means his memoirs perhaps overvalue modern methods of teaching, the Arabic language and the inculcation of Arab nationalism in opposition to both "Turkification" and later Zionism. His account of the effects of the provincial primary (*ibtidai*), upper elementary (*ruşdiye*), and preparatory (*idadi*) schools focuses on the linguistic skills that his education granted him, how secular or religious the curricula of the schools he attended were, his vivid memories of his teachers, as well as his still more vivid recollections of the punishments he and his peers received. His ability to both learn and teach beyond the government prescribed curricula, whether that government be British or Ottoman, and the incredible degree of variation between the schools demonstrate the scope of local initiative permitted and encouraged by the implementation of educational reforms throughout late 19th and early 20th century Palestine.

Bearing scant resemblance to the Alliance school al-Barghouti experienced, the school in Nablus illustrates how the increasing awareness of different types of education as well as state involvement, in fact, spurred local actors to reform the schools the children of their villages attended. According to Darwazeh, the government school was founded at the beginning of Sultan Abdulhamid II's reign (the late 1870s). When he attended the government school, it was managed by the local committee of education, whose members were chosen by the government from among "the most distinguished and educated" of the area. The school was funded by taxes, including the education tax, as well as "unclaimed *waqfs* (pious endowments)," which the government controlled.[85] Students would learn reading, writing, some arithmetic, Qur'an, elocution as well as geography, history, and a smattering of chemistry and physics. Darwazeh noted that teachers, all of whom were Sheikhs, specialized in different subjects. The headmaster of the school, Sheikh Mahmoud Zaitr did not teach classes; rather he observed the students and punished them. Punishments ranged from verbal criticisms to hitting the students on their hands, to the use of the bastinado, which only Sheikh Mahmoud Zaitr could apply (although he had other students hold the offending boy's arms and legs). The school emphasized religious instruction: the memorization of the Qur'an was required from all pupils before graduation. [86]

[84] Mushtaq. 13
[85] Darwazeh, *Mudhakkirat Muhammad `Izzat Darwazeh, 1305 H-1404 H/1887 M-1984 M : Sijill Hafil Bi-Masirat Al-Harakah Al-`Arabiyah Wa-Al-Qadiyah Al-Filastiniyah Khilala Qarn Min Al-Zaman*. 148
[86] Ibid.148-150

When the constitution was announced, the government appointed a new committee of education in Nablus, drawn from members and supporters of the Committee for Union and Progress. In the Arab provinces, these supporters generally consisted of younger, educated men.[87] According to the RPE, teachers were required to possess a certificate of their qualifications issued by the government, which could only be achieved by passing an examination. However, few teachers, particularly in the provinces possessed such a certificate. The "enlightened men" (in Darwazeh's opinion) of the new committee of education in Nablus, were concerned that the teachers in the government school might not be sufficiently qualified or knowledgeable for their posts. Although the government did not impose an exam, locals seized the opportunity that Ottoman legislation permitted to improve the schools under their jurisdiction. Members of the committee of education demanded that the teachers of the government school take an exam (whose content Darwazeh does not discuss) to prove their competence. The principal, Sheikh Mahmoud refused to take the exam and was fired. Darwazeh notes approvingly that a young educated man from Nazareth was appointed in his place. [88] Several teachers did pass the exam, but many refused to take it or failed. Darwazeh asserts that "in Nablus and in some of its villages during the era of the new committee of education…and even in the remotest centers of Jenin and Tulkarm, new education committees were founded after the constitution, and the situation of elementary education in these centers and their surrounding villages improved…"[89]The educational committee in Nablus saw fit to use the legislation of the state to improve their school. Specifically, the committee wanted to ensure that teachers themselves had been educated in the same way as committee members thought their own children and the children in their villages should be educated. This new generation, having attended modern institutions would hopefully supplant the old. Despite the lackadaisical implementation of the RPE, the letter of the law allowed those imbued with its spirit to take advantage, setting a precedent for not only the formation of educational committees but also for local initiative and control of pedagogical standards.

Although Darwazeh appreciated local initiatives to weed out "less" qualified elementary school teachers, he was less sanguine about the persistence of under-qualified instructors and, most particularly, the emphasis on the Turkish language at the expense of Arabic in the upper and preparatory levels of government schooling. Darwazeh's criticisms of the Turkish language must be viewed in light of the fact that Darwazeh was writing in hindsight, once he had become a professional Arab and Palestinian nationalist. His opinion of "Turkification" was almost assuredly not fully formed during his earliest schooldays. Darwazeh documented improvement in the schools of Nablus after the implementation of exams. However, his teachers and principals at more advanced schools consisted of turbaned Turks, Arabs and even an Afghani, of disparate qualifications. These instructors taught a variety of subjects including French, Farsi, Arabic, mathematics, and the natural sciences. The only consistent requirement was that all teachers and students learn Turkish. [90]

Darwazeh assumed that the Ottoman policy of "Turkification" in government schools was intended to produce teachers and government employees. Similarly, upper level government

[87] Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks : Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). 79
[88] Darwazeh, *Mudhakkirat Muhammad `Izzat Darwazeh, 1305 H-1404 H/1887 M-1984 M : Sijill Hafil Bi-Masirat Al-Harakah Al-`Arabiyah Wa-Al-Qadiyah Al-Filastiniyah Khilala Qarn Min Al-Zaman*. 151
[89] Ibid.151
[90] Ibid.154-155

schools during the later British Mandate were designed to train teachers and petty civil servants. With the announcement of the constitution in 1908 came the Young Turk's articulation of educational policy. This statement asserted that, as Turkish was the official language of the state, Turkish must be taught in elementary schools. In secondary and higher schools, "firm guidelines will be adopted on the basis of the Turkish language."[91] Turkish was not legally mandated to be the language of instruction in *ruşdiye* or even *idadi* schools. However, Darwazeh remembers that at the schools he attended in Nablus and in schools throughout the Empire, particularly in the capital,

> the scientific subjects, such as history, geography, arithmetic, chemistry, physics and engineering and the natural sciences and civics were taught in Turkish from Turkish books even to the extent that the Arabic language and its grammar and its grammar rules were taught in the Turkish language from a book…. the students were taught (in Turkish)… irrespective of their nationalities and languages... [92]

Students who spoke Arabic in the government schools of Nablus were punished with detention, having to write 50 or 100 lines of Turkish literature or poetry after school. [93] Darwazeh argues that the emphasis on the Turkish language, to the detriment of the languages and nationalisms of the minority groups of the empire, was partially due to the government's project of Turanianism. He also blamed Turkification on the educational goals of the Ottoman regime: "to found schools…in Arab regions (like the government schools in Nablus) in order to train men to become educators, knowing the Turkish language, and to be employed by the government." [94] Similarly, the government-run schools of the British Mandate sought to produce, albeit on a much more limited scale, enough educators and government employees who knew the English language to keep the Mandate bureaucracy and educational system afloat. [95]

In contrast to Jerusalem and Nablus, Irbid, now Jordan's second-largest city, lacked educational facilities, particularly beyond the elementary level. Mustafa al-Tell, a poet, teacher, administrator, judge, alcoholic, frequent rabble-rouser, and prison inmate completed his elementary schooling in Irbid but then was sent to *Maktab 'Anbar* in Damascus in order to further his education. At this school, al-Tell began to hone an Arabist, Ottoman identity as he sought employment with the state bureaucracy and studied with his peers from throughout the Levant. The school was quite strict in comparison to the *Kuttab*s, and charged fees which precluded all but local elites from attending. These students learned Ottoman Turkish, the language of governance, seeking further education and bureaucratic or professional careers in Istanbul. [96] As Mushtaq noted in his memoirs, and as historians have pointed out, there was a class divide in Ottoman education. Middle and upper class families sought to train their children to become civil servants, enrolling them in civilian schools such as *Maktab 'Anbar*, while lower class families viewed the army as a

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[91] Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks : Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*. 91

[92] Darwazeh, *Mudhakkirat Muhammad `Izzat Darwazeh, 1305 H-1404 H/1887 M-1984 M : Sijill Hafil Bi-Masirat Al-Harakah Al-`Arabiyah Wa-Al-Qadiyah Al-Filastiniyah Khilala Qarn Min Al-Zaman*.153-154

[93] Ibid. 155

[94]Darwazeh, *Mudhakkirat Muhammad `Izzat Darwazeh, 1305 H-1404 H/1887 M-1984 M : Sijill Hafil Bi-Masirat Al-Harakah Al-`Arabiyah Wa-Al-Qadiyah Al-Filastiniyah Khilala Qarn Min Al-Zaman*.152

[95] Edwin Samuel, *A Lifetime in Jerusalem: The Memoirs of the Second Viscount Samuel* (London,: Vallentine Mitchell, 1970). 75., Assaf Likhovski, "Colonialism, Nationalism and Legal Education: The Case of Mandatory Palestine," in *The History of Law in a Multi-Cultural Society: Israel 1917-1967*, ed. Ron Harris Alexandre(Sandy)Kedar, Prina Lahav and Assaf Likhovski (Burlington, VT: Ashgate/Dartmouth, 2002). 85

[96] Fortna. 149

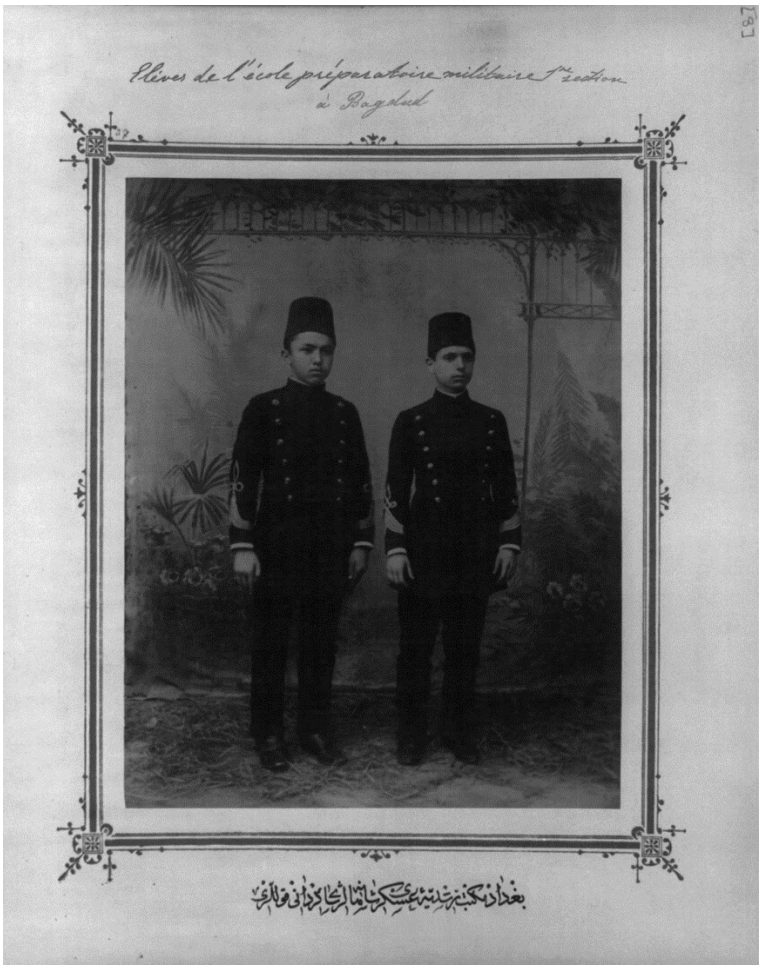
means of social mobility, hoping that their sons would gain admission to the military school in Istanbul and thereby obtain not only a scholarship but also a career. [97] According to Mushtaq, going to Istanbul to enroll in civilian schools required "expensive presents" and "gold liras." However, this education and bribery would guarantee individuals a place in the Ottoman bureaucracy.[98]

Mushtaq actually tried repeatedly to gain admission to the military college in Baghdad. He emphasized that learning about Ottoman defeats in the Balkan Wars of 1912 caused "an ember to ignite in his heart" such that one day, these enemies "would feel the sword" when he would be an Ottoman general. [99] A photograph of students at this college shows the dashing uniforms, and the military stance Mushtaq may have coveted.

[97] Reeva S. Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).9, Michael Provence, *The Great Syrian Revolt and the Rise of Arab Nationalism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). 39

[98] David Pool, "From Elite to Class: The Transformation of Iraqi Leadership, 19201939," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12, no. 3 (1980). 333, 335

[99] Mushtaq. 13



Students, Imperial Military Middle School, Baghdad between 1880 and 1893 [100]

However, as he was only 13 years old, not possessing a strong physique and being an extremely good student, he entered the *Mulkiye* or civil service school in Baghdad. When even his peers at the *Mulkiye* participated in military training, Mushtaq sent several petitions to the military and the head of local recruitment but was told he could better serve his nation through study rather than military service. [101] The Ottoman nationalism Mushtaq believed in would give way to pan-Arabism, of a strongly Islamic and anti-imperial character, when the Ottoman Empire was defeated.

Mustafa al-Tell found a similarly Ottoman notion of nationalism at the civilian *Maktab 'Anbar*, as well as a variety of activism which included an understanding between the government and its protégées that punishments would be light and brief. Al-Tell was suspended from *Maktab 'Anbar* his first year for having shouted at a government official during a strike staged by the

[100] *Students, Imperial Military Middle School, Baghdad*. (between 1880 and 1893). LoC: G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection. http://www.loc.gov/item/2001700026/. (Accessed May 14, 2015)
[101] Mushtaq, 14

students.[102] However, this did not mean al-Tell was not in support of the government itself. He resumed his studies at *Maktab 'Anbar* and even wrote the following lines, blessing the Ottoman army, in 1915, when German and Ottoman forces reached the Suez canal: "May god bless our armies, for they/ are the elite- the bravest of the brave. They surpass all the world in courage; no people can stand before them."[103] al-Tell returned to *Maktab 'Anbar* in 1919, after having briefly worked as a teacher in the private school founded by his father back in Irbid and as an assistant teacher in 'Arabkir in present-day Turkey. While at his father's school, al-Tell wrote and recited the following poem, in order to try to convince local notables to enroll their sons at his father's institution: "if you want o sons of my people, to achieve positions higher than others/And to fulfill all your ambitions, seek education until the time of your death. For the life of nations is in education. So seek it on the highest summits."[104] In this poem, al-Tell promotes schooling (particularly his father's school) as a means of social mobility and of national pride. He would continue to promote these values throughout his career. After participating in more student-led riots at *Maktab 'Anbar*, al-Tell was forced to leave Damascus. He finally graduated from another government school: the *Sultaniye* in Aleppo. [105] al-Tell would go on to move in and out of government service, working as an educator and in various other posts, with prison stints in between. [106]While some of his brief and repeated dismissals were due to his unabashed alcoholism, his continued participation in governance while frequently rebelling against the state indicated the flexibility afforded to educated persons, and the state's attempt to incorporate rather than alienate this limited cadre.

The school founded by Mustafa al-Tell's father was one of many educational initiatives undertaken by local individuals. For example, Khalil al-Sakakini, having successfully founded the unique *Dusturiyyah* School in Jerusalem, sought to take advantage of potential expansion in education by petitioning local authorities as well as the director of education for a position at the same *Sultaniye* School in Beirut that Omar Saleh al-Barghouti had attended. During the final months before the outbreak of World War I, Al-Sakakini negotiated on an individual basis with representatives of the Ottoman government to gain a job and to help improve the schools in his region. Rather than wait for a position to be advertised, or for someone to take notice of him, al-Sakakini drafted a lengthy petition requesting employment with the Department of Education. al-Sakakini emphasized his nationalism, his passion for teaching, and the need for teachers (like him) who could apply modern methods and who had mastered the Arabic language and its literature. Al-Sakakini proclaimed his readiness to "enter the fray" to help produce "devoted teachers who (would) give their lives to the service of their nation."[107] The Director of Education spoke personally to al-Sakakini, telling him there was no position available at the *Sultaniye* school that

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[102] Mustafá Wahbi Tall, Mutlaq Mahmud, *Mustafa's Journey : Verse of Arar, Poet of Jordan* (Irbid: Yarmouk University, 1988). 3

[103] Ibid., 21

[104] Tall. 24

[105] Abd Allah Odeh Sadik I. Mustafá Wahbi Tall. *Arar, the Poet and Lover of Jordan* (`Amman: Greater Amman Municipality Celebrations of Arar's Birthday 100th Anniversary, 1999).

[106] For example, his certificate of service during his first year of work for the government of Transjordan (1923) notes that he had already been a teacher, a judge, a teacher again and a judge again in the years previous to the Mandate. A.D. Ziyād Saleh al-Z'abī Muṣṭafá Wahbī Tall , Ussāmá Hassan 'Aāīsh, , *Wathā'iq MuṣtAfá Wahbī Tall ('arār) 1899-1949 Al-Majlad Al-Awwal* (Yarmūk: Jāmi'at al-Yarmūk, 2012). Documents 1 and 2

[107] Khalil al-Sakakini, *Yawmiyat Khalil Al-Sakakini : Yawmiyat, Rasail Wa-Taammulat. Al-Kitāb Al-Thani L-Nahḍah Al-Urthūdhuksīyah, Al-Ḥarb Al-'uẓmá, Al-Nafy Ilá Dimashq, 1914-1918* ed. Akram Musallam, 7 vols., vol. 2 (Ram Allah: Markaz Khalil al-Sakakini al-Thaqafi : Mu`assasat al-Dirasat al-Muqaddasiyah, 2003). 58

year, but that the following year the number of students would increase sufficiently for him to be appointed. Moreover, the Director mentioned that he hoped to found a teacher training college, and that al-Sakakini would prove "indispensable" to that project. The interview process consisted of an informal meeting and discussion, without reference to standardized exams or credentials. Instead, the flexibility of the Ottoman system of education allowed instructors, like al-Sakakini, the room to take initiatives on their own behalf such as his petition. Al-Sakakini wrote hopefully in his diary, that if he was able to take either post it would be a "new role in his life." [108]

Al-Sakakini's dream would not be fulfilled under the Ottoman regime. During World War I, many schools were shut down, including al-Sakakini's own *Dusturiyyah* school. [109] The teachers college, which was in fact founded during the war, did not employ him; he worked at the *Salahiyya* School in Jerusalem and was briefly imprisoned for his association with an American spy. By 1917, British military controlled modern-day Iraq, Jordan, Jerusalem and much of Southern Palestine.[110] On October 30, 1918, the Ottoman government surrendered and the Empire was dissolved. [111]

Selim Deringil has argued, in reference to the radical changes prescribed by the Tanzimat, that the Ottoman state suffered a "legitimation deficit." As the Ottoman state became ever more intrusive, it required new sources of legitimacy and to be normalized in the lives of its subjects.[112] The changes in education wrought after the proclamation of Tanzimat reforms, by the regimes of Abdulhamid II, the Young Turks and the British Military and Mandate administrations in Ottoman and Mandate Palestine, Transjordan, and Iraq required the acceptance of local intermediaries to function. These local employees provided legitimacy, normalizing, and, more concretely, staffing the committees, schools, and bureaucratic posts each government prescribed. During the British Mandate, government-employed educators, and other civil servants, acted according to Ottoman precedents, negotiating as they had with Ottoman officials, assuming, often correctly, they would obtain the same results.

Under the British, al-Sakakini taught as he had under the Ottoman regime. His *Dusturiyyah* School, founded in 1909, closed during World War I only to reemerge as the *Wataniyyah* College in 1925. Al-Sakakini's schools were designed to promote student autonomy, desire for learning, nationalism and independence. [113] Their curricula embraced English, Turkish and French as well as advanced Arabic grammar, literature, mathematics, Qur'anic studies for all pupils regardless of religion, and physical education. [114] While al-Sakakini could continue to teach as he wished, the ideal of Ottomanism which he had his contemporaries had believed in, was clearly no longer practicable.

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[108] Ibid. 58-59

[109] Salim Tamari, "The Short Life of Private Ihsan: Jerusalem 1915," *Jerusalem Quarterly* Spring, no. 30 (2007). 17

[110] John D. Grainger, *The Battle for Palestine 1917*, Warfare in History (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006).223-4

[111] M. Sükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). 182

[112] Selim Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdülhamid Ii (1876-1909)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23, no. 3 (1991). 346

[113] Walid Khalidi, Kamil Mansur, and Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *Transformed Landscapes : Essays on Palestine and the Middle East in Honor of Walid Khalidi* (Cairo; New York: American University In Cairo Press, 2009). 118

[114] Tamari, "Jerusalem's Ottoman Modernity: The Times and Lives of Wasif Jawhariyyeh."17

The *Dusturiyyah* School c. 1909[115]

Conclusion:

By the end of World War I, Arabs, even those who had been firm believers in the idea of Ottomanism, and an Ottoman cosmopolitanism realized there was little room for them in what would become Turkey. Mushtaq noted that, although he had been a strong proponent of Ottomanism, seeing it as a unification of Muslims under one banner, he turned to Arabism in rejection of the imperialism of the British. Non-Turkish graduates of the *Mulkiye* school in Istanbul did not attempt promotion in Turkey, rather they returned to their homes, seeking whatever positions were open to them in the Mandate bureaucracies and schools. [116] Yet, the educators described in the previous section, had all experienced schooling beyond their local purview and had benefitted from increasing educational connections between the regions that were suddenly divided into Mandates. They saw themselves as part of a wider world than that confined by the Mandate boundaries. Moreover, they believed that they ought to be part of the leadership of that world.

Corrine Blake, in her article on Syrian students who attended the *Mulkiye Mektebi*, notes that during the Young Turk period, despite charges of incompetence or other complaints against them, no Ottoman bureaucrats were really punished for their actions, even if those actions were against the state. Rather than being dismissed they would be transferred to other jobs within the government bureaucracy. Even if they were tried criminally, they could safely assume they would be given their old posts back after the trial. Due to the scarcity of literate and qualified personnel,

[115] Walid Khalidi *Before Their Diaspora : A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984. 72. http://btd.palestine-studies.org/content/dusturiyyah-constitutional-school. (Accessed May 14, 2015)
[116] Cleveland. 45

the Ottoman government was forced to "tolerate unethical and criminal behavior" in order to function. [117] Blake further notes that in the case of Syria, many Ottoman leaders and bureaucrats transitioned into being leaders during the Mandate, continuing with the same political style, which she describes as "a secular western orientation, a belief in constitutional government, and a penchant for patronage." This political style also included a government career. [118]

All of the educators discussed above became increasingly dissatisfied with the Mandate system and with British rule. Seeking the nation promised by the Mandate charter, collective representation, and, in the case of Palestine, an end to Zionist activities, they became frustrated with their inability to control either their system of education or their government. However, although they operated within restrictive educational and political frameworks, they could impede or facilitate their implementation. The combination of Ottoman and British traditions of education and political (specifically colonial in the case of the British) interactions with a subject population framed an authority based in constant negotiations. Intermediaries, therefore, possessed a privileged place within systems they could not control. Educators experienced tension between relative freedom to express their political beliefs, but also an inability and a lack of desire to overthrow the governments that employed them, regardless of whether they supported government policies on a broad level.

As demonstrated in this chapter, educational policies, practices and personnel during the British military and Mandate administrations cannot be separated from their Ottoman predecessors. Nor can methods of negotiation, flexibility and idiosyncrasy be said to characterize one but not the other of the British or Ottoman governments. However, the conclusion that a colonial empire relied upon roughly the same methods as an imperial one raises more questions than it answers as to the nature of late 19th and early 20th century empires, their transition to nation states, and narratives of European driven or inspired modernity.

Scholars, most prominently Dipesh Chakrabarty have begun to undermine the assumption that "modernity" is itself a universal as well as universalizing concept. In Provincializing Europe, Chakrabarty demonstrates that characteristics of the modern state can be granted a specific origin, thus calling into question the universal and inevitable nature of bureaucracy, capitalism, the rule of law, "democracy, popular sovereignty, social justice, scientific rationality and so on…"[119]While Chakrabarty and other scholars "engage the universals," they assume that non-European, generally colonized societies did not participate in the creation of these universally applicable categories. As Frederick Cooper notes, modernity in a colonial and post-colonial context has functioned as an inherently European ideal that colonized societies, and the non-West more generally must try to emulate. More insidiously, modernity is taken as "a marker of Europe's right to rule."[120] Discussions of the modern or modernizing state assume that the form of this state originated in Europe and, in both Europe and in European-dominated colonies, was imposed on an unwilling and recalcitrant population. Modernity, therefore, becomes a justification for colonial rule. Modern institutions, including education, facilitate colonial domination.

[117] Blake. 237
[118] Ibid., 283-284
[119] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008). 4
[120] Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question : Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2010); ibid.115

The commonalities between Ottoman and British educational reforms and tactics of governance lead to questions regarding narratives of the origins of the modern state. The haphazard implementation of reforms and the ability of educators to act within restrictive legislative and political frameworks trouble ideas of modernity and change as impositions rather than negotiations. I do not wish to argue that the Ottomans were more modern than the British, vice versa, or that modernity itself is a fiction. Rather, the sea changes in both government and education that took place during the late 19th and early 20th century occurred in fits and starts. Reliance on local intermediaries meant that ever more intrusive, ever more modern states were represented not by interchangeable, objective, qualified bureaucrats but by individuals. The modern state therefore took shape in the context of variability, idiosyncrasy and personal interactions. The views of educators illustrate how much local demand for some changes and protest against others altered how and what the Ottoman and British governments could do. While this granted intermediaries, including educators, scope to negotiate on their own behalf, the Ottoman and British governments never fulfilled their promises of representation, progress, and, in the case of the Mandate government in Palestine, the creation of a Palestinian nation state.

The results of Ottoman educational endeavors included networks of people and information linking the Arab provinces with one another and the capital, strong connections between state schooling and state employment and an emphasis on flexibility and negotiation. These journeys formed systems of schooling, affiliation and employment that persisted even after the imposition of Mandate borders. In the following chapter, I will provide a broader view of the consequences of the coincidence of Ottoman and British educational policies, and the variety of educators employed in the first years of British control.

Chapter 2: Colonial Prescriptions and Local Adaptations: Educators in the 1920s

"Whether the British come or the land stays under Ottoman control, I'll always remain a teacher, and I'll teach only what my conscience dictates. I don't toady to anyone, and I don't serve anyone else's purposes." [1]-Khalil al-Sakakini, *Kadha Ana Ya Dunya*

Staff and Alumni of al-Sakakini's *Dusturiyyah* School, 1919. al-Sakakini is seated lower left. [2]

Khalil al-Sakakini's attitude towards shifting regimes paralleled that of many of the teachers employed in the government schools newly under British control. When faced with the possibility and the reality of British occupation, former Ottoman teachers and petty civil servants tended to interact with the new regime as they had with the old. They sought to push their own agendas, and to eke out a better place for themselves within the administration. They lobbied and negotiated on their own behalf. Moreover, they expected to be heard and to retain their posts regardless of their opinion of the government and how frequently and forcefully they expressed these opinions. Their ability to continue these practices, due to the government enforced scarcity of educated personnel relative to the need for educators as well as bureaucrats, allowed them to hold a variety of political stances without permanent or severe repercussions.

Educators' participation in governance on an everyday level had two direct consequences for Mandate societies despite their generally universal rejection of the colonial policies of the Mandates. Firstly, those who experienced government education, particularly at an upper level, tended to remain in government service, precluding revolts led by the educated and middling to

[1] Khalil al-Sakakini, "Such Am I, O World," in *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992). 672

[2] Walid Khalidi. *Before Their Diaspora : A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984. 163. "Staff and Alumni of the Dusturiyyah (Constitutional) School, Ca. 1919 ", Institute for Palestine Studies http://btd.palestine-studies.org/content/least-worthy-you-are-least-learned-1. (Accessed May 14, 2015)

upper classes. Secondly, it meant that educators changed the content of schooling and the character of governance on local, national and transnational levels. While these outcomes played themselves out into the 1930s, this chapter will explore their beginnings and the precedent set during the first years of the military and Mandate administrations.

British military officials had a limited repertoire of educational policies that they applied upon seizing control of a non-British, and potentially hostile population. These policies were by default colonial. On the other hand, the League of Nations required the Mandates to constitute "a sacred trust of civilization" for an indefinite but theoretically finite period until the inhabitants were deemed ready for self-governance in the modern world. [3] Despite this requirement to teach for eventual self-government rather than colonial subjugation, British colonial policies persisted during the Mandate administrations. Building upon the examples of India and Egypt in particular, the British military and then civilian administrations attempted to implement two tiered systems of government education, while leaving religious schools, both Christian Missionary, Islamic and Jewish, as well as those of ethnic minority communities, to their own devices. [4] The majority of the inhabitants of the former Arab provinces would receive the minimum amount of schooling deemed necessary to impart literacy, a scant four years, coupled with a basic knowledge of religion, agriculture, carpentry, handicrafts, or the domestic sciences. They were also to remain living in rural rather than urban areas. The upper tier of education was to be composed of an elite few, selected on the bases of a combination of intellectual merit, social status, and at times, resemblance to British Orientalist stereotypes. These individuals were to become teachers, clerks and other types of government officials, including subsidized tribal leaders, in order to staff the military and later Mandate bureaucracies and to function as intermediaries between British officials and the rest of the population. However, due to fears of nationalist rebellion, schooling, particularly higher education and the teaching of English, was deliberately limited.

In India Office, Colonial Office and Foreign Office Records, internal correspondence within the Departments of Education and reports to the League of Nations, the British would continually assert that the number of teachers and bureaucrats trained was barely sufficient to replace "casualties;" or those civil servants who resigned, retired, or died. Therefore, there was no

[3] League of Nations, "The Covenant of the League of Nations (Including Amendments Adopted to December, 1924)," (Champaign, Ill.; Boulder, Colo.: Project Gutenberg ; NetLibrary *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCO*host(*accessed April 5, 2015).

[4] For example, in Iraq as early as the 1918 report on education, the military administration explicitly noted its desire to "avoid the mistakes of the Indian education department" specifically creating too many schools of poor quality (too much education), producing too many individuals qualified only for "the lower grades of government service and the profession of pleader" and focusing too much on higher education rather than primary education. Captain H.E. Bowman, Director of Education, "Department of Education, Annual Report 1918, 20 of January, 1919," in *Records of Iraq, Volume 1 1914-1918*, ed. A. de L. Rush and Jane Priestland(Slough: Archive Editions, 2001).68 Article 15 of the Mandate for Palestine granted each community in Palestine the right to "maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language." The Council of the League of Nations, *Mandate for Palestine* July 24, 1922. C. 529. M. 314. 1922. VI. This policy was in fact a reification of the Ottoman millet system, but also allowed the Jewish community to maintain its own schools largely free from British influence. A. L. Tibawi, "Religion and Educational Administration in Palestine of the British Mandate," *Die Welt des Islams* 3, no. 1 (1954). 2 Article 16 of Iraq's 1925 constitution stated that "the various communities shall have the right of establishing and maintaining schools for the instruction of their members in their own tongues" but also maintained that they teach according to legal requirements for the whole of the country. Government of Iraq. "The 'Iraq Constitution, 21st March, 1925." Baghdad: the Government Press, 1928.

need to fear the rise of an educated unemployed, whose education had "too literary a bias." [5] Throughout the Mandate period, local demand for government schooling, particularly in Palestine, generally exceeded supply. [6] Mandate-inhabitants tended to support schooling as it promised a path of social mobility and security for their children. This restriction of education, coupled with local demand as well as the dictates of the League of Nations, rendered those qualified to serve as educators and civil servants a scarce and valuable commodity. Paradoxically, this scarcity made the Mandate governments loath to fire educators in particular, whether they were incompetent or politically subversive. Therefore, in order to assuage popular opinion, to pay lip service to international requirements, and to cheaply staff government bureaucracies, the British had to employ a variety of individuals as educators and were forced to adapt to these teachers' requests.

Older accounts of education in the Middle East, the British Empire, as well as in the British Mandates, have tended to downplay the ability of native educators to promote their own individual agendas and to exploit the flexibility of the British colonial system without invariably becoming one dimensional conduits for anti-colonial nationalisms. [7] The key issue in historians' work on Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan/Jordan has generally been the development of the nation-state, leading to examinations of only one Mandate and one successor state. [8] This approach frequently

[5] Casualties generally referred to teachers who died, retired, resigned or in the case of female teachers, got married.

[6] See for example, Great Britain Palestine Royal Commission, "Palestine Royal Commission: Minutes of Evidence Heard at Public Sessions (with Index)" (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937). 117. In Palestine, the demand for Arab public education remained high throughout the course of the Mandate and was continually remarked upon by local and foreign observers. In Iraq, gauging demand is more difficult, however the percentage of the population receiving education remained small through the end of the Mandate in 1932. In fact, in 1921 there were only approximately 8000 students enrolled in primary schools and 110 in secondary, which increased to approximately 34,500 primary students and 2,000 secondary students by 1930-31. However, this is out of a population of approximately 3 million, both in 1920 and 1930. Although this constant population statistic may be due to difficulties in estimation, it may also be due to a decline in public health and economic status among the rural majority during the British administration. Mohammad A. Tarbush, *The Role of the Military in Politics : A Case Study of Iraq to 1941* (London; Boston: Kegan Paul International, 1982). 14-16. Moreover, demand on the part of the local populations was usually for specific schools, particularly secondary institutions that would teach English and provide a path to government employment. Roderic D. Matthews, Matta Akrawi, and Education American Council on, *Education in Arab Countries of the near East : Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949).139. In Transjordan, there is more of a question as to local demand for schooling. Yoav Alon writes that the Ministry of Education thought there was little demand for schooling until 1930, when only 50 out of the 100 applicants for schooling in Amman were accepted. Yoav Alon, *The Making of Jordan : Tribes, Colonialism and the Modern State* (London; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009).137

[7] Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West : A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the near East. 1,1, Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century.* (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1957). Similarly, foreign policy and development experts have analyzed education within critiques or promotions of modernization through institutions. These approaches tend to highlight schooling as a means of social reproduction, reproducing status hierarchies rather than social mobility. Joseph S. Szyliowicz, *Education and Modernization in the Middle East* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1973)., Matthews et al.

[8] Reeva Simon Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. Peter Wien, *Iraqi Arab Nationalism : Authoritarian, Totalitarian, and Pro-Fascist Inclinations, 1932-1941* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006).Ma'an Abu Nuwar, *The Development of Trans-Jordan 1929-1939 : A History of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan* (Reading, U.K.: Ithaca, 2006). Joseph Andoni Massad, *Colonial Effects : The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). *Nationalist Voices in Jordan : The Street and the State*. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005). is one of the few accounts which addresses both Palestine and Transjordan/Jordan, although its focus on education is a backdrop to the idea of Jordanian and Palestinian nationalisms and the consequences and implications of the perpetuation of the

obscures transnational ideologies such as Pan Arabism, Communism and Islamism, how ill-defined these ideologies, as well as concepts of territorial nationalism, were particularly during the 1920s. [9] Focusing on nationalism also assumes that the defining characteristic of subjectivity for individuals living and working under colonial rule is nationalism, according to its current definition, based on a frequently secular affiliation to a bounded territory, language and government. [10] Agency in this context is defined only in terms of resistance to the colonizing power, namely by promoting nationalism, rejecting government service and frequently rebelling violently against colonial governments wholesale. [11] However, educators could choose from a variety of affiliations and agendas, none of which ruled out employment by the Mandate administrations. A range of factors shaped educators' sense of themselves and their relationships with the governments they both worked for and represented. These factors included a culture of petitions, notions of self-improvement, social mobility through schooling, literature and local conflicts. These factors do not fit neatly into grand linear narratives of nationalism or European imposed modernization.

This chapter provides an overview of the colonial antecedents of British educational policy in the Mandates, followed by a discussion of the design and attempts at implementation of this policy during the military and early Mandate administrations. This chapter then analyzes the first generation of teachers employed by the Mandate governments: those hired before the academic year 1931-32. Educators employed after this date constitute a different generation, as they attended school during the Mandate period rather than the late Ottoman-era. In Iraq, 1931-32 also marked

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Hashemite Monarchy despite its overthrow in Iraq. Muhammad Fadil Jamali, *The New Iraq: Its Problem of Bedouin Education* (New York city: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934)., Abu Khaldun Sati Husri, *Mudhakkirati Fi Al-`Iraq 1921-1941* (Bayrut: Dar al-Tali`ah, 1967). Abd Allah Zahi Rashdan and Omar Ahmad Mohammad Hamshari, *Nizam Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`lim Fi Al-Urdun, 1921-2002* (`Amman: Dar Safa lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzi`, 2002)., Ahmad Yousef Tall, *Zuruf Al-Siyasiyah Wa-Al-Iqtisadiyah Wa-Al-Ijtima`iyah Allati Aththarat Fi Tatawwur Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`Lim Fi Al-Urdunn, 1921-1977* ([`Amman]: Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa-al-Shabab, 1978).Works on the consequences of Mandate and Israeli policy towards Palestinian education have been still clearer in their condemnation of policymakers for economically and nationally repressing Palestinians. See Sarah Graham-Brown, *Education, Repression & Liberation, Palestinians* (London: World University Service (UK), 1984)., Sami Khalil Mari, *Arab Education in Israel*, Contemporary Issues in the Middle East (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978).

[9] There are some exceptions, for example Hanna Batatu's monumental study which focuses on Communism in Iraq. Interest in Pan-Arabism has also increased, particularly in terms of Iraqi pan-Arabism in recent years. Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq : A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Communists, Ba'thists and Free Officers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982)., Orit Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); Michael Eppel, "The Elite, the 'Effendiyya', and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921-1958," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998).

[10] The place of religion within the Mandate educational system is too broad to be addressed in this dissertation.

[11] Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage : The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006). 85, Eric Davis, *Memories of State : Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).22 Building on Chatterjee's formulation of anticolonial struggle, Joseph Massad similarly looks at the formation of a Jordanian masculine subjectivity. In Massad's work, agency as constituted through government projects is essentially a nationalist resistance that becomes co-opted by the state. Joseph Andoni Massad, *Colonial Effects : The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001)., 5-6, Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World : A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

the end of the Mandate, while in Palestine and Transjordan it provides a convenient but somewhat arbitrary point of evaluating the effects of education after 10 years.

Trained during the late Ottoman period, Mandate era educators hailed from throughout the Ottoman Empire. They possessed a wide variety of social backgrounds as well as prior educational experiences. Educators ranged from poor village teachers who taught the three Rs in a dark back room, to wealthy girls educated at expensive missionary institutions or tutored by their fathers, to elite Ottoman government professors, or even army officers fluent in Ottoman Turkish, French, German, and/or English. They identified most frequently with their locale, with their religious creed, their profession, and their language.

Educators enjoyed and promoted participation in government. At the same time, they encouraged their students and their societies to try out a variety of intellectual currents and notions of affiliation. The political ideologies evinced during this period were in almost constant flux, as adherence to cosmopolitan Ottoman identities became a moot endeavor. Ideas of a unified Arab state were still practicable during the military administration, into the Mandate and beyond. The newness of the Mandate boundaries, in contrast to regional affiliations, meant that Iraqi, Palestinian, Transjordanian tribal, religious, and local sentiments overlapped with broader notions of pan-Arabism, proto-Marxism, and nearly always, anti-Imperialism. While this chapter highlights local as well as broader sentiments of affiliation, it underscores the disjuncture between Mandate boundaries and the practices of the inhabitants, as well as the more mundane concerns of schooling in a colonial setting. In tracing educators' stories, this chapter argues for a broader notion of agency evinced by educators in a colonial context; it reimagines the Mandate administrations to allow for educators' agency in manipulation, negotiation, and petition rather than force.

Colonial Antecedents; British Educational Policies in India and Egypt:

British policies in what would become the Mandates for Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan did not come into being simply in reaction to facts on the ground. Instead, these policies stemmed from colonial tactics that the British believed they could apply to any territory. Yet British officials continually lamented the results of these policies even as they repeated their application. In his 1937 work on colonial education, Arthur Mayhew, then one of the two joint secretaries of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, complained of a near universal British policy to disregard education initially, and to focus on military control, defense and the economy, leaving education to those local institutions and foreign missions already in place. [12] This policy echoed that of the Ottoman government, in which missionary, foreign and national schools were left begrudgingly to their own devices, albeit with inspections and during the British period, grants-in-aid. Mayhew defined this tactic as

> a fundamental feature of our colonial policy… (leading to) free scope for private enterprise, a suspicion or mistrust of rigid official control, arising, no doubt, from the absence of clear educational ideas on the Government's part, as well as from a

[12] Mayhew was also a former Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces in India, and a key figure in British Colonial Education during the first half of the 20th century. Clive Whitehead, "The Nestor of British Colonial Education: A Portrait of Arthur Mayhew Cie, Cmg (1818-1948)," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 29, no. 1 (1997).

> lack of belief in education, and a feeling that more important matters demanded all their time and energy. [13]

By 1937 Mayhew could reflect on Britain's mistakes and argue that lack of funding and lack of interest would inevitably translate into a lack of control. Yet, during the early years of British colonialism, rhetoric of the power of an educated few to advance both British and colonial interests was still acceptable.

The British Empire's formative experience of colonial education was in India. There, the British initially sought to apply methods gleaned from the metropole, introducing an elite public school-style education intended to produce an elite class of educated Indians of strong character and morals, who thought like Europeans and would mediate between the British and the rest of the Indian population. Their conduct would mirror that of British gentlemen, and their thoughts would follow as closely as possible those of the "rational" British mind. British policymakers focused their attention on those they viewed as natural leaders of local society or rather those that best fit British stereotypes of gentlemanly natives. These policies resulted in the creation of five 'Chiefs' Colleges' in India, Gordon College in the Sudan, Christchurch in new Zealand, Makerere in Uganda, and others throughout Britain's Colonies, Mandates and Dominion: institutions meant to parallel English public schools. [14] In contrast to Ottoman educational objectives, the British desired in principle to limit the number of educated elites who entered government service, but in practice, as frequent British complaints illustrate, British officials and Indian subjects viewed higher education in particular as an automatic path to government employment.

In India, British educational policies contributed to the growth of a disaffected group of the educated unemployed, who had learned a Western rhetoric of nationalism in which to couch their demands. The highest echelons of British colonial officialdom blamed education in English in particular as the underlying cause of political unrest, especially during the late 1890s, but they decided they could not go back on this policy in India because it had provided legitimacy to their government. [15] Instead, in Egypt, Britain sought to temper the teaching of English in government schools and to focus more of their resources on the non-elite populations in order to create a more pliable, appreciative colonized subject. [16]

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[13] Arthur Mayhew, *Education in the Colonial Empire* (London: Longmans Green, 1937). 39

[14] Heather J. Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism : Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). 7 In Iraq the British had initially hoped to construct an arts and crafts school, an agricultural college and a "shaikhs college" paralleling Gordon College in the Sudan and the Chief's College in India to cater to the "son of the Arab of the best class," who would modernize and sedenterize their communities. The proposed shaykhs college was still a projection in 1920. "Note on the Organization of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia April 1, 1920," IOR/L/PS/11/173, India Office Records, the British Library. Hearafter BL. 8, also "Education in Mesopotamia. Department of Education Budget Estaimtes 1920-21. , 1921," IOR/L/PS10/816, File 1454/1919. , BL. 1-3, Similarly in Palestine, agricultural training was promoted in village areas, an agricultural college was founded and there was much talk of a British style institute of higher education that never came to fruition. "Kadoorie Agricultural Schools at Tulkarm and Mount Talor: Bequest of Sir E. Kadoorie, 1931," CO 733/210/11, Colonial Office Records, the National Archives Kew. Hearafter NA.. "Education: Proposal to Create a British University, 1939," CO 733/392/12, NA.

[15] Aparna Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898-1920* (Delhi,: Oxford University Press, 1974). 10.

[16] In "Wood's Education Despatch," from the Court of the Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in 1854, British authorities plainly stated "the education which we desire to see extended in India is

Colonial India, according to British officials, provided a "warning example" [17] of the type of citizen produced when British domestic educational tactics, particularly its elitist qualities, were applied wholesale to the colonies: too many elites that were too enlightened to be content with restricted power. British officials decided to impose a doubly divisive policy in Egypt during their control of the area from 1883 through 1922. [18] This time British officials aimed at creating a smaller cadre of bureaucrats with limited education, as well as a large, lower class of rural farmers who would increase agricultural productivity. Having taken on Egypt's enormous debt, the British directed a large portion of their budget towards debt payments as well as infrastructure and agriculture. This policy meant funds for education were not only limited but also restricted to training those the British perceived as immediately necessary, namely a civil service. [19]

The British consciously limited the number of Egyptian graduates capable of working for the colonial administration. British officials also defined the class of these graduates by imposing additional fees and restricting their access to higher education. In order to matriculate at an urban preparatory or even a technical school, a student had to be able to pass an exam in a European language, and to pay a fee. The British colonial administration only funded village schools that taught in Arabic, precluding secular higher education and a career in the civil service. [20] This system of education created a linguistic and economic dichotomy between village and urban schools. In rural areas, the language of instruction was to be Arabic, and the subject of instruction was meant to be manual or technical education. In contrast, urban schools taught in European languages. [21] In practice, rural schools taught a basic level of literacy and mathematics, as well as religious instruction with the eventual addition of programs in hygiene, technical and agricultural education.[22] The few secondary village schools, in which only about .003% of Egyptian students matriculated, focused almost exclusively on vocational or manual training. [23] The British did not fund education at the university level, as they thought university graduates were the most likely to become leaders of nationalist movements. [24] In urban schools, curricular emphasis was placed on English. While geography, mathematics and basic sciences were also taught, Egyptian elites complained that philosophy, ethics, social economy, literature and history were neglected. [25] Education itself remained incredibly limited throughout the period of British control. As of 1918

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that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short, European knowledge." Yet, that same dispatch, which would later be known as the Magna Carta of English Education in India, suggested English would be the language of instruction for higher education, while the vernacular would be employed in the "education of the masses." B. L. Grover and S. Grover, *A New Look at Modern Indian History : From 1707 to the Present Day* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 2001).

[17] Valentine Chirol, *The Egyptian Problem* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920). 221

[18] Judith Cochran, *Education in Egypt* (London; Dover, N.H.: Croom Helm, 1986). 38

[19] Robert L. Tignor, "The "Indianization" of the Egyptian Administration under British Rule," *The American Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (1963). 637.

[20] Gregory Starrett *Putting Islam to Work Education, Politics, and Religious Transformation in Egypt*, Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies ; 25 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). 31.

[21] Ibid. 31

[22] Mona L. Russell, "Competing, Overlapping, and Contradictory Agendas: Egyptian Education under British Occupation, 1882-1922," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 21, no. 1 (2005).52

[23] Janina Brutt-Griffler, *World English: A Study of Its Development* (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 2002). 56.

[24] Joseph S. Szyliowicz, "Education and Political Development in Turkey, Egypt, and Iran," *Comparative Education Review* 13, no. 2 (1969).156.

[25] Amy J. Johnson, *Reconstructing Rural Egypt : Ahmed Hussein and the History of Egyptian Development*, 1st ed. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2004). 5.

there were only 134 elite primary schools, and a total of 4265 "vernacular schools" [26] for a population that numbered 12.72 million in 1917. [27]

Despite British efforts, the select few who were educated in elite primary schools did not meekly labor for British interests alone. British and elite interests often coincided, as both wished to limit the applicants for government positions and to maintain a strictly divided class hierarchy. However, this symbiotic relationship was imperfect and could not last. [28] Protests which finally led to limited Egyptian independence in 1922 were sparked by the arrest of Sa'ad Zaghlul, the founder of the Wafd party and the former head of the Ministry of Education. Students at government schools formed the first wave of protesters. [29] Humphrey Bowman described Egypt's revolts as the "Frankenstein monster" which paralyzed the Egyptian government through student demonstrations. [30] As British historian and diplomat Sir Valentine Chirol and later Bowman would agree, "By whatever standard we judge the educational system devised for the youth of Egypt under British control, it has tended not at all to the salvation of the State. It is unquestionably the worst of our failures." [31]

The results of British educational policy in Egypt did not include the compliant acquiescence of Egyptian society to British rule. However, its divisive policies succeeded. The British achieved, with the cooperation of the Egyptian elites, the perpetuation of an educational and, often, "a class divide." The "dual ladder" of Egyptian education, between English and the vernacular, elite and mass, as well as the distinction between Islamic and government institutions continued through the 1950s. [32] Although the lower tier would not remain purely agricultural or technical, a division between religious, Arabic, and secular education persists even to the present day. Moreover, the connection between government schooling and government service remained a clear expectation of the Egyptian people; in the 1960s, Gamal Abdul Nasser guaranteed government employment for university graduates, after having nationalized universities and making university education free of charge. [33] This employment guarantee persisted through the 1990s. [34]

The legacy of Indian and Egyptian antecedents with regards to the British Mandates can be clearly demonstrated in the recollections of British officials, in their careers, the Egyptians they

[26] George Ambrose Lloyd Lloyd, *Egypt since Cromer* (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1933). 14.
[27] Edward Roger John Owen Roger Owen, Sevket Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998).30.
[28] Russell, "Competing, Overlapping, and Contradictory Agendas: Egyptian Education under British Occupation, 1882-1922."51.
[29] James Whidden, *Monarchy and Modernity in Egypt : Politics, Islam and Neo-Colonialism between the Wars* (2013). 15-16 Harry J. Carman, "England and the Egyptian Problem," *Political Science Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1921). 70.
[30] Humphrey Ernest Bowman, *Middle-East Window* (London, New York etc.: Longmans Green and co., 1942), 311.
[31] Chirol. 221
[32] Roderic Donald Matthews, Matta Akrawi, and American Council on Education., *Education in Arab Countries of the near East: Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1949).33.
[33] Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam : Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2003).
[34] Ahmed Galal, *The Paradox of Education and Unemployment in Egypt* (Cairo, Egypt: Egyptian Center for Economic Studies, 2002)., R. AsSa'ad, "The Effects of Public Sector Hiring and Compensation Policies on the Egyptian Labor Market," *World Bank Economic Review* 11, no. 1 (1997).85-86,

appointed, and in the observations of local administrators. In Iraq, the teacher training school in Baghdad was opened in 1917 and by 1918 was run by an Egyptian "selected by the Egyptian government for the post." [35] The first British individual in charge of education during the military administration in Palestine, which initially included the area that would become Transjordan, was Major Williams, an officer of the Indian Civil Service. He was swiftly replaced by Major Tadman, from the Egyptian Ministry of Education, then briefly by his assistant, Major Legge, and finally by Captain Humphrey Bowman who also had worked in Egypt, the Sudan and Iraq and who would remain in Palestine until his retirement in 1936. [36] Bowman's assistant during his short tenure in Iraq was Edward Base who had taught mathematics in Egypt. [37]

The Education Committee, Baghdad: Abdul Karim Chelabi, E.H. Base, Père Anastase, H.E. Bowman, Hajji Ali al Allusi, H.B. Staffard Northcote, Yussuf Beg, N.A. MacGurk. 1919. [38]

[35] H.E. Bowman. "Department of Education, Annual Report 1918, 20 of January, 1919,"98
[36] Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac, 1956). 23, 25
[37] Bowman. *Middle-East Window* 191. Bowman was already considering returning to Egypt, depending how much money he was offered. "Mesopotamia Administration Personnel, February 25, 1920," IOR L PS 10 517, BL.
[38]

Bowman's aim, in Egypt, the Sudan, Iraq, then in Palestine was education for control: to prevent the "village boy" from becoming urbanized, educated and subsequently "unemployed or unemployable" [39] and therefore prey to nationalism. The first report of Iraq's Department of Education, written by Bowman in 1918, explicitly speaks to British officials' fear of a repetition of their experiences in India.

Tea party on the roof of the Saray to inaugurate the Department of Education. Baghdad, 1918.[40]

The report notes, "The department is fully alive to the danger of creating a class of semi educated babus [41] by the universal introduction of English throughout the country, and there is no fear of this being attempted." This report further argues for the need to restrict secondary education and only to teach as much English language as required by the demands of the population and as demonstrated by petitions for schooling and enrollment at government schools. [42] Another officer, commenting on Educational Policy in Mesopotamia in October of 1919 noted the Department of Education's intention to restrict secondary education explicitly in order to prevent graduates from forming a "discontented and partially educated class of people…for whom there are no prospects of useful employment, and no opportunities of securing a higher education." [43]

[39] "Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1930" *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948: Volume 3, 1929-1931*, 16 vols. (Slough, England: Archive Editions, 1995).65.

[40] Humphrey Bowman. *Tea Party on the Roof of the Saray to Inaugurate the Department of Education*. Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, UK. Hearafter MECA. Humphrey Bowman Collection, GB165-0034, Alb2-049, 1918.

[41] The word babu had meant "mister" in a respectful way, or more specifically office worker. Around the turn of the 20th century it came to have a derogatory connotation, defining Indian English-speaking clerks and bureaucrats who imitated British mannerisms. Shompa Lahiri, *Indians in Britain : Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880-1930* (London: Frank Cass, 2000). 92-95

[42] H.E. Bowman. "Department of Education, Annual Report 1918, 20 of January, 1919." 98

[43] A. Boyd Carpenter, "Observations on Educational Policy in Mesopotamia, October 19, 1919," IOR/LP/S/10 1454/19/1920/23, BL.

Local observers, too, could plainly see connections to India and Egypt, the colonial nature of schooling, and the emphasis on elementary rather than secondary education. Jafar al-Askari, twice prime minster of Iraq, wrote that Iraq's first civil commissioner claimed "not a single individual could be found among the entire Iraqi population suitably qualified for the administration of the country…" al-Askari countered by describing the "many Iraqis who had distinguished themselves in administration, politics and the army in the various Arab countries," which included Syria and Transjordan. When his own request, as an educated and well trained Iraqi to enter the country was denied, he claimed this was due to the "administrative methods applied in Iraq combined with the mentality and ambitions of a government of India officials who were clearly bent on the annexation of Iraq to India as a colony." [44] In his memoirs, Sati al-Husri, who would take the reins of education in Iraq in 1923, thought it was obvious that the educational system the British imposed in Iraq was not only "inspired" by that of Egypt, but in fact "imported" wholesale, partially because Bowman had worked for a considerable period of time in Egypt. Husri further complained that that the system of education in Egypt, particularly in terms of elementary education "was born in very bad historical and political circumstances." [45] Similarly, Abdul Latif Tibawi, an inspector of education in the Mandate for Palestine, noted that the British, particularly during the military and early Mandate administrations, chose their educational policy based on Ottoman norms and British policies in Egypt. Tibawi criticized the idea of elementary schooling being four years in duration and that this was sufficient to provide permanent literacy. He cynically commented that "Students of education will not fail to detect here another typical attempt to elevate administrative practice to the dignity of educational principle." [46]

Early local criticisms of British educational policy in Iraq also included the words of Yasin al-Hashimi, who would be prime minister in 1925 and again in 1936. [47] In 1919, al-Hashimi complained to Gertrude Bell that the British emphasis on elementary education might possibly lead to the production of "good farmers and good engineers but in fifty years' time we shall be no further forward in obtaining a class of highly educated men fit to take over the government of the country." [48] al-Hashimi's criticisms highlighted British efforts to limit higher education, preventing the production of an educated unemployed but also, as al-Hashimi explained, of educated leaders. The following section will discuss the way colonial policies were adapted to the Mandate areas, their coincidence with Ottoman policies and the opportunities these policies afforded local educators and administrators due to the dearth of educated persons that local individuals, like al-Hashimi lamented.

Military to Mandate: Local Opportunities

British reliance on the examples of India and Egypt not only coincided with many Ottoman era educational policies but also allowed for considerable local participation and even control of government schooling. Despite the disparate territories of Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan, their

[44] Ja'far Askari, William Facey, Safwat Najdat Fathi, *A Soldier's Story : From Ottoman Rule to Independent Iraq : The Memoirs of Jafar Pasha Al-Askari (1885-1936)* (London: Arabian Pub., 2003). 174-176
[45] Abu Khaldun Sati Husri, *Mudhakkirati Fi Al-`Iraq 1921-1941* (Bayrut: Dar al-Tali`ah, 1967). 108
[46] Tibawi. 223-224
[47] Peter Wien, "The Long and Intridcate Funeral of Yasin Al-Hashimi: Pan-Arabism, Civil Religion, and Popular Nationalism in Damascus 1937 " *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 02 (2011).276
[48] Gertrude Bell, "Thurs. Oct. 9. , 9 October 1919," Gertrude Bell Diaries, Gertrude Bell Archive, University Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq : Contriving King and Country*, Library of Middle East History, V. 12 (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007). 32

diverse populations, and the unanswered questions of how these areas were to be governed, and who was to govern them, British objectives regarding education remained nearly constant. As demonstrated in the previous section, secondary schools as well as teacher training institutions would be limited to those which had existed under the Ottoman regime. The budget for education was minimal.

In the interests of economy, British officials tolerated and even encouraged local funding and participation in building schools and hiring teachers. For example, government schools in Iraq in 1919 were all to be funded by municipal funds collected by local rather than British officials. [49] In Palestine, the British military administration urged local committees that had begun during the Ottoman era to try to raise funds for schools, and to help villages to provide appropriate buildings in which schools could be opened. [50] British administrations hoped eventually to offer elementary schools to "the whole population," an echo of the compulsory and gratis schooling the overly optimistic Ottoman 1913 law had stipulated. [51] However, throughout the military and into the Mandate administrations, secondary schooling was limited almost exclusively to the training of teachers, and the creation of a scant number of clerks to staff the government bureaucracy. This limitation granted teachers and clerks room to promote individual agendas and allegiance not merely to the Mandate governments but to regional, religious and local affiliations.

When British forces entered formerly Ottoman villages, towns and cities, they sought to portray themselves as liberators, promoting stability, and a new future. Upon arriving in the areas that would become Britain's Mandates, British military leaders perceived that local appetites for both education and self-government had been whetted by pre war promises, and that the lack of schools was causing "great dissatisfaction among the population in general." [52] The British assumed responsibility for public education as they took over the duties of the Ottoman government as required by the Hague conventions regarding military occupation. This tactic also constituted a carrot in contrast to the stick of martial law and control over defeated territories. Schools which had been classified as government schools during the Ottoman administration became the direct responsibility of the British, while schools deemed private or foreign under the Ottomans likewise continued as non-government schools. This structure perpetuated the relative autonomy granted to schools run by foreign missions and religious minorities including schools controlled and funded by the Zionist executive in the Mandate for Palestine. [53]The only real departure from the Ottoman system of schooling was the substitution of Arabic rather than Turkish as the language of instruction. [54] In Palestine, the glaring shortage of teachers was to be alleviated by two teacher training colleges, one for male and one for female teachers which were opened in Jerusalem. These were the only government-sponsored institutes of secondary education in Palestine.

Khalil al-Sakakini was soon tapped by the British as one of the most suitable individuals to run the Teacher Training College in Palestine. Al-Sakakini, as we saw in the last chapter, had

[49] "Mesopotamia Administration Report, Kirkuk Division, IOR L/PS10/621, April 19, 1920," BL.
[50] Tibawi. 25
[51] "First Meeting of the Advisory Council," IOR/L/PS/11/180, P 7965/1920. BL. 15
[52] "Third Meeting of the Advisory Council," IOR/L/PS/11/180, P 7965/1920. BL. 16
[53] Government of Palestine, "Palestine: Report of the High Commissioner on the Administration of Palestine, 1920-1925," (London 1926). 13
[54] Palestine Royal Commission. Memorandum. 27

already begun to play an important role in the educational life of Palestine and beyond, through his work as an inspector of education for the Ottoman government and as founder of a private school, unique in its prohibition on corporal punishment. Al-Sakakini had no illusions that the British government's goals for education were as lofty as his own, nor did he agree with their selection process or standards. After discussing plans for opening the College with Major Tadman he wrote in his diary, "there is no doubt that the government founded the teachers college firstly to produce teachers able to undertake the job of education, and secondly because the government believes that this method will not cost very much." [55] al-Sakakini fully understood the British policy of producing only enough teachers to staff the government run system of schools, precluding the growth of overeducated unemployed to rebel against British rule. [56] Indeed, the Annual Report of the Department of Education three years later noted that the training college "was never intended, in its present stage of development, to cope with more than the training of teachers for elementary schools…"[57] The Men's Teacher Training College represented the apex of the government sponsored public school system in Palestine. Yet, it was devoted merely to supplying teachers that would then perpetuate the existing system of education.

Al-Sakakini's criticisms of the original British plan for the college extended to the limitations of its curriculum. He sought to remedy the defects he cited in any way he could. In a meeting with the Assistant to the Director of Education, Major Legge, al-Sakakini made his case for the creation of a teacher who would be a renaissance man. Al-Sakakini suggested music and singing be added to the curriculum and offered himself as a teacher if one qualified could not be found. He also recommended "that we teach natural philosophy and metaphysics" and gave Major Legge a list of the equipment necessary for both this class and for sports. At this point Major Legge seemed positive and receptive to al-Sakakini's ideas. [58] The prescribed course of education during al-Sakakini's time at the college focused merely on the subjects taught in the elementary school syllabus, and "a smattering of the theory and practice of education." [59] However, al-Sakakini modified the curriculum to the extent that he could without the support of the British military administration. Al-Sakakini had his students writing and publishing a newspaper, disciplining their peers, and managing the household budget of the college including funds allotted for sporting equipment. [60] His passion for physical education paralleled the British tradition of games. Thus, sports and physical education formed an integral part of the curriculum. [61]

Al-Sakakini's process of resignation from his post at the teachers' college points to the bargaining power teachers could command, its limitations, and the ability of educators to move in and out of government service throughout the Mandates. Al-Sakakini remained principal of the college for only a year, resigning not because he could not teach what he wanted but because he refused to serve a government he felt was acting unfairly (and because he had another, more

[55] Ibid.205

[56] The amount of money the Mandatory Government devoted to education remained a point of contention throughout the Mandate period and beyond. For a table of percentage government expenditure for the Mandate years see Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration*.273-4

[57] Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1923* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1923). 11

[58]Sakakini, *Yawmiyat Khalil Al-Sakakini : Yawmiyat, Rasail Wa-Taammulat.*206

[59] Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration*.50

[60] al-Sakakini, *Yawmiyat Khalil Al-Sakakini : Yawmiyat, Rasail Wa-Taammulat. "Ikhtibār" Al-Intidāb Wa-As'ilat Al-Huwīyah*.207

[61] Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Elementary School Syllabus* (Jerusalem 1925).

financially and politically palatable alternative). Al-Sakakini actually tendered his resignation twice. The first time was in response to "differences" between al-Sakakini and Major Tadman. He was able to negotiate with Tadman in person in order to have some of his grievances (which are not specifically mentioned) addressed, and he agreed to continue as principal. [62] The second time, in 1920, there was no going back. Al-Sakakini resigned to protest the appointment of Herbert Samuel, an English Jew and Zionist, as high commissioner of Palestine. [63]

In his final interview with Sir Ronald Storrs, the military governor of Jerusalem, Khalil al-Sakakini silently smoked a cigarette as Storrs tried to convince him to stay. This one on one, personal meeting shows the style of negotiations which characterized the bureaucracy of the Department of Education. al-Sakakini did not merely formally submit his resignation, have it stamped and approved and then, in a timely fashion, vacate his post. Rather, he met with the military governor who sought to negotiate in order to prevent his resignation. This interview demonstrates the personal, haphazard interactions between the British military administration and its employees, which followed Ottoman precedents of negotiation and flexibility. Storrs did not address the topic of al-Sakakini's resignation directly; instead he obliquely asked al-Sakakini to persuade "those who would resign" that they were being careless, but to tell them if they did resign, they would not be allowed to resume their posts as there were many applicants for these positions. Storrs also complained, in this interview, that al-Sakakini had been wandering the country, criticizing the lack of development of government schools and telling the Arabs they must depend on themselves for education rather than the government. Storrs added, somewhat misguidedly, that Herbert Samuel would act in the interests of the English rather than the Jews. [64] As Storrs observed, al-Sakakini always argued for self sufficiency, for Arabs to control their own education, for schools to "instill in students the spirit of freedom, pride, independence, courage, sincerity, and other such principles that can serve to raise nations from the depths of degeneration and enable them to shake off the semblance of servitude they have worn for generations." [65] Rather than acquiesce to Storrs' speeches which offered him no true guarantee of British goodwill or impartiality, al-Sakakini left Storrs' office without a word. Shaking off any "semblance of servitude," al-Sakakini asserted his independence and refused to compromise his principles any further. The fact that he already had an offer to work at the Arabic language primary school attached to the Syrian Orthodox University in Egypt, with a salary five pounds higher than his current wage also enabled him to leave. [66]

Al-Sakakini's experiences with both the military administration and the department of education show the limits of individual initiative even within the loosely controlled framework of the system of education. Pedagogical control such as al-Sakakini was able to employ in the men's teacher's college did not correspond to direct control over the military system of education, or to the erasure of the Zionist project in Palestine. al-Sakakini could not force the British military government to require music as part of its syllabus or to forbid corporal punishment, although he could enforce these policies in the institution he headed. Moreover, he could not convince the

[62] al-Sakakini, *Yawmiyat Khalil Al-Sakakini : Yawmiyat, Rasail Wa-Taammulat. "Ikhtibār" Al-Intidāb Wa-As'ilat Al-Huwīyah*.207-208
[63] Ibid.223-224.
[64] Ibid.224-225
[65] al-Sakakini, quoted in Segev, *One Palestine, Complete : Jews and Arabs under the Mandate*.145
[66] al-Sakakini, *Yawmiyat Khalil Al-Sakakini : Yawmiyat, Rasail Wa-Taammulat. "Ikhtibār" Al-Intidāb Wa-As'ilat Al-Huwīyah*.223

government to sack its head, the high commissioner, and to end its support of the Zionist project in Palestine. al-Sakakini's resignation constituted a particular gesture on the part of one civil servant of the British administration; it did not result in the replacement of Herbert Samuel.

Al-Sakakini's rejection of the Mandate government because it explicitly facilitated Zionism paralleled that of many other Palestinian Arabs who refused to form representative bodies, as that would imply acceptance of the Zionist project embedded in the charter of the Mandate Government itself. [67] Yet, these individuals including al-Sakakini were willing to staff the Mandate bureaucracies; al-Sakakini would work as a government inspector of education for over a decade beginning in 1926, after Herbert Samuel was replaced as High Commissioner. [68] As an inspector, al-Sakakini wrote not only the grammar textbooks used throughout the Mandates, but also political articles in various journals. Moreover, despite later assertions that al-Sakakini was fundamentally an Arab Palestinian nationalist, his diary provides glimpses into a more varied point of view. For example, he notes "And what is nationalism? If nationalism means that the human must be healthy in the body, strong, energetic, straight-minded, of noble values, affable, and kind, then I am a nationalist. But if nationalism means favoring one ideology over another, or contradicting one's brother if he is not from one's country or ideology, then I am not a nationalist." [69] For al-Sakakini, promoting the Arabic language and protesting Zionist claims did not imply nationalism as it is defined today; his concerns were broader and more humanistic.

Educational and political policies were stricter during the military and Mandate periods in Palestine than Iraq, as Iraq turned out to be trickier for the British to manage, due to its larger territory, more diverse population, and more effective resistance. Moreover, the greater prevalence of government institutions of higher education, both civilian and military during the Ottoman period meant that the British were forced to open more schools beyond an elementary level. Indian Army forces first conquered Basra in November of 1914. At the American Mission School in Basra, Principal John Van Ess noted that with the introduction of British forces, their school saw an upsurge in popularity due to the desire on the part of the local population to learn English as the new language of governance in the region. Van Ess also highlighted his prominent role in reorganizing the government system of education as Ottoman governors had fled or were imprisoned. The British relied upon Van Ess to help them manage schooling and to find any individuals qualified to serve. In fact, Van Ess and the military administration were forced into "combing the prison ships and camps" in order to find sufficient teachers to staff four schools in the city. [70]

In March 1917, the British occupied Baghdad, followed by Mosul in October 1918. [71] By 1920, the British military administration in Iraq had begun to tout its efforts in educating the Iraqi population, denigrating Ottoman contributions while encouraging local cooperation. The military

[67] Khalidi, *The Iron Cage : The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. 33-35
[68] Government of Palestine, *Civil Service List 1938 : (Revised to the 1st January, 1938)* (Jerusalem: 1938).
[69] al-Sakakini, 1917 quoted in Nadim Bawalsa, "Sakakini Defrocked," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 42, (Summer 2010).
[70] Dorothy Van Ess, ""Pioneers in the Arab World" Revised Draft, 1966-1975," Dorothy Van Ess Papers, 78-M124, folder 32. SL.2
[71] Priya Satia, "Developing Iraq: Britain, India and the Redemption of Empire and Technology in the First World War " *Past and Present* 197, no. 1 (2007). 212

administration tended to blame lack of schooling, especially elementary schools, on Ottoman neglect, the war, or a lack of qualified teachers.

There was great demand for education, despite poor conditions of schools and the scant quantity of teachers. In Erbil in 1919, the assistant political officer asserted that "The people of Erbil are suddenly showing great enthusiasm for education, but there is no bread with which to feed the multitude. The school buildings and furniture are entirely inadequate, and the schoolmasters according to the DDE's report are hopelessly incompetent." [72]

Pupils and teachers assembled outside their school, Suq al-Shuyukh, 1918. [73]

A report on Kirkuk described the progress in schooling from 1919 through 1920 as considerable, emphasizing the population's desire to learn English as well as the fear on the part of the military administration of actually having English taught in government schools. [74] Although reports would underscore the role of the military administration in the reconstruction of government education in Iraq, British efforts were almost totally dependent on local initiative, albeit with British inspection and constant criticism. No new schools were opened, and many institutions that had functioned during the Ottoman administration remained shut.

Humphrey Bowman, as the Director of the Education Department under the military administration in Iraq, described their overarching policy as "to lay the foundations of a sound

[72] Captain WH Hay, Assistant Political Officer, Erbil, "Mesopotamia Administration Report, Erbil Division 1919, , August, 1919," IOR L/PS/10/612, BL.
[73] Humphrey Bowman. *Pupils and teachers assembled outside their school*. MECA. Humphrey Bowman Collection, GB165-0034, Alb2-067, 1918.
[74] The report states that "At all schools a great avidity to learn English has been evinced and no doubt numbers could still be materially raised by the provision of English masters but the desirability of such a step is very questionable. No particularly bad masters have been located and two or three must be considered of more than average merit." "Mesopotamia Administration Report, Kirkuk Division 1919, , 1920," IOR L/PS/10/612, BL.

elementary and primary education throughout the occupied territories based on linguistic instruction in Arabic. It was obvious that to open secondary and higher schools before preparing the material to fill them would have been to follow the Turkish method…." However, Bowman also grudgingly noted the need for "clerks with knowledge of English" to staff the growing bureaucracy in the region and the high cost of British, Indian and Egyptian employees. The best solution, according to the department, was to require teaching of English in primary rather than elementary schools, only in urban areas. [75] British policymakers feared that if English and secondary schooling spread to the countryside, it would create, as Bowman constantly reiterated, a discontented and newly urbanized unemployed. Similarly in the wilayat or district of Basrah, education was purposefully retarded, rather than, as the revenue officer put it, saturating "the wilayat with partly trained and partly immoral so called muallimin (teachers) to show a fine educational system on paper." [76]Instead, schools were only opened when absolutely necessary due to local demand. Teachers had to be moral men, academically qualified at least on a basic level, and "physically fit." Only 21 teachers were in fact hired in Basrah. However, both Gertrude Bell and the education officer emphasized the better quality of these teachers in comparison with those under the Ottoman regime, stating that Ottoman era teachers "were men of very bad moral character and the schools were hot-beds of vice to which respectable Arabs hesitated to send their boys." [77] While this report argued that the limitations on the number of teachers was for reasons of quality rather than cost, education ranged from 3.3% of the overall budget for Iraq in 1920-21, 4.1 and 4.0% in 1922 and 1923 respectively. [78]

By the waning days of 1917, it became clear that the United States and Wilson's principles of self determination and antipathy towards annexation as peace conditions would restrict British aims in the region, preventing them from, as al-Askari had asserted, turning Iraq into a Crown Colony. [79] Instead, the British claimed Palestine, Iraq and later Transjordan were to become Mandates under British control. A Mandate was a temporary form of government meant to ease the transition from empire to nation.[80] All three regions, essentially newly created conglomerations of smaller Ottoman territorial divisions, were class A mandates, requiring a finite but undefined period of foreign "advice and assistance." Hence according to international law, Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan, after a period of British tutelage, would emerge as modern, independent nation states whose subjects would conduct themselves as civilized citizens of not only their new nations but of the world. This form of governance would prevent other powers from gaining a foothold in the region, pacify American wishes and, it was hoped, mollify the local population. Popular

[75] H.E. Bowman. "Department of Education, Annual Report 1918, 20 of January, 1919." 104-105

[76] Sg. A.L. Gordon, "Education, 1918." *Iraq Administration Reports, 1914-1932, Volume 1 1914-1918*. (Slough, 1992), 25

[77] Gertrude Bell," Educational measures in the occupied territories of lower Mesopotamia", In *Records of Iraq, Volume 1 1914-1918*, edited by A. de L. Rush and Jane Priestland, (Slough, 2001.) 8, Sg. A.L. Gordon, "Education, 1918." *Iraq Administration Reports, 1914-1932, Volume 1 1914-1918*. (Slough, 1992), 25

[78] Colonial Office Great Britain, "Special Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Progress of 'Iraq During the Period 1920-1931", H.M.S.O. http://www.llmcdigital.org/default.aspx?redir=98096.231(Accessed May 14, 2015)

[79] James Renton, "Changing Languages of Empire and the Orient: Britain and the Invention of the Middle East, 1917-1918," *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 3 (September, 2007). 650

[80]Their inhabitants, deemed "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" should be cared for, taught and civilized by "advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility…"*The Covenant of the League of Nations*. Champaign, Ill: Project Gutenberg, n.d. *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCO*host* (accessed April 5, 2015).

revolts took place in Palestine and Iraq in 1920, while in Transjordan the ill defined central government had little control of most of the country. By 1921, the British determined that both Iraq and Transjordan were too difficult to govern directly and set up Hashemite kingdoms, supported and generally controlled by British advisors and other officials. Although the amount of British supervision of schooling varied greatly between the three Mandates, British policies tended to explicitly rely on the initiative of local teachers, and to presume a loose if centralized level of control.

Transjordan, both educationally and politically was frequently a bit of an afterthought for British policymakers. During the Ottoman period, the area that would become Transjordan was variously part of Palestine, the Northern Hijaz and Southern Syria. [81] Faysal, who would later govern Iraq, held brief sway in an Arab kingdom centered in Damascus which included Transjordan, although it was loosely governed and by July 1920 was no longer under his control. Instead, leaders enmeshed in networks of local and tribal affiliations ruled the area. British forces' main initial objective in Transjordan to prevent the French from making inroads into British spheres of influence. In Transjordan, British officials planned to rule in a more indirect form, relying upon a very limited British force while setting up local institutions of governance; essentially individual "independent" local governorates in the major cities. [82] However, this strategy failed as some tribes refused to recognize the governorates' authority, to the extent of taking over government institutions and imprisoning local authorities. British officers required backup, taken from the force occupying Palestine, in order to attempt to keep this system of governance in place. Simultaneously, the French complained of tribal raids in Syria and threatened to invade, eroding British influence further. [83] In 1920, when Amir Abdullah, soon to be the king of Transjordan entered the area, he claimed to be fighting the French to regain control of Syria, not to create a brand new polity.[84]

In the region that would become Transjordan, the British granted Abdullah a trial period as ruler, with a cabinet of elected officials, in order to preserve their interests in the region as cheaply as possible. Educationally and administratively, this region was initially part of Palestine. From 1922-1924, Abdullah sought to increase the government's role in schooling; however, his budget was extremely limited, in part by his own extravagances. Transjordan was not legally separated from Palestine until May 25, 1923, and its borders were not fixed until 1925. [85] By 1924, when the British consolidated their administrative control over Abdullah's finances and the Mandate for Transjordan, education was determined to be one of the lowest priorities, in terms of funding as well as oversight. [86] Virtually the only well-educated cadre in Transjordan in the 1920s

[81] Massad.27

[82]Michael R. Fischbach, *State, Society, and Land in Jordan* (Boston: Brill, 2000). 65

[83] Alon.35

[84]During the late Ottoman Empire, the area that became Transjordan had been an elaborate network of tribal affiliations; during World War I certain districts experienced a degree of independence in the short-lived, Hashemite-run Kingdom of Syria Yoav Alon, "The Tribal System in the Face of the State-Formation Process: Mandatory Transjordan, 1921-46," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 2 (2005). 216 Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire : Transjordan, 1850-1921* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). 20

[85] Betty S. Anderson, *Nationalist Voices in Jordan : The Street and the State* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005).41

[86] Alon. *The Making of Jordan : Tribes, Colonialism and the Modern State*. 136

was made up of former officials and associates from Faysal's Arab kingdom in Syria. [87] From 1921-1929 all but two ministers serving in the Transjordanian Cabinet were from this group. [88]

In 1920, extremely costly revolts led British policy makers to conclude that Iraq was to be put on a quick road to a semblance of independence. British officials cast around for departments to relinquish to local jurisdiction and settled on education. [89] From 1923 on, "no administrative order" was "given by a British official in the Ministry of Education." [90] Instead, the British and the newly installed monarch King Faisal hired Sati al-Husri to be the Director of the Department of Education. Al-Husri was an Ottoman Arab pedagogue who sought to impose a very uniform, politically driven curriculum on the entire country in order to promote a Pan-Arab identity.[91] Although increasingly marginalized and disgruntled British officials remained in an advisory capacity, the battle for control over schooling shifted. Competing local factions under watchful and increasingly discomfited British supervision fought over how much and what type of schooling to implement. With the substitution of Iraqi rather than British officials, the budget for education also increased, from 4.0% of the budget in 1923 to 4.59% in 1924 and 4.43% in 1925, although this was an increase in absolute terms from 22,13 lakhs of rupees to 23,48 lakhs of rupees. By 1930, education constituted 7.51% of the total budget, and 40,00 lakhs of rupees overall. [92]

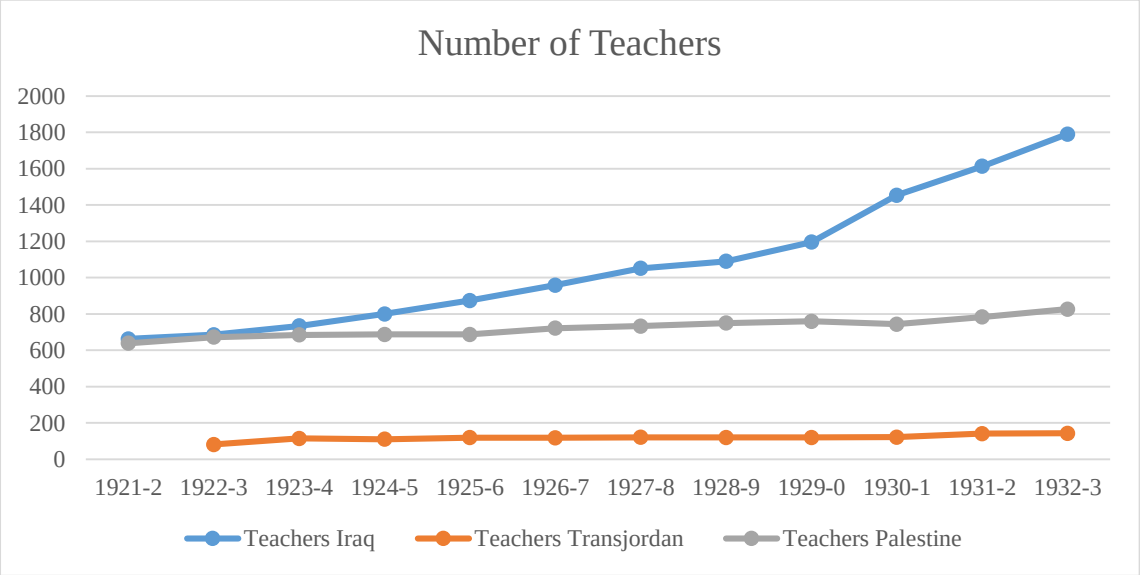
Palestine would experience the greatest degree of British control over education, as British colonial officials staffed the top echelons of the educational bureaucracy allegedly in order to preclude complaints of bias on the part of either the Jewish or Arab communities. Funding for education in the Mandate for Palestine included funding for the Jewish community as well as missionary and foreign institutions in the form of grants-in-aid. In 1920-21 the total education budget was approximately 78,000 Egyptian pounds, or $312,000 American dollars at the time. By 1925-26, education constituted 4.96% of the total budget, or approximately $405,568. By 1931, the amount was raised to a total of 6.19% of the total budget and $587,952. However, 25% of these amounts were earmarked for Jewish education. [93] The Balfour declaration, published on November 2, 1917 and incorporated into the charter of the Mandate for Palestine, meant that the British were required to favor the development of a Jewish national home in Palestine, without any actions that would "prejudice" the civil rights of its other inhabitants. [94] The British did not resolve this dilemma of having to facilitate the founding of one nation within another, postponing independence for Arab Palestinians indefinitely. The Arab Palestinian population rejected the Zionist project contained in the text of the Mandate and, therefore, refused to form cabinets like their Iraqi and Transjordanian counterparts. Yet, the Mandate government employed Arab Palestinians as civil servants. They represented Mandate authority even though they frequently

[87] Noel Joseph Guckian, "British Relations with Trans-Jordan, 1920-1930" (Aberystwyth University, 1985). 64
[88] Anderson. 43
[89] The series of uprisings which took place between June and November of 1920 ended up requiring the British to deploy approximately 65,000 soldiers, spending one hundred million pounds overall. Abbas K. Kadhim, *Reclaiming Iraq : The 1920 Revolution and the Founding of the Modern State* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012). 1
[90] Great Britain. Colonial Office, *Special Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Progress of 'Iraq During the Period 1920-1931* (London: H.M.S.O, 1931). 224
[91] William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist : Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati'al-Husri* (Princeton, New Jersey: Pinceton University Press, 1971). 62-64
[92] Great Britain. 231
[93] Matthews et al. 222
[94] The Council of the League of Nations, *Mandate for Palestine* July 24, 1922. C. 529. M. 314. 1922. VI.

worked at cross-purposes to the charter of the Mandate itself. The following section will describe the first set of educators grudgingly employed by the British in all three Mandates, and how they were able to exploit the opportunities granted to them by the restrictions on education.

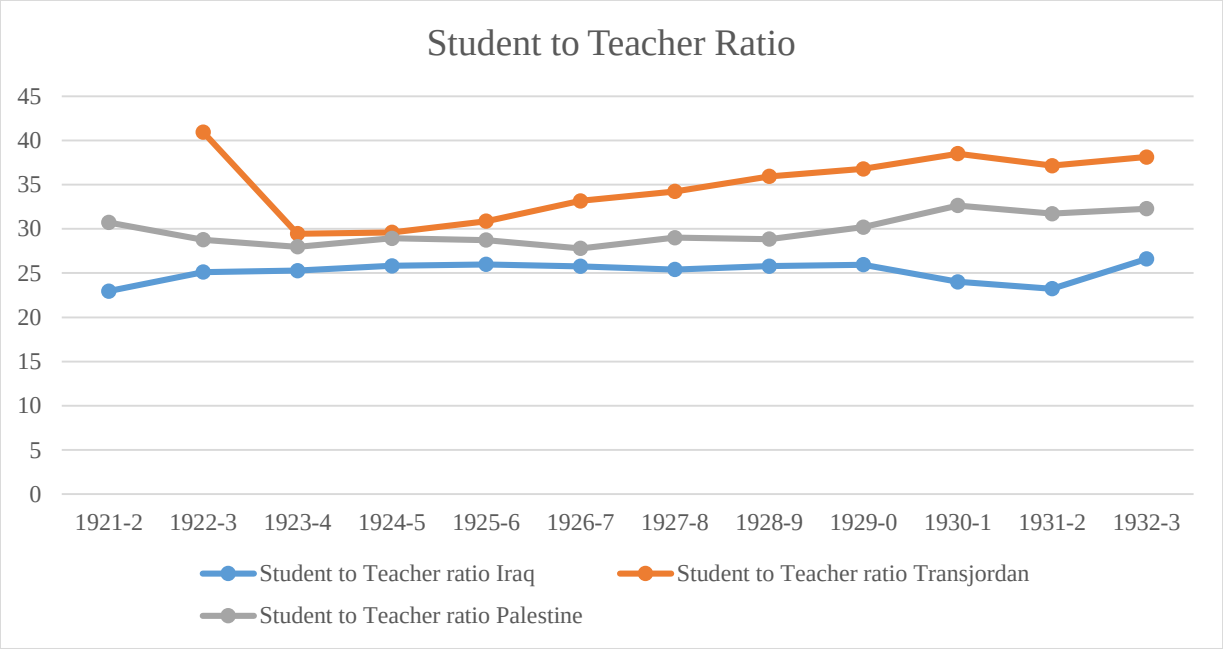
The first generation of teachers: 1920-1932

The limited number of teachers in the early years of the Mandates possessed a wide variety of qualifications but frequently similar tactics of dealing with the Mandate as with the Ottoman administration. The different degrees of British control over each school system are clearly reflected in the number of schools and proportion of elementary to secondary schools. However, regardless of the degree of British restrictions on schooling, the number of teachers in the government schools generally remained in the hundreds throughout the first decade of Mandatory control. The chart below demonstrates the increasing number of teachers in each Mandate.[95]



From the chart above it is clear that the number of teachers in Palestine and Transjordan barely increased during the first decade of the Mandate period. On the other hand, in Iraq the number of teachers increased particularly after 1923, when non-British officials gained a greater degree of control of the educational system. However, the total number of teachers relative to students remained relatively constant and actually increased over the 1920s as the following chart demonstrates:

[95] These charts are composed from statistics from the following sources: Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1929-30* (Jerusalem, 1930).Table XI, Abd al-Razzaq Hilali and Ayif Habib Khalil Ani, *Tarikh Al-Ta`Lim Fi Al-`Iraq Fi Al-`Ahd Al-Intidab Al-Baritani, 1921-1932* (Baghdad, al-`Iraq: Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa-al-I`lam, Dar al-Shuun al-Thaqafiyah al-`Ammah, "Afaq `Arabiyah", 2000).106, Philip Willard Ireland, *Iraq : A Study in Political Development* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2009). 126, Ahmad Yousef al-Tall, *Education in Jordan : Being a Survey of the Political, Economic and Social Conditions Affecting the Development of the System on Education in Jordan, 1921-1977* (Islamabad, Pakistan: National Book Foundation, 1979). 40, Matthews et al.140, 236



In Transjordan, there was a significant drop in the student to teacher ratio after the first year of the Mandate due to the employment of 34 new teachers. After 1923, the ratio of teachers to students in Transjordan, like that of Iraq and Palestine remained relatively constant, increasing slightly over the course of the decade. In essence, teachers remained just as in demand in the early 1920s as they did in the early 1930s.

The demographics of teachers, their educational backgrounds and points of view were widely varied. Yet, they tended to use their region-wide scarcity to seek employment with various governments and to rise through the ranks of the civil service. For example, Hussein Ruhi would be described by his employer as "A fair though not profound Arabist, and a better agent than scholar." [96] In 1915, Hussein Ruhi was busily translating, with profound consequences, the Husayn-McMahon correspondence, which promised, vaguely, an Arab kingdom to the Hashemite dynasty that was soon to lead the Arab revolt. Ruhi, born in Egypt in 1878, grew up in Persia after the death of his father, and received some schooling in Chicago as part of a Bahai mission to that city. Upon his return, Ruhi taught English in Cairo at a variety of schools, and published a bi-weekly magazine which promoted the Bahai religion. He even founded two schools, one for boys and one for girls, which closed at the end of the First World War. [97] During the war, he worked as a secretary and translator to Ronald Storrs, the British Oriental Secretary then living in Cairo; however he is also listed as "confidential secretary to the British Agency Jeddah." [98]

[96] Ronald Storrs, *Orientations* (London: Nicholson & Watson, 1943).154, Elie Kedourie, *In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth : The Mcmahon-Husayn Correspondence and Its Interpretations, 1914-1939* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976). 100

[97] Ali Ruhi, "Obituary: Husayn Ruhi," *The Bahái world : an international record* 13, no. B (1960).938-939,

[98] Sg. Reginald Singate, "To the Secretary of the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, Simla November 28 1917," IOR/L/PS/11/129, P 5015/1917, BL.

Photograph of Hussein Ruhi (second from left) with Emir Abdullah bin Husain al-Hashimi(the first king of Transjordan). October 1916. [99]

After his work in translation, including the McMahon correspondence to the Sharif of Mecca, he was awarded 100 pounds in lieu of a title, which was feared would preclude him from ever working again secretly on behalf of the British Government (specifically of India). In 1920 he was appointed an Inspector with the Department of Education in Jerusalem. [100] This former servant of the British government, whose English was derided as was his colloquial rather than scholarly Arabic, joined the varied ranks of the newly minted employees of the Departments of Education in the areas that would soon become the Mandates. Ruhi's rather unique career demonstrates the variety of experiences government educators' possessed, but also points to the prevalence of sudden transnationalism. Although his citizenship could be pinned down at any given time, his nationality would be harder to determine due to his origins, language skills, and experiences.

[99] Storrs, Ronald Henry Amherst. *"Suleiman Qabil, Hussein Ruhi, Emir Abdulla Bin Husain Al-Hashimi, Sheikh Abdullah Ba Naji at Jidda."*. London: The Imperial War Museum, October, 1916.
[100] Government of Palestine, *Civil Service List, (Staff List of the Government of Palestine) 1939* (Jerusalem, 1932-46: 1939).

In Palestine, Ruhi's colleagues would include luminaries such as George Antonius, future Arab nationalist historian and intellectual, originally born in Lebanon who graduated with a degree in Mechanical Engineering from Cambridge, and less well documented individuals whose names include the titles Shaykh, Effendi as well as Miss and Haj.

George Antonius. [101]

[101] Khalidi. *Before Their Diaspora : A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*. 290. "George Antonius", Institute for Palestine Studies http://btd.palestine-studies.org/content/george-antonius. (Accessed May 14, 2015)

The Staff of the Government Secondary Boys' School. Jaffa, 1923. [102]

In the Mandate for Palestine, over 25% of government teachers were Christian, although Christians constituted a little over 10% of the non-Jewish population in Palestine. [103] The proportion of Christian teachers remained constant, as did the proportion of Christians in the Palestinian population overall. [104] In contrast, the administration of the Department of Education included three British officials, only one Muslim, seven Christian and two Jewish administrators. [105] Moreover, there were 1,701 teachers in non government schools, including not only missionary institutions but also those for the Jewish population.[106] The teachers employed in the government schools of the Mandate during the first decade were trained during the Ottoman period and, therefore, their demographics reflect not only the availability of education to different sects during the late Ottoman period but also the fact that the Department continued to rely on these educators throughout the first decade of schooling. Teachers in Palestine, while they were more likely to be from the region, were also generally from urban areas. Out of 109 teachers' personnel files for

[102] Walid Khalidi. *Before Their Diaspora : A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*. 164. "The Staff of the Government Secondary Boys' School, Jaffa, 1923", Institute for Palestine Studies http://btd.palestine-studies.org/content/staff-government-secondary-boys-school. (Accessed May 14, 2015). Salim Katul, a textbook author and AUB graduate is seated in the center.

[103] Gudrun Krämer, *A History of Palestine : From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011). 183

[104] 759,952 Muslims, 90,607 Christians, 175,006 Jews and 9,589 others

[105]In Palestine and Iraq, the British defined educators and education by religion, followed by language.

[106] Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Year 1923* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1923).13, 20, 23,

teachers who taught before 1932, the majority of teachers were born around the turn of the century, a few born between 1890 and 1900 and four who were deemed "old."[107]

A significant portion of Iraqi teachers during the 1920s, were not technically Iraqi. In 1921, the most powerful posts in education were initially given to non-local officials; Arthur Lionel Forester Smith, the Director of Education in Iraq was a 40 year old British educator who had graduated from public school, followed by Oxford, at which he served as tutor and fellow. [108] The Inspector General of Schools was James Somerville, a 1916 graduate of the American University of Beirut; a "Scot brought up in Syria" who would work in Iraq until 1932 at which time he would be transferred to Palestine as a probation officer. [109] The director of the teachers college was an Egyptian; two members of the staff were Syrian. From 1922-1931, the director of the teachers college was also Syrian. In 1931 he was replaced by an Iraqi graduate of the American University of Beirut. In 1921 another educational official in Baghdad was also Egyptian as was a teacher in the Fadhel elementary school near Baghdad. Two teachers at the secondary school of Baghdad were Syrian born. One teacher was technically Persian by nationality; seventeen teachers were defined as Sheikhs. Sati al-Husri, who gained control of Iraq's Ministry of Education in 1923, was born in Yemen to a Syrian father, educated at the government's civil service academy, the *Mulkiye Mektebi* in Istanbul as well as other schools throughout the region, and served as an educator and as a government official during the last years of the Ottoman Empire. By the end of the First World War he was working as the Minister of Education in the short lived independent government of Syria and came with King Faisal to Iraq to shape its schooling system along Arab nationalist lines. [110] Even now Sati al-Husri's nationality is contested: interviews with Iraqis described him as Yemeni, Syrian and Turkish. [111]Similarly, Jibrail Katul, who was employed as a teacher at the newly re-opened teachers college in Baghdad in the early 1920s, was born in Lebanon and had graduated from and taught at the American University of Beirut. [112] At his graduation from AUB, Katul, who graduated with honors, spoke in English on "national progress." [113] However, the nation he belonged to, like that of Ruhi, would prove a fairly slippery concept; after teaching in Beirut and Iraq, Katul worked for many years in Palestine before returning to AUB at the termination of the Mandate, with an MBE and OBE for his service as an educator and administrator. [114]

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[107] "Abdul Majid Khurshid Kafr Kama V.S" Israel State Archive, Jerusalem, hereafter ISA. 1019 4 M, "Hamed Sa'id el-din" ISA 1020 4 M, "Khalaf Sabbagh", ISA 1017 10 M, "Helwa Ismail Abdu" ISA 1019 10 M.

[108] Bowman., 191, St. Antony's College Middle East Centre, Oxford, "Arthur Lionel Forster Smith Collection, Biographical History," http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/mec/MEChandlists/GB165-0266-ALF-Smith-Collection.pdf (Accessed May 14, 2015) Oxford. 1

[109] Bowman.192, *Al-Kulliyah* 15, no 1. November 1928. 26, Government of Palestine, *Civil Service List 1935* (Jerusalem: 1935).

[110] William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist : Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati'al-Husri* (Princeton, New Jersey: Pinceton University Press, 1971).

[111] Interview with Basel S. January 22, 2013. Interview with Abdullah M. February 15, 2013. Interview with Yeheskel Kojaman. February 28, 2013. Interview with Kamal al-Majid. March 3, 2013

[112] Government of Palestine, *Civil Service List 1932* (Jerusalem: 1932). Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections American University of Beirut, "Directory of Aub Faculty Members, Staff Members, and Officers, 1880-, Katul" http://www.aub.edu.lb/cgi-bin/asc-directory.pl?step=detail&l_code=3364. (Accessed February 1, 2012)

[113] *Al-Kulliyah. Special Number 1915*, 6 no 1. 1915. 39

[114] *The Iraq Government Gazette*, April 30, 1921, CO 813 1. NA. 8

In Transjordan, educators were generally in their 20s and had attended school beyond the boundaries of their new country. Of the 306 educators whose employment began before 1932, 111 birthdates are available. Of these, only three were born before 1890. Out of 45 teachers who began their employment during the 1920s, only seven completed their educations in Jordan. The remainder went to schools in Lebanon, Egypt or Syria. They usually attended teachers colleges although one graduated from Al-Azhar. The level of schooling these teachers had achieved ranged from elementary to teachers college or to a few years at a college level. [115] Early educators included Akram al-Rikabi, the principal of the first agricultural school in Jordan, and simultaneously an honorary aid to the Amir Abdullah. He then worked briefly as an inspector of the Shell Company in Egypt, as an inspector general of the Iraqi King Faisal's estate, followed by estate management in Syria, and work for the Department of Agriculture in Baghdad. By 1937, he was appointed the vice principal of the Arab agricultural school in the Mandate for Palestine. [116] A significant number of educators in Transjordan, like those of Iraq, were born beyond its ill defined borders. [117] In the secondary school in al-Salt, Transjordan, educators in the 1920s included a Sorbonne graduate who instilled in his students a love of reading, as well as the local mufti, Sheikh Saleh who taught religion and Arabic. [118] The first female teacher in al-Salt, a Miss Nathimia, was a graduate of the Ottoman *rushidiye* school in Tafileh, a local town. [119] Her peers included Zainab al-Ghunaimeh, born in Irbid, Transjordan whose father worked as both a Kuttab teacher and as a merchant, and whose mother was an educated "social activist from Beirut." Her brothers attended universities in Istanbul and Berlin, becoming pan Ottoman and later pan Arab nationalists while working for the Ministry of Education as director and principal. Zainab and her sister first learned at home and then at the "Dar al-Muallimat" or Teachers College for Women in Damascus. Both Zainab and her sister taught in government schools in the 1920s. [120]

British attempts to restrict higher education were reflected in the scant number of secondary schools in Palestine and Transjordan during the 1920s. In Iraq, where British power to control Iraq's educational policy had waned, there were 3 public secondary schools in 1921, rising to 19 by 1930-31, catering to over 2,000 students.[121] In contrast, through 1928 there were only four secondary schools in Transjordan, concentrated in the three relatively urban areas; al-Salt, Amman, Irbid and Kerak. Al-Salt was the only secondary school which provided a complete four year secondary education, and it could not admit all of those who had already completed the first two years of secondary school. [122] Students were frequently sent to the Arab College of Jerusalem in Palestine, either to be trained as teachers or to receive an academic education. [123] For example, in

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[115] Qism al-Arshīf, Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Ta'līm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah,, (Amman, Jordan: Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Ta'līm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah, 2013). (The Human Resources Department, Archive Section, the Ministry of Education of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.) Hearafter, HRD.

[116] Government of Palestine, *Civil Service List, (Staff List of the Government of Palestine) 1939*.

[117] Muḥammad Ḥasan 'Amāyirah,. *Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta'līm Fī Al-Urdun : Mundhu Awākhir Al-'ahd Al-'uthmānī Wa-Ḥattá 1997*. (Amman: Dār al-Masīrah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī' wa-al-Ṭibā'ah, 1999.) 30

[118] Husni Fariz, quoted in Muhammad Husayn Mahasinah et al., *Madrasat Al-Salt : Sirah Wa-Masirah* ([Al-Karak]: Jami`at Mutah, `Imadat al-Bahth al-`Ilmi wa-al- Dirasat al-`Ulya, 1997).78

[119] Abdallah Abdelaziz Hindawi, "Educational Needs and Program Relevancy in Jordan, 1969" (1969).18

[120] Jacky Sawalha, *Voices : The Pioneering Spirit of Women in Jordan* (Amman: Jordan Ahli Bank, 2012).27

[121] Matthews et al. 142

[122] al-Tall. 57 In 1931 approximately 50 of the 100 students who applied to continue their education at the al-Salt secondary school were denied admission

[123] Lawrence Tal, "Britain and the Jordan Crisis of 1958," *Middle Eastern Studies Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 1 (1995).351.

1927 Prince Nayyif, son of King Abdullah, was sent to the Arab College to receive training in order to, as his father hoped, prepare him for further education in England. However, the principal of the college had extremely high standards, which helped reinforce the intense meritocratic nature of admittance to the college. The principal, Ahmed Sameh Khalidi viewed Nayyif as "ineducable." The boy attended Victoria College in Alexandria rather than England.[124]

The percent of the budget dedicated to education was actually relatively higher in Transjordan than in Iraq or Palestine during the 1920s; however, the total amount spent on education was much smaller. In 1924-25 the budget for education constituted 5.4% of the total budget, peaking at 7.1% in 1928-29 but then dropping to 6.7% in 1930-31. The total budget for education increased from 14,771 Palestinian pounds in 1924-25 to 22,582 in 1928-29 and to 23,482 in 1930-31. [125]

The number of schools in Palestine also increased comparatively slowly, actually declining between 1926 and 1932 from 314 to 308 to 305, even though the number of pupils increased from 19,737 in 1925-26 to 24,288 in 1930-31 and 24,837 in 1931-1932. [126] The population by 1930 was counted at 1,035,154. [127] Syllabi were technically distinct between town and village schools, in an attempt to emphasize school gardens and agriculture in villages and to only teach English in the towns. The Department of Education explicitly sought to avoid too much secondary and liberal education for female Arab Palestinians as well, even faulting missionary schools for "cultivating too much the literary side of education" while "neglecting almost entirely what may be termed the domestic side." [128] Schools varied widely in standards depending on the teacher, the locale and the community. Secondary schools were concentrated in urban areas, and charged a small fee which, as in Egypt, tended to reduce the number of students able to attend. However, the two teachers training colleges initially provided scholarships to nearly all of their students, who were carefully selected based on academic and personal merit. [129] The only complete secondary institution, providing four years beyond the elementary stage, was in fact the men's teacher training college, which by 1927 was renamed the Arab College of Jerusalem. [130] The only government school providing secondary education for girls was the Women's Teacher Training College (the WTC). This limitation on non-missionary secondary schooling for girls meant that the pupils of the college were often divided between bright young girls from the urban middle classes who were contracted to teach, and girls from notable families who funded their daughters' education. [131] Students

[124] Mary C. Wilson, *King Abdullah, Britain, and the Making of Jordan* (New York, N.Y; Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987). 93

[125] Matta Akrawi and A. A. El-Koussy, "Recent Trends in Arab Education," *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Fir Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale de l'Education* 17, no. 2 (1971). 301.

[126] Matthews et al. 236

[127] Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Scholastic Year 1929-1930* (Jerusalem, 1931).5

[128] Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Scholastic Year 1925-1926* (Jerusalem, 1927). 13

[129] Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1941-42* (Jerusalem, 1942). 2

[130] Ibid. 5-6, Mahmud Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," in *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture. Vol. 3, Educational Developments in Muslim World*, ed. Mohamed Taher (New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1997). 211

[131] Ela Greenberg, "Between Hardships and Respect: A Collective Biography of Arab Women Teachers in British-Ruled Palestine," *Hawwa* 6, no. 3 (2008).

seeking more education, and individuals the government sought to educate further in order to provide secondary school teachers, generally attended the American University of Beirut.

Shaykhs, Officers and Excitable Women: Bargaining with the Mandate Administrations

Educators throughout Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan, of diverse educational and social backgrounds, tended to use their scarcity as a bargaining chip in negotiating with the Mandate governments. Their requests included transfers to more desirable locations, increases in pay and often the dismissal or reprimand of their colleagues. These written petitions, which were frequently positively answered, highlight the concerns of educators as well as the departments' need to retain their employees in order to staff the limited schools and bureaucracies of the Mandates. Although the teachers' personnel files of the 1920s for the Mandate for Palestine have no equivalent available for the teachers of Transjordan and Iraq, there are similar accounts of bargaining, while moving easily in and out of government service, be it in education or in the civil service more broadly. These accounts also highlight the complex web of personal and professional relations that persisted through the Mandates.

The personnel file of Judeh Farah Docmac, a young English-speaking Arab Palestinian, indicates not only the Department of Education's reluctance to allow educators to resign, but also the ability of teachers to lobby the government for individual gain. Docmac sought to renegotiate the amount of time and energy a teacher could reasonably be required to put in; however, his desire for a fatter paycheck led him to seek greener pastures. Humphrey Bowman, then Director of Education in Palestine, felt teachers had a more involved role to play in village life than merely giving lessons. Bowman stated that in "addition to his other responsibilities, village welfare was regarded as one of the main duties of the schoolmaster." Welfare, for Bowman meant cleanliness, reduction of pests, improvements in agriculture, and administering eye drops to prevent trachoma, rather than preaching or performing marriage ceremonies. [132] As one can see in the below picture, taken by Bowman, the modern, Western-dressed village teacher was to enlighten but not Europeanize or radicalize his charges.

[132] Bowman, *Middle-East Window*. 371-2

"The School Master and his boys at work in the school garden." Tyreh, 1932.[133]

Teachers in Palestine were expected by the Department of Education to participate in government-sanctioned activities both within and beyond the classroom in order to promote hygiene, physical fitness, order and development. [134] In the case of Docmac, this meant an amount of work he either found overwhelming despite his successes, or insufficient to feed his professional and academic ambitions. Docmac's file demonstrates not only how teachers conceived of their duties but also how mired the Mandate bureaucracy became in local concerns and disputes.

Judeh Farah Docmac was hired at the end of the school year in 1923 to replace a teacher in Zawia Boys School in Safad when his predecessor retired. [135] At a mere 19 years of age, Docmac was the type of young, English speaking teacher the British hoped would succeed in modernizing but not nationalizing the rural youth of Palestine. Docmac was recommended for the yearly increment each year he taught, a sign that he was improving in his performance. Glowing inspectors' reports described him as "noticing all of his students when introducing the lesson" and as "thirsty for knowledge." [136] Docmac himself sought out still more knowledge, asking to be able to take private lessons. [137] Although he was not technically permitted to take time away from his teaching to take advantage of these lessons, Docmac was encouraged to study in his free time and to sit for the Teachers' Higher Certificate exam, which if completed could allow him further increases in salary. [138] By 1927 however, citing ill health and the tiring effects of teaching Docmac

[133] Humphrey Bowman. *Tyreh:- The School Master and his boys at work in the school garden*. Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, UK. Hearafter MECA. Humphrey Bowman Collection, GB165-0034, Alb3-020, 1932.

[134] One teacher was actually severely reprimanded for refusing to attend a course on hygiene held in Nazareth in 1923. Letter District Inspector of Education, Galilee to Director of Education. 19 November 1934. "Sadi Muhammad Shihadeh" ISA 1019 15 M

[135] Letter, Director of Education Jerome Farrell, to the District Inspector of Education Galilee. December 27 1923. "Judeh Farah Docmac" ISA 1010 4 M

[136] Principal of Zawiya School, "Subject: Judeh Effendi Farah " Undated. "Judeh Farah Docmac" ISA 1010 4 M, "Confidential Report on Teaching Staff No. 402/En. Teacher: Judeh Effendi Farah Docmac," ISA 1010 4 M, no. (January 20, 1926).

[137] Judeh Farah Docmac, "To the District Inspector of Education of the Northern District. Subject: Private Lessons with Mr. Samuel " August 12, 1925. "Judeh Farah Docmac" ISA 1010 4 M

[138] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "To the Principal of Zawia School. Subject: Private Lessons of Salah Al Din Abbasi and Judeh Farah Docmac," February 10 1926"Judeh Farah Docmac". ISA 1010 4 M

submitted his resignation. [139] The D.I.E. initially refused his request, urging the teacher to reconsider. [140] Nevertheless, after multiple letters the inspector reluctantly submitted the resignation to the Director of Education, stating that Docmac had given "unsound reasons for his relinquishing the service…but I understood from some of his close relatives that he has found a more attractive post with the Germans in Bethlehem." [141]

The network of relationships surrounding this young teacher's experience in the government schools demonstrates how teachers conceived of their duties, both to teach and to learn. The Director of Education was evidently in contact with not only with Docmac through the more official channels but also unofficially with the teacher's family. This personal contact and apparent lack of professional detachment indicates the importance of village society and kinship networks in the day-to-day affairs of the government schools. Although Docmac clearly had the prospect to rise through the ranks of the educational system, his services could command a higher price than the Mandate government was willing to pay. A framework of local concerns, professional ambitions, and the assumption that the state would function in an intrusive but personalized fashion shaped Docmac's sense of himself as well as that of his District Inspector. The District Inspector considered knowledge of Docmac's personal wishes to be relevant to the Department of Education and also that Docmac, should be reasoned with and accommodated.

Similarly, the teacher Muhieddin Haj 'Isa provides a clear example of the precedence personal ties and subjective views of teaching took over professionalism and impartiality in the interactions between teachers and the Department of Education in Palestine. 'Isa worked as the headmaster of Zawia and then of the nearby Sawawin school (both located in Safad). He caused numerous headaches for the District Inspector of the Galilee as well as the Director of Education himself. The first indication that 'Isa had a different sense of the duties and professional boundaries entailed by his post occurred a scant six months after his transfer to Sawawin. 'Isa was accused by the Mufti of Safad of interfering in the elections for the Supreme Muslim Election Council. [142] Muhieddin Haj 'Isa claimed he had not "induced" anyone to vote for his relative whose party constituted "a rival" to the Mufti's faction. Indeed 'Isa pointed out, "rightly" in the eyes of the District Inspector of the Galilee, "that he considers himself at liberty to elect whomever he thinks suitable, and preferably a relation of his against any other strange candidate." [143] The charges against the teacher were dropped, but the elections themselves were annulled due to "irregularities"

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[139] Judeh Farah Docmac, "To the District Inspector of Education for the Galilee: Cc the Principal of Zawia Secondary School," November 20 1927. "Judeh Farah Docmac" ISA 1010 4 M

[140] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "To Mr. Judeh Farah Docmac Cc: The Principal of the Zawia Secondary School," November 26 1927. "Judeh Farah Docmac" ISA 1010 4 M

[141] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "To the Director of Education, Jerusalem. Subject: Judeh Farah Docmac, Zawia Boys' School, Safad. Reference: Attached Letter of Resignation.." 1927 "Judeh Farah Docmac" ISA 1010 4 M

[142]The Supreme Muslim Council (a British innovation) oversaw the "administration and supervision of Muslim religious endowments, proposing candidates for Qadis (judges) in the Sharia (Muslim religious) courts; appointment of Muftis, appointment-and dismissal, if needed of all Waqf property; and introducing changes in the management of the religious endowments." Moshe Hirsch and others, *Whither Jerusalem? : Proposals and Positions Concerning the Future of Jerusalem*(The Hague; Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 1995).166

[143] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "To the Director of Education, Jerusalem. Subject: Interference by Teachers in the Moslem's Elections. Reference: You 801/Pe of 5-2-26," March 6 1926. "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M

in voting procedure. [144] Even the voiding of the elections was irregular as it was based on "different grounds in each district." [145] The factional and disorganized nature of politics in the Mandate for Palestine has been described by numerous historians. [146] As Muhieddin Haj 'Isa's file indicates, the Department of Education as a branch of the Mandate government reflected this localized form of politics; teachers as members of the civil service were certainly not exempt from involvement in local and even national factional disputes.

Muhieddin Haj 'Isa came to the attention of the authorities yet again when he refused to teach the prescribed syllabus, to treat his colleagues with respect, and when he aroused the anger of his supposedly impartial District Inspector. One Thursday afternoon, the headmaster Rushdi Sha'th of Zawia Boys School, who had replaced 'Isa as headmaster there, (a replacement which resulted in 'Isa's transfer to the Sawawin Boys' School), paid 'Isa a visit. Sha'th arrived at the school with the stated goal of ascertaining how a replacement teacher was getting on, while the permanent teacher was "away on sick leave." [147] Sha'th had been authorized by the Department of Education to visit the Sawawin School for the purpose of "mutual cooperation" such that "the standard and even rate of progress in all Safad schools may be maintained." On Thursday afternoons, rural government boys schools were all meant to be teaching a particular lesson of Arabic recitation. 'Isa, on the other hand saw fit to teach a lesson "which did not correspond to the lessons mentioned in the fixed time table." [148] Sha'th then asked his coworker why he was not teaching what he was supposed to. 'Isa in turn yelled, "This is none of your business, this is my own work and you have no right to interfere in my school. Don't enter into my school!" Moreover, according to Sha'th, not only did 'Isa say these rude and inappropriate words "but also his words were loud, so the teachers and students heard him." [149]

'Isa viewed his own apparent unprofessionalism as outside the Department of Education's jurisdiction. 'Isa admitted he had made a mistake first to the District Officer, then to the District Inspector of Education However he asserted that this "misunderstanding" was "a mere internal family affair."[150] This teacher viewed his classroom as his own, in which he was to teach and act as he saw fit. 'Isa defined inspection, part of the intrusive interventionism of a modern, bureaucratic state, as an encroachment. 'Isa perceived the content of his teaching and his interactions with other teachers as his own, individual concern. Moreover, although the reaction of the District Inspector was to lobby for greater department involvement, the idioms of this interference and the reaction of the Department of Education were idiosyncratic.

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[144] Robert H. Eisenman, *Islamic Law in Palestine and Israel : A History of the Survival of Tanzimat and Shari'a in the British Mandate and the Jewish State*, Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East, V. 26(Leiden: Brill, 1978). 96

[145] Uri M. Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council : Islam under the British Mandate for Palestine*(Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1987).30

[146] Khalidi.65

[147] Rushdi Sha'th The Principal of Zawia school, "To the District Inspector of Education for the Galilee. Subject: The Headmaster of Sawawin School," March 11 1926. "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M

[148] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "To the Director of Education, Jerusalem. Subject: Safad Town Schools. Reference: This Office Letter No. 89/En of 16th March 1926," March 23 1926. "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M

[149] The Principal of Zawia School, "To the District Inspector of Education for the Galilee." March 11 1926. "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M

[150] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "To the Director of Education, Jerusalem. Subject: Safad Town Schools. Reference: This Office Letter No. 89/En of 16th March 1926." "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M.

The D.I.E. for the Galilee appeared to be on Sha'th's side in the incident, stating that Muhieddin Haj 'Isa

> will always consider it a disgrace for him to be supervised by any other H.Master. He may and will as well attempt secretly to put as many stumbling blocks in the way of the Zawia School's progress merely to explain to the inhabitants that although a change of a Headmaster has taken place matters are not better than what they have been previously during his days. This, in fact, I am inclined to believe he commenced attempting by getting in very close touch with the Zawia school teachers…who thro' his constant endeavour and regular every night meeting might be misled to be used as apostles of his to spread his evil doctrines heedless of what they are doing.[151]

The District officer for Safad, Rushdi Sha'th and the D.I.E. for the Galilee all requested from the Department of Education that Muhieddin Haj 'Isa be transferred. However, Humphrey Bowman had no replacements. Rather than trying to force or cajole 'Isa into teaching assigned material, Bowman instead faulted Rushdi Sha'th for not employing an adequately tactful approach with his colleague. [152]

Although the opinion of 'Isa's District Inspector never wavered, 'Isa was never dismissed. Confidential reports on 'Isa's teaching, from 1926 through 1928 were written by the same District Inspector of the Galilee who had accused him of spreading "evil doctrines." These reports show a clear and almost assuredly personal bias, particularly as 'Isa's evaluations radically improved when a different District Inspector was appointed in 1928. The overtly prejudiced first District Inspector emphasized not only Isa's "suspicious" and troublesome nature but also his interest in Law classes rather than teaching. As 'Isa's 1927 confidential report notes, his teaching duties were

> very simple and should be given to a man who is much inferior to him in knowledge. Such a simple post is giving him chance to spend all his time on the study of Law on the Dept. expense…He may appear to be a quiet good natured fellow of a good heart but he is I must say a very suspicious and a cunning employee who is so cleverly able to do mischief directly or indirectly without being very clearly noticed. If any of the high elem. Or Sec. schools are in need of such an instructor, I recommend his transfer…if Safad town is to keep its peace at all.[153]

One wonders if any school would be willing to take such a teacher with this type of glowing recommendation. By 1928, when a new District Inspector of Education was appointed, Haj 'Isa was described a "good disciplinarian," possessing "good character" while supervising his school and its teachers "with great moderation." [154] Finally given the order to be transferred in 1931, there

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[151] Ibid.

[152] Director of Education H.E. Bowman, "To the D.I.E. Galilee. Subject: Safad Town Schools. Reference: Your 247/En Date 23rd March 1926," March 26 1923. "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M

[153] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "Confidential Report on Teaching Staff. No 247/En. Muhieddin Haj 'Isa," July 18 1827. "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M; District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "To the Director of Education, Jerusalem. Subject: Safad Town Schools. Reference: This Office Letter No. 89/En of 16th March 1926." "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M.

[154] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "Confidential Report on Teaching Staff. Muhieddin Haj 'Isa," July 25 1928. "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M

is no indication in 'Isa's file that he in fact accepted this transfer. Instead, he seems to have completed his course of legal study and became a lawyer. [155]

The case of Muhieddin Haj 'Isa indicates not only how personal disputes between headmasters and teachers could affect the functioning of the Mandate bureaucracy, but also how inspectors meant to uphold the rigorous, confidential standards emblazoned on the forms they dutifully completed, were mired in these disputes themselves. Abdul Latif Tibawi, author of the canonical work on Education in the Mandate for Palestine, who had been a District Inspector during the last decade of the Mandate for Palestine claimed that during the early years of the Mandate the backgrounds and qualifications of the inspectors were extremely variable. Tibawi asserts that the standards "of cultural attainments" possessed by these inspectors (before he held the post, naturally) were "chaotic." [156] Tibawi disparaged the qualifications of the first generation of inspectors, stating that particularly during the early years of the Mandate "at least one, possibly two, were able to write Turkish more correctly than Arabic. One of them knew practically no English. Another inspector couched his correspondence in such classical Arabic that his own colleagues found it hard to decipher it. Still another was commonly accused of doubting that the earth was a sphere." [157] The cumulative effects of this personalized and flexible system of teaching and inspection, as well as the varied qualifications of teachers and inspectors alike led to a system in which individual inspectors were largely left "to their own devices." [158]

The pool from which Inspectors were drawn was the same as that of teachers. The number of inspectors, however was to be further limited as their credentials and experience were meant to be more extensive than the teachers they evaluated. Therefore, the interactions between teachers and those meant to honestly and without prejudice appraise their efforts were also couched in personal, often unprofessional terms. As Tibawi laments, this flexibility and the disorganization it implied became permanent in the Mandate for Palestine. According to Tibawi, "The Inspectorate and the Department as a whole, were little more than a collection of un-coordinated individuals…It was always the "Director" or "Mr. X" but not the "Department" or "we."[159] Rather than producing and perpetuating a rule bound cadre of District Inspectors upholding a rational, machine-like government bureaucracy, the power individual teachers and inspectors held forced the Department of Education as a key branch of the Mandate Government to function on a case by case basis.

The personnel file of Bahiya Farah illustrates how expansive the space for maneuver for female teachers in particular could be. During her tenure as headmistress of the girls school in Gaza and then teacher in Acre, Farah caused havoc. This educator had a distinctly unprofessional relationship with her students, her colleagues, the District Inspector of Education(D.I.E.) and the Director of Education. Bahiya Farah objected, on principle to the system of inspection itself. Farah claimed that District Inspectors had no right to come into her school unannounced. [160] The Director of Education personally sent her a letter asserting that if she did not "submit to instructions received from the D.I.E., it will be impossible for the department to retain you in your present position."

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[155] Director of Education H.E. Bowman, "To D.I.E., Galilee, Haifa. Subject: Muhieddin Eff. Haj 'Isa-Transfer," July 15 1931. "Muhieddin Haj 'Isa" ISA 5112 2 M

[156] Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration*.32

[157] Ibid. 32

[158] Ibid.33

[159] Ibid. 36

[160] Humphrey Bowman, "To Miss Bahiyeh Farah, Headmistress Gaza Girls School, Thro' D.I.E Gaza " March 29 1922. "Bahiya Farah" ISA 1010 6 M.

The Director of Education requested Bahiyah's "assurance" that she would obey the regulations of the Department which employed her. [161] Rather than acquiescing, Bahiya argued that it was "unseemly" for the male D.I.E. to enter a school wherein the majority of the female pupils were Muslim. [162] Bowman, at this point somewhat exasperated requested again that Farah provide definite assurance of her intention to comply with the rules of the Department. Three months later, Farah (clearly not dismissed) was chastised by the D.I.E. for not replying to Bowman's letter. Farah in fact blamed the D.I.E. for withholding the letter and preventing her from replying in a timely fashion. [163]

Bahiya Farah's views not only contradicted British expectations but also those of the villagers who placed their daughters under Farah's authority. Farah dismissed the daughters of a notable of Gaza because they came to class wearing henna. She was informed by the D.I.E. that "this is an old custom of the country and it cannot be avoided at once by pressure." [164] The D.I.E. also noted he had cleared the matter with Hilda Ridler, the British inspectress of girls' schools in Palestine and the principal of the WTC, who permitted henna in the college. [165] Farah even became entangled in village politics, fighting with her staff, and being sued by an angry parent after having beaten his daughter severely. [166] The Department of Education, however rationalized this conflict in paternalistic fashion claiming, "to put the case in a nutshell, an excitable woman dealt rather foolishly with a petty incident and thereby hurt a parent's pride." [167] The D.I.E. however was not so pleased with Farah's actions. He wrote to Humphrey Bowman, "it seems that the headmistress desires to follow her own rules and she thinks she is free to do whatever she likes without the approval of the department." [168] Farah remained defiant. Rather than accept the expectations of the village society she was meant to serve and the requirements of the Mandate bureaucracy, Farah acted as she saw fit. Still Farah was not fired. Moreover, she requested a raise alleging that one of her teachers received a higher salary. In her letter, Farah called out the Director of Education's sense of fair play and impartiality, one of the key justifications for the legitimacy of the Mandate government itself. [169] After noting the disparity in salary, Farah exclaimed "Do you think it fair? Or do you call this justice?" [170] A month later her salary was increased. [171]

Bahiya Farah was eventually transferred from Gaza to the post of teacher in the Acre Girls School. [172] As historians of the Mandate have noted, female teachers were transferred if they were

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[161] Ibid.
[162] Humphrey Bowman, "To Miss Bahiyeh Farah, Headmistress Gaza Girls School, Thro' D.I.E Gaza " April 10 1922. "Bahiya Farah" ISA 1010 6 M.
[163] Headmistress of Gaza Girls' School Bahiya Farah, "To the Director of Education, Jerusalem. Thro' D.I.E. Gaza," July 7 1922. "Bahiya Farah" ISA 1010 6 M
[164] District Inspector of Education Jamil Khaled, "Subject: Headmistress of Gaza Girls' School. Reference: Attached Petition," April 2 1924. "Bahiya Farah" ISA 1010 6 M
[165] Ibid.
[166] District Inspector of Education for the Southern District Jamil Khaled, "To the Director of Education, Jerusalem. Subject: Headmistress, Gaza Girls' School. Reference: Attached," March 23 1924 "Bahiya Farah" ISA 1010 6 M
[167] Ibid.,
[168] Jamil Khaled.
[169] Khalidi. 51
[170] Headmistress of Gaza Girls' School Bahiya Farah, "To D.I.E," November 1 1923 "Bahiya Farah" ISA 1010 6 M
[171] Director of Education Humphrey Bowman, "Extract from Increment Warrant Dated 19.12.23. To D.I.E. Southern " ISA 1010 6 M, no. (December 26, 1923).
[172] Director of Education, "To the D.I.E. Southern. Subject: Sitt Bahiya Farah-Transfer," September 4 1924 "Bahiya Farah" ISA 1010 6 M

deemed incompetent, "suspected of immoral behavior, or if their teaching skills were deemed insufficient by the school inspector." [173] Without sufficient stores of teachers to replace those who failed to meet villagers' expectations of propriety, modesty, and dignity, the Department of Education's first choice was not to dismiss a teacher but to transfer them in hopes of better performance. Once in Acre, Farah saw fit to resign her post citing her marriage as a fait accompli. [174] Marriage, followed by the upbringing of healthy, sanitary children constituted the Department of Education's stated goal with regards to female education. However, Farah's surprise announcement was no picnic for the Department of Education due to the difficulty of finding a replacement in the early middle of the semester. The rule that female teachers must resign upon marriage exacerbated the already existing shortage of female teachers. [175]

The freedom enjoyed by female teachers in Palestine fluctuated in direct proportion to the number of graduates produced each year by the WTC. The government often refused to open new schools specifically for girls. Some years, a larger proportion of female teachers than desired graduated from the WTC due to the fact that it was the only institution for higher education of women in the Mandate. Non WTC graduates could find themselves dismissed simply because they were not legally contracted to teach for the government and because they had not studied at an institution under Mandate rather than Ottoman jurisdiction. For example, in 1928 the department decided to transfer or (if a transfer was not possible) to end the service of 12 female teachers, of whom a probable 11 teachers were Muslim. The lone Christian teacher, Melia al-Sakakini, sister of Khalil al-Sakakini, in fact continued her employment as a teacher for another ten years in the non government Islamic Girls School in Jerusalem. [176] For these teachers, the general complaint was that they were too old, or too old fashioned, and that the department was unwilling to cede to local demands for schooling. However, one year earlier, the Department of Education had acquiesced to requests for a government girls school in Bethelehem, to cater to the Muslim population, but then could not find a Muslim female teacher to staff the school. Another issue was that the department would only provide one teacher unless enrollment exceeded forty students; however, in Bethlehem Christian students refused to enroll at the government school unless it had more teachers and could teach a longer course. This meant that the school foundered, and nearby towns, which had a majority Christian population, actually had more schools even though the population overall was much smaller. [177] Moreover, the government asserted, even in 1937, that it could not open more schools for girls, particularly in villages because "it was impossible to find

[173] Greenberg, "Between Hardships and Respect: A Collective Biography of Arab Women Teachers in British-Ruled Palestine." 306

[174] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "To the Director of Education, Jerusalem. Subject: Bahiya Farah, Resignation. Reference: Telephone Conversation with Chief Clerk (H.Q.) and Attached,"". "Bahiya Farah" ISA 1010 6 M

[175] 41% of the 212 teachers who resigned their posts from 1920-1948 stated that their resignation was due to impending or already completed marriages. Greenberg, "Between Hardships and Respect: A Collective Biography of Arab Women Teachers in British-Ruled Palestine."300

[176] Teachers who were to end their service were Adibeh 'Atallah, Naefa Haddad, Nabiha Fares, Kulthum Ghazal, Helwa Abduh, Wafiya Tubaileh, Sadiqa Sharaby, Nadiya 'Aql, Shuhrat Haikal, Raqikya Daudi, Sadiqa Saegh and Milia al-Sakakini. Ela Greenberg. *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow : Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009). 118, Hala al-Sakakini. *Jerusalem and I : A Personal Record*. (Amman, Jordan: Economic Press Co., 1990.) 27-28

[177] Ylana N. Miller, *Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920-1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985).105-106

women teachers." [178] The case of Bahiya Farah demonstrates how these teachers sought to shape not only notions of competency but also to hold the Mandate government to its promises of fairness and justice, or at least to use those promises to make claims upon the government. The leeway provided by a scarcity of teachers granted these women, particularly Farah, a chance at redefining societal norms within clearly formidable constraints.

While some teachers, like Docmac and Farah, pressured the department for personal reasons, other teachers used the leeway granted to them by the scarcity of educators to promote political ideologies. However, in all three Mandates, they frequently spent more time writing rather than protesting. Moreover, modes of affiliation and political ideology were fluctuating widely during this time period. For example, in Iraq, two teachers who had worked together in the Haidari school in 1921, Mustafa 'Ali (who had also authored a history textbook) and Ayuni Bakr Sidqi, created a "circle" or rather "club" with two law students including an Iraqi intellectual Husain al-Rahhal, a clerk in the office of posts and telegraphs. [179] This group was fundamentally concerned with social justice and had certain communist or proto Marxist tendencies. However, the newspaper they published did not seek to promote overt political action. As Hanna Batatu, who was searching for the origins of Iraqi communism argued, this group "had no definite program. All that they wrote, however, can be resolved into one dominant idea: the need to overthrow the power of tradition." [180] What they meant, however, was not a radical overthrow of the government or a Marxian revolution. Instead, they focused on the liberation of women. Despite their relatively radical ideas, however, both teachers in fact became Ministers. Bakr Sidqi rose through the ranks of education, reaching the level of senior official by 1945, continuing to be promoted through at least 1947. [181] Mustafa Ali actually became Minister of Justice from 1958-1961. [182]

Like Mustafa Ali and Ayuni Bakr Sidqi, the famous Iraqi poet Muhammad Mahdi al-Jawahiri also pushed against the limits of free speech but still worked for the Iraqi Government in various capacities. Jawahiri was repeatedly removed, whether due to his own volition or that of the Ministry of Education from 1924 through 1956. [183] For example, Jawahiri, technically a Persian citizen until 1927, was employed in Kadhimain as a schoolmaster, but then the Director General of Education (at that point al-Husri) sacked him for publishing a poem which praised Persia. However, the Minister of Education, Saiyid Abdul Mahdi, did not think Jawahiri ought to have been fired. After a "furious exchange" of correspondence, Jawahiri was reinstated. The British read this situation as a Sunni-Shi'a conflict, as al-Husri was Sunni, while Jawahiri was Shi'a, as was the Minister of Education. However, it indicates more than just sectarian loyalties. Personal dynamics played a key part in the functioning of the educational bureaucracy at every level, and

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[178] Khalil Totah, Palestine Royal Commission, Great Britain. "Palestine Royal Commission: Minutes of Evidence Heard at Public Sessions (with Index) ". London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937. 338

[179] "Irak Report on Education, Report on the State of Education for the Year 1922-23" S T 34/15, BL. 15, Abd al-Razzaq al-Hilali and Ayif Habib Khalil Ani. *Tarikh Al-Ta`Lim Fi Al-`Iraq Fi Al-`Ahd Al-Intidab Al-Baritani, 1921-1932*. Baghdad, al-`Iraq: Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa-al-I`lam, Dar al-Shuun al-Thaqafiyah al-`Ammah, "Afaq `Arabiyah", 2000. 418

[180] Batatu, 390-395

[181] *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 13, April 1, 1945. CO 813 20, NA. *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 3, January 19, 1947. CO 813 23, NA. *The Iraq Government Gazette* August 28, 1951, CO 813 33. BL.

[182] *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 1, July 23, 1958. LLMC Digital Law Library Microform Consortion. Shiloah Merkaz le-mehkar `al shem Reuven, *Middle East Record. Volume 2, 1961. Volume 2, 1961* (Jerusalem: Published for Tel Aviv University The Reuven Shiloah Research Center by Israel Program for Scientific Translations, 1961). 260

[183] Edmund Ghareeb and Beth Dougherty, *Historical Dictionary of Iraq* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004)., 123, "Intelligence Report No 9" April 27, 1927. IOR/2/20/A/1238 BL.

were clearly instrumental in allowing educators to maintain their posts, and to keep up their polemical poetry. Similarly, Ma'arouf al-Rusafi, a famous Iraqi poet and teacher, had tried his luck with the short lived Arab kingdom but was not welcomed due to his targeting of King Faysal in previous satirical poetry. Instead, he worked at the Teachers' College in Palestine before returning to Iraq as head of translation at the Department of Education. [184]

Ma'arouf al-Rusafi declaiming at the private school of al-Tifayidh, 1928. [185]

In Transjordan, as in Iraq and Palestine, educators and administrators moved in and out of government service. Mustafa al-Tall's career was similar to many of his contemporaries. He has been described as "a thorn in the government's side;" however, "his skills as an educator and administrator were indispensable and after every session of imprisonment he was restored to some post of responsibility." [186] Al-Tall worked as a teacher before the British and Abdullah obtained control of the region. He taught in Kerak, then Irbid, after which he was transferred from the Department of Education, briefly becoming the governor of the Wadi Seer region of Transjordan, before being imprisoned for one year. The government rehired al-Tall as a teacher in Irbid, before he was transferred yet again from the Department of Education to become the governor of a different region in Transjordan; then he returned to teaching. All of these posts occurred between 1920 and 1925. In 1926 he was the governor of a third region (Shobak), for over a year before working as a teacher in Amman. He was both fired from his job and imprisoned again before he

[184] *Bosworth, Clifford Edmund* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), s.v. "The Encyclopaedia of Islam." 614-617
[185] University of Baghdad, "Baghdad Rare Photographs: Poet Ma'aroof Al-Rasafi in Al-Tifayidh School - 1928.", University of Baghdad http://www.en.uobaghdad.edu.iq/PageViewer.aspx?id=129 (accessed April 12, 2015 2015).
[186] Anderson. 56

became the principal of yet another government school. By 1928 he worked as an accountant, in 1929 he again worked as the governor of Shobak before he was imprisoned and exiled to Aqaba, a coastal city of Transjordan which was a good distance from the capital. Naturally he returned to teaching after his imprisonment, working as a teacher in Irbid before again being transferred to other administrative posts, including executive officer of two courts, a chief clerk, a public prosecutor, an Inspector in the Ministry of Education and the Chief of Ceremony to the Royal Palace. He has been enshrined in Jordan's official history as a key poet and author.

Mustafa Wahbi al-Tall as part of the Jordanian Artist series of official stamps[187]

The information on al-Tall provided by the Ministry of Education shows an individual who was fired twice, one of the six individuals actually fired at one point or another in the 1920s, of which only two were not rehired. [188]Some of the state's reasons for repeatedly firing al-Tall had to do with his drunkenness. One of his biographers noted that he "seems also to have held the curious notion that it was some kind of civic duty to appear inebriated on formal or state occasions as an expression of his opinion of the proceedings." [189] al-Tall constantly wrote criticisms of the government in both poetry and prose, even writing a story entitled "the art of overthrowing ministries." He organized a group of educated individuals in Transjordan to oppose the Mandate and King Abdullah's acceptance of British control. However, as another biographer notes, it is

[187] The stamps are currently for sale on Ebay. http://www.ebay.com/itm/Jordan-Stamps-Jordanian-Artists-MNH-2012-/151644252359?pt=LH_DefaultDomain_0&hash=item234eb3a8c7. (Accessed April 14, 2015)

[188] Qism al-Arshīf, Idārat al-mawārid al-basharīyah, Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Ta'līm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah, (Archive Section, Human Resources Department, Ministry of Education, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan). Hearafter HRD. "Mustafa al-Tall" HRD Employee Record Number 000149, The other individuals fired were Jamil al-Jarrah, HRD Employee Record Number 000026, Saleh al-Maghrabi, Employee Record Number 0000347, Jamil Ibrahim Samawi, Employee Record Number 0000408 , 'Aisa Ismail al-Qatatasheh, Employee Record Number 0000121 and HRD "Jamil 'Abd al-Rahman Thiyab" Employee Record Number 0000015. Of these individuals, only Jarrah and al-Maghrabi were not rehired.

[189] "Mustafa al-Tall" HRD Employee Record Number 000149, Mustafá Wahbi Tall and Mahmud Mutlaq, *Mustafa's Journey : Verse of Arar, Poet of Jordan* (Irbid: Yarmouk University, 1988).56.

unlikely that al-Tall actually sought the overthrow of the government, especially because he also sought to repress the authority of non government elements in Transjordanian society, particularly the tribes. Instead, al-Tall sought independence from the Mandate and to strengthen and improve the power of the government from within. [190] Moreover, his career pattern was by no means unique.

The majority of educators in the 1920s in the Mandate for Transjordan left education at some point, either of their own volition or due to a lack of funding for their services, only to return. For example, Jamil ʻAbd al-Rahman Thiyab, was born in 1900 who had received a BA in literature at an Ottoman college, worked as a teacher from 1925-1927 before being fired for six days. He returned to work as a teacher, was transferred from education at the end of the Mandate for Transjordan, but worked briefly as a teacher before his retirement in 1947. [191]Educators were frequently transferred to administrative or even ministerial posts due to the lack of educated persons in the country. Approximately ¾ of the teachers who were hired during the 1920s resigned at one point or another. Transjordan also continuously imported teachers from Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine to staff its schools, contributing to nebulous pan Arab notions of affiliation, albeit frequently with strong local ties.

Palestinian educators tended to reject the premise of the Mandates despite the fact that they technically represented the Mandate governments as civil servants. For example, in Palestine, a teacher Hamdi Husaini worked to further his political as well as personal agendas as a teacher. Having worked for a mere seven months as an instructor in the government boys school in Gaza, the continuously AWOL teacher Hamdi Husaini had irritated the school's headmaster to the extent he felt "compelled to report him." [192] An Inspector's report confirmed that Husaini's "general character and ability" was "Disobedient, not punctual…interferes with political, corruptive tendencies…" and "Not worthy of confidence." [193] Husaini resigned, precluding a formal reprimand and inquiry into his subversive actions. Yet, within three years Husaini was reappointed as a teacher, this time in Ramleh. The Director of Education justified the reappointment of Husaini by optimistically claiming Husaini's "misbehavior was largely due to a conflict that arose between him and the headmaster… You will find him to be a good teacher of Arabic and a man who will probably shape into a good teacher if he is properly and sympathetically supervised." [194] What Bowman's optimism concealed, however, was that Husaini was scrounged up to replace the vice principal of the Ramleh boys school who had recently resigned. There seemed to be little no remotely qualified candidates for even the school in Ramleh, one of the larger towns in the Mandate.

Husaini's political activities continued to escalate; he was reprimanded again for refusing to stand when the High Commissioner for Palestine passed by the café in which he had been sitting. The assistant to the Department of Education (himself a British-educated Arab Palestinian) threatened Husaini, noting that "a government agent who refuses to perform what he must for the

[190] Mustafá Wahbi Mutlaq Mahmud Tall, *Mustafa's Journey : Verse of Arar, Poet of Jordan* (Irbid: Yarmouk University, 1988). 5

[191] HRD "Jamil ʻAbd al-Rahman Thiyab" Employee Record Number 0000015.

[192] Headmaster of Gaza Boys School Nejib G., "To the Sub-Director of Education Forwarded from the Governor of Gaza: Report on Hamdy Eff. El Husainy " June 7 1920. "Hamdi Husaini" ISA 1010 25 M

[193] District Inspector of Education Jamil Khaled, Southern District "Annual Confidential Report on Junior Services Officials of the Government of Palestine: Hamdi Al-Husaini, Teacher at Gaza Boys' School, Gaza," July 26 1021. "Hamdi Husaini" ISA 1010 25 M

[194] Bowman, "To the District Inspector of Education, Jaffa. Subject: Hamdi Husaini."

head of the government out of respect…cannot remain a worker for the government." [195] Despite these threats and unanswered demands for an apology, Husaini was transferred to the boys school in Acre (at the same rate of pay) rather than dismissed. This transfer was probably both punitive and preventive seeking to punish Husaini for his lack of respect for the state that employed him, forcing him to move to the northernmost town of the Mandate, and hoping to prevent him from continuing his rebellious activities in the more central location of Ramleh. Husaini had other plans. He moved to and remained in Gaza, while the salary he was meant to have received as a teacher for Acre was refunded back to the school after two months. [196] Tibawi's history of Mandate education asserts that Husaini was "later dismissed." [197] However, Husaini's personnel file does not contain a record of his discharge.

Husaini's later activities underscore the choices teachers had to work within and beyond the Mandatory government. Although Husaini's explicit rebellion against the legality of the Mandate itself led to threats of dismissal, if not necessarily dismissal itself, it appears Husaini chose to reject his post. Hamdi Husaini would go on to realize British policymakers' worst fears as to the potential for the educated unemployed to become ardent nationalists. An outspoken, anti imperialist journalist and a leader of the Pan-Arabist Istiqlal (Independence) Party, Husaini employed tactics of protest and non-cooperation influenced by Gandhi's resistance in India. [198]

Tibawi, who worked long years as both a teacher and inspector for the Department of Education acknowledged that "An Arab teacher could not, even with a severe stretch of imagination, have been expected to foster loyalty to a government that in his opinion was daily undermining the national existence of his people." [199] Although these teachers were often clearly not loyal to the government which excluded their political participation, they still acted as its representatives to its youngest subjects. As Tibawi concludes, due to the contradictions inherent in colonial educational policies couched in rhetoric of the promotion of self-governance in Palestine, "every teacher concerned acted according to his own lights." They all thus followed narrow and often discordant aims of national or other ideological character. If this was so, it can be said that teachers tended imperceptibly to impair the authority of the established Government…[200] The government of Palestine, unable to rein in the limited cadre of government teachers instead found its own authority and image "impaired" by the actions of its own civil servants. Instead of representing a clear, abstract and modern incarnation of disciplinary authority, teachers acted as individuals, exhibiting a complex professional and personal identity, forged within a framework of colonial domination.

The actions of teachers who continued to work for the Mandatory governments, despite their rejection of these governments' legitimacy, provide an example of how civil servants within a colonial bureaucracy cannot simply be classified as collaborators with the colonial state or rebels against that state. Teacher scarcity, allowed the remaining teachers a space in which to negotiate

[195] Deputy Director of Education George Antonious, "To Hamdi Efendi Al-Husaini, Teacher of the Ramleh School C/O the Inspector of Education for Jaffa," July 3 1925 "Hamdi Husaini" ISA 1010 25 M
[196] District Inspector of Education for the Galilee, "Salaries of Officials: Hamdi Husaini, Acre School," November 7 1925 "Hamdi Husaini" ISA 1010 25 M
[197] Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration*. 198
[198] Weldon C. Matthews, "Pan-Islam or Arab Nationalism? The Meaning of the 1931 Jerusalem Islamic Congress Reconsidered," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 1 (2003).5, 10
[199] Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration*. 151
[200] Ibid. 152

better wages and transfers, as well as participating in strikes, protests, and subversive teaching. Although the results of this leeway varied between individuals, the net result was a new form of interaction between a colonial, purportedly modern, colonial state, its staff and its subjects.

In all three Mandates it was rare for a teacher to be fired, without being rehired again in a timely fashion, or indeed to be fired at all. In Iraq, higher officials in particular had long careers, which spanned the 1920s through the 1940s. [201] Although precise statistics on the number of teachers fired are unavailable, a report on the system of education in Iraq in 1932 noted that a new law had had to be enacted in order to control teachers. In 1931 when the law was enacted, 37 educators were fired, "on charges of conduct harmful to the public interest, disgraceful conduct, insubordination, incorrigible laxness, repeated negligence or proved inability to perform duties" [202] This was 37 teachers out of a total of 1454 teachers, or 2.5% of the total. Furthermore, this quantity was emphasized, indicating that it was out of the ordinary.

In Palestine, out of 109 personnel files available on teachers who began service before 1932, five teachers' fates are unclear, 32 served until the end of the Mandate, 13 died, four were transferred, 17 retired, eight were terminated, six were dismissed. The remainder resigned. This means out of a total of 109 teachers, 14 had their service ended by action of the government. Of those who were terminated, one was due to health reasons, one for having not improved his teaching after a decade, and another found himself forcibly terminated after 12 years of service, not for having disobeyed the department, which he did on a yearly basis, but for angering the entire community of the second village he was transferred to by making inappropriate approaches to young women in the town, inspiring several petitions to have him fired by notable local Christian and Muslim figures. [203] The termination of his employment indicates the importance of local opinion regarding teachers. The Government Gazette also occasionally published accounts of how many teachers were dismissed. The most in any given year was 14 teachers. In 1931-32, six "uncertified men teachers were discharged to make room for graduates of the Government Arab College;" four teachers retired; two were transferred to other Government departments; and three female teachers resigned due to marriage. [204]

The Ministry of Education files in Transjordan show dismissal as an exceedingly rare occurrence, although having one's service terminated by action of the government was somewhat common. Of the 168 teachers whose service ended before 1932, the government did not renew the contract of 63, 88 resigned, three stopped working, two were fired and ten were transferred. This means 65 out of 168 had their employment terminated by action of the government. Out of the 321 teachers whose service began before 1932, 90 had their service terminated by action of the government, 117 resigned, four stopped work, 58 retired, three educators were fired, two failed to show up, 30 were transferred and 13 died. A little less than half of all of these educators resigned at one point or another. The term most often used for the cessation of service by the action of the

[201] Yusuf Izzuddin al-Nasiri, from Tikrit, who began as the inspector of schools in 1921 continued to be employed and promoted in the Ministry of Education through 1946. *The Iraq Government Gazette* No. 14 April 7, 1946. CO 813 22. BL.

[202] Paul Monroe and Iraq Commission of Educational Inquiry, *Report of the Educational Inquiry Commission* (Baghdad: Government Press, 1932). 92

[203] "Sheikh Abdullah Ali" ISA 5113/59 M, "Muhd. Yehia Nasr" (file number unavailable, previously catalogued as ISA 882/6), "Abdel Qader Qadumi" ISA 1020 8 M.

[204] Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Scholastic Year 1931-1932* (Jerusalem, 1933).16

government are "ending service" followed by "terminating service." "Losing one's work" indicated that the teacher failed to show up. Moreover, most teachers who resigned, or lost their work, or had their service terminated were hired again a few days to a few years later. Many were also seconded to other departments, indicating the range of opportunities available to educated persons in the Mandate. [205]

Conclusion:

The policies educators navigated and their ability to shape the content of schooling in the Mandates induced educated individuals to use government schooling as a political platform and a chance at social mobility. However, their comfort with government service led to the incorporation of educators and those they educated into the Mandate bureaucracies rather than to seek their overthrow. Educators in all three Mandates were classified as civil servants. While there were institutions which in theory represented the Mandate populations, these institutions lacked the power to implement significant political or legal changes. Instead, local individuals who staffed administrative or educational posts acted as intermediaries; in some villages, the government school teacher represented the only "extra-village authority" and the person whose responsibility was to provide an avenue for social mobility for local children. [206] Moreover, the varied qualifications of teachers, and the Department of Education's dependence on them precluded standardization, not only between town and village schools as desired by British policymakers, but also on the level of individual institutions. For example in Iraq, schools differed wildly between Baghdad and its surrounding villages, to say nothing of the rest of the country. The school depicted below was located in the Kurdish area of Zakho in Northern Iraq, with a relatively large number of teachers and educated individuals as well as a modern school building. In contrast, the following photographs show a variety of school buildings, as well as number of teachers and students.

Zakho School, Iraq. 1920s. [207]

[205] HRD
[206] Miller. 47-48, 63
[207] Arthur Lionel Forster Smith. *?Zakho School*. Lionel Smith Collection, GB165-0266. Alb6-012. MECA. 1920s.

School at ?Shur South of Mosul. Iraq, 1920s. [208]

Bir Idhren School, Schoolmaster and Three Pupils. Iraq, 1920s. [209]

Moreover, policies which focused on central schools and urban educated reinforced these disparities. [210] Similarly in Palestine, Bowman noted how schools varied due to the input of local individuals. [211]

Teaching was often not the most valued career by these educators, except that it allowed for more leeway than other posts and was easy to join and quit and rejoin regardless of performance or political leanings. At times, economic concerns trumped any passion for education. For example, Rufa'il Butti attended the Teachers College in 1920 in Iraq. In a letter to his mother, while contemplating his impending graduation, Butti noted that helping to support his family of six persons was very expensive. He also told his mother that "nowhere on earth does there exist a

[208] Arthur Lionel Forster Smith. *School at ?Shur S[outh] of Mosul*. Lionel Smith Collection, GB165-0266. Alb6-009. MECA. 1920s.
[209] Arthur Lionel Forster Smith. *Bir Idhren School, Schoolmaster and 3 Pupils*. Lionel Smith Collection, GB165-0266. Alb6-010. MECA. 1920s.
[210] H.E. Bowman. "Department of Education, Annual Report 1918, 20 of January, 1919."
[211] Bowman. 278

teacher who became rich." [212] During his studies at the teachers college, Butti worked for a newspaper to make extra money. He would leave teaching for law school and a career in the Iraqi press. His contemporaries at the teachers college, however, would combine journalistic activities, poetry, and political clubs with teaching. [213]

Educators, as the careers of some of the teachers mentioned in this chapter show, were often anything but local. Teachers also moved between Mandates and throughout the Arab world. The American University of Beirut(AUB) in the 1920s constituted a hub of not only education but also a broad pan Arab identity, whose borders seldom aligned with those of the Mandates. The following chapter will explore in more depth the growth of Pan Arabism as an ideology in the 1920s and early 1930s by focusing on the first generation of bursary scholars sent to AUB. While the types of identity and affiliation open to educators were variable, Arabism provided an umbrella group for many of those who received higher levels of education, particularly as it also allowed for local and familial affiliations.

[212] Rafail Butti, *Rafail Butti, Dhakirah `Iraqiyah, 1900-1956* (Dimashq: al-Madá, 2000).54
[213] Bashkin.

Chapter 3: Crossing Borders: Bursary Scholars at the American University of Beirut

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations required the Mandatory powers to teach the inhabitants of the Mandates to "stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." [1] In the early 1920s, the newly formed governments of Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan cast about for cheap and efficient ways to train local teachers to become harbingers of this modernity prescribed in the Mandatory project. There were few institutions of higher learning in the Mandates and no universities. The cost of educating Mandate inhabitants in Europe or the United States was prohibitive. Instead, bursary or scholarship scholars were sent from throughout the region to the prestigious American University of Beirut (AUB) for an undergraduate education and a course of teacher training.[2] They received room and board, tuition and pocket money from their governments. In return, these students were required to teach in the Government Schools of whichever government had sponsored their education. Recommended as much by their intellectual achievements as by their conduct, bursary scholars arrived at AUB innocent and overwhelmed by their often lengthy journeys and their expectations of hard work in a new, unfamiliar environment. The select few who attended AUB participated in orientation, classes, assignments, debates and a host of extracurricular activities from sports to plays, literary clubs and charitable societies. When they returned to their countries they spoke, looked and acted differently, wearing new clothes, using English and formal Arabic, with a new sense of themselves and where they fit in their rapidly changing world.

In this chapter, I argue that the experience of the American University of Beirut during the 1920s contributed to the formation of a nebulous pan-Arab identity in its graduates, and the consolidation of a transnational educated elite that played a disproportionately influential role across the region. Bursary scholars, a particular subset of AUB students, learned how to leverage their position as future government employees (and current government investments) in order to protest the very governments that paid their tuition without losing either their scholarships or their future jobs as state employees. For these students and their peers, protests and petitions at school provided a dress rehearsal for similar activities outside the academy. The type of politics and identity that bursary scholars considered and practiced tended not only to undermine national boundaries but also to incorporate educated individuals into government service. Negotiation characterized students' political engagement, as they fought to play greater roles in the governments that employed them, rather than to create new ones.

From the Sudan, rural Mesopotamia (Iraq), Baghdad, the villages and the missionary schools of Palestine as well as the newly-formed Transjordan, hundreds of young men and dozens of young women met and studied at AUB. From the 1920s through to the present day AUB has been a hybrid; an institution that, albeit sometimes uncomfortably, combined an American liberal

[1] League of Nations, "The Covenant of the League of Nations (Including Amendments Adopted to December, 1924)," (Champaign, Ill.; Boulder, Colo.: Project Gutenberg ; NetLibrary *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCO*host*(accessed April 5, 2015).

[2] The University was not only less expensive than European or American institutions; it also had the benefit of being easy for students to receive permission to enter Syria, of which Greater Lebanon was now a state. Faculty of the American University of Beirut, "Report Submitted by the Faculty of the American University of Beirut Concerning the Opportunity to Train Students for Service in the near East through Commerce and the Social Sciences," 1926. University Archives, the American University of Beirut (AUB). Hearafter UA.

education and American-Protestant professors with a legacy of Arab culture.[3] AUB began as a missionary institution; the Syrian Protestant College.[4] By 1920 when the college was renamed the American University of Beirut, the roles of Christianity and the local community were redefined.[5] Attempting direct evangelicalism in Lebanon and the Middle East was clearly unsuccessful. Instead, the college reinvented itself as a more secular institution.[6] Its mission became that of education rather than explicit conversion, allowing non Western and non Christian professors and students to take on leadership roles within a clearly American structure. During the 1920s, AUB was a nexus of varied political and educational trends. It was an American institution, founded and funded by American missionary and philanthropic organizations. However, it was located in the French controlled Mandate for Greater Lebanon, a colonial territory. Its pupils and some professors hailed from formerly Ottoman, now British or French controlled regions. Paradoxically for these students, going to AUB meant going to both a hub of Arabic literary and journalistic production but also going to "the West."[7] At AUB, students learned to push or ignore discursive boundaries between "West" and "East," crafting an experience which combined Arabic language and heritage with a liberal arts education.

Historians have tended to frame missionary schools in the Middle East as essentially positive or negative influences in the region. Older scholarship, particularly that produced by Western educated Arab intellectuals, portrayed missionary education as a means of Westernization coupled with enlightenment and national consciousness. [8] Subsequent scholarship has explained missionary schools as a foreign imposition that alienated local students from their families and their countries, hindering the natural progress of nationalism. [9] The most recent histories of missionary institutions in the Middle East have provided more nuanced accounts of the variety of goals and consequences of missionary education for missionaries, their students and their respective communities. These include reevaluations of the role of missionary education in science

[3] Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut : Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011)., Samir Khalaf, "New England Puritanism and Liberal Education in the Middle East : The American University of Beirut as a Cultural Transplant." In *Cultural Transitions in the Middle East*, edited by Serif Mardin. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1994.

[4] Elie Kedourie, "The American University of Beirut," *Middle Eastern Studies* 3, no. 1 (1966). 75

[5]There were no longer required courses in religion for students, compulsory attendance at religious ceremonies or "religious tests" for teachers. Jens Hanssen. *Fin De Siècle Beirut : The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006.186 Moreover, Arab faculty members of the university were, in theory, granted equal status with American and European faculty members. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut : Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education*.131.

[6] Ussama Samir Makdisi. *Artillery of Heaven : American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008)., 172, 176-177.

[7] For this phrasing I am indebted to Orit Bashkin.

[8] George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening : The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Beirut: Lebanon Bookshop, 1969); Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Elie Kedourie, *Arabic Political Meomoirs and Other Studies* (London: Frank Cass, 1974).

[9] Sarah Graham-Brown and Neil MacDonald, *Education, Repression, Liberation : Palestinians* (London 20 Compton Terrace, N1 2UN): World University Service (UK), 1984); Hanssen. 164

teaching, philosophy, political ideologies, literacy, increased Western influence, backlashes against foreign schooling, and social mobility.[10]

The main scholarly monograph written in English that analyzes AUB during the interwar period is Betty Anderson's *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education.* [11] Anderson's book illuminates the unintended consequences of the university's curriculum and placement within the Arab World, including, in her account, the triumphal growth of a strong Arab national identity. She emphasizes how American administrators had to grapple with students' political goals, particularly due to the university's emphasis on critical thinking and character building. My chapter broadens Anderson's account by analyzing the effects of AUB beyond Beirut. While Anderson concentrates on how political issues shaped the school and its curriculum, this chapter focuses on the reverse, namely how the school, its curriculum, and its student led protests molded a particular elite. Moreover, although Anderson describes how AUB facilitated the development of an Arab identity amongst its graduates during the 1930s and beyond, I focus on the idea of a Pan-Arab identity during the 1920s, when it was far more flexible, inclusive, and ill-defined.

In order to understand how this type of Pan-Arabism became compelling among bursary scholars, one must examine not only concepts of affiliation but also the structural factors that promoted fluid ideas of an Arab nation above and beyond allegiances to the newly created states of Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan. I argue that the shifting nature of governance in the Mandates tended to undermine Iraqi, Palestinian and Transjordanian nationalisms in favor of more expansive connections.

In the 1920s, there was no coherent state authority in the British Mandates, due to a combination of colonial policies and local agendas. From 1920-1932, Iraq was technically a Mandate under British control and tutelage, but with a king and cabinet whose power was buttressed by British military and financial support. From 1932, when the Mandate officially ended through 1958 and the overthrow of the Hashemite regime, power in Iraq passed between various politicians, monarchs and the military: a "weak, pseudo democratic system" characterized by "nepotism, lack of state authority, personal ambitions and military arrogance."[12] Similarly, Transjordan during the 1920s and 1930s functioned as a monarchy backed by British funding and

[10] Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *The quality of heroic living, of high endeavour and adventure: Anglican mission, women, and education in Palestine, 1888-1948*. (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven : American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. Marwa Elshakry. *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860-1950*, 2013.

[11] Anderson, *The American University of Beirut : Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education*. There are two other works that focus on the American University of Beirut exclusively, however they are insider-written institutional histories. Bayard Dodge. *The American University of Beirut : A Brief History of the University and the Lands Which It Serves.* Beirut: Khayat, 1958., Stephen B. L. Penrose *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866-1941*. New York: Trustees of the American University of Beirut, 1941.

[12] Peter Wien, *Iraqi Arab Nationalism : Authoritarian, Totalitarian, and Pro-Fascist Inclinations, 1932-1941* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006). 105

firepower.[13] Transjordan's borders were not fixed until 1925. [14] As discussed in the previous chapter, in the Mandate for Palestine on the other hand, it was unclear what type of state and government British tutelage was meant to develop. Arab Palestinian civil service who frequently rejected the Mandate charter, still buttressed the authority of the government they served.

Bursary (scholarship) scholars marked the blurred boundaries between their states and their societies, eking out a space to explore multiple political identities. During the 19th and 20th centuries, governments worldwide began to intrude more pervasively into the lives of their subjects. They created state run systems of education and regulated private, including missionary institutions.[15] By controlling education, government officials hoped their citizenry would accept more intrusive but also more regularized state authority.[16] In sociologist Max Weber's ideal case, processes of standardization would theoretically separate sovereignty from the person of the monarch or ruler, as the power and legitimacy of the modern bureaucratic state began to extend beyond the sum of the individual bureaucrats, governors and administrators within its ranks. In this model, modern education, based on examinations, diplomas and merit rather than privilege and birth, eventually leads to the professionalization of bureaucracies predicated on the interchangeability of individual bureaucrats, and citizens. This transition from individual variability and nepotism to professionalization ultimately defines the state beyond "all personal authority of individuals."[17] This idealized situation also presumes at some level a coherence of state authority and the recognition of who does and does not have the right to rule.

Bursary scholars made claims on their governments as if they were a part of them, thereby extending the authority of the state beyond those who were technically a part of it. The shifting boundaries between who actually was in the government and who wasn't at any given time demonstrate not only the inchoate nature of the Mandate and interwar governments but also how the persistence of personal modes of authority could coexist with a state that persisted regardless of which individuals were in or out of power. A bursary scholarship guaranteed a government job.

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[13]During the late Ottoman Empire, the area that became Transjordan had been an elaborate network of tribal affiliations; during World War I certain districts experienced a degree of independence in the short-lived, Hashemite-run Kingdom of Syria. Yoav Alon, "The Tribal System in the Face of the State-Formation Process: Mandatory Transjordan, 1921-46," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 2 (2005). 216 Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire : Transjordan, 1850-1921* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999). 20

[14] Betty S. Anderson, *Nationalist Voices in Jordan : The Street and the State* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005). 41

[15] Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom : Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[16] Both the British and the Ottomans quite consciously used ideas of "new" or "modern methods" of teaching. See Somel's discussion of Safvet Pasha, the minister of education from 1868-1871S Selçuk Aksin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908 : Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, V. 22 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001).56. In the case of the British, see the annual Confidential Reports on Teachers which unfailingly describe the methods of individual teachers as either new or old styled. The files on teachers are located in the Israeli State Archives, boxes 1010-1020. For a few cases, see "Confidential Report on Teaching Staff No. 402/En. Teacher: Judeh Effendi Farah Docmac", January 20, 1926. "Judeh Farah Docmac" ISA 1010 4 M., and District Inspector of Education Jamil Khaled, Southern District, "Annual Confidential Report on Junior Services Officials of the Government of Palestine: Hamdi Al-Husaini, Teacher at Gaza Boys' School, Gaza," July 26, 1921. "Hamdi Husaini" ISA 1010 25 M.

[17] Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *The Anthropology of the State: A Reader*, ed. Aradhana Sharma, and Akhil Gupta (Malden, MA: Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2006). 67

Although these scholars came from a variety of backgrounds, ranging from orphans to sons of clerics and scions of wealthy families, they (and their parents) all understood that education was an automatic path to government service. Students learned to coax, threaten and to organize protests in order to get more money and more freedom from their benefactors. Bursary scholars at AUB cajoled and argued with individuals that in theory represented their governments and the power of the state; however, the degree of control these individuals possessed was unfixed. This facilitated a sense of entitlement amongst students and a tendency to disregard their own government's authority as "bark without bite." Students' interactions with government employees supported these assumptions. Scholars' ability to disagree with their governments without severe consequences did not lead to rejection of these governments, and therefore to outright rebellion. Rather they sought to continue their criticisms of the government in print and in protest even as they continued to work as civil servants.

The ill defined authority represented by the governments of each mandate in part reflected the disjuncture between newly created colonial infrastructure and nationalist sentiments on the ground. Benedict Anderson has argued that nationalism in its original form was in part the product of disgruntled, educated creoles and their experiences with colonial administrative boundaries, both in terms of traversing a bureaucratically delineated territory and the glass ceiling which excluded them from positions open to those born in the metropole.[18] In a colonial context, according to Anderson, students from fledgling state sponsored systems of education would travel either to the center of their colony, or to the metropole, and would then return with a new sense of geographic boundaries and "fictive kinship" with other students who had experienced the same journey. Anderson's theories of nationalism have since become the basis for an entire generation of scholarship on postcolonial nationalism.[19]

The journey traveled by students at AUB does not fit cleanly into the boundaries of the Mandates or the nation states that succeeded them. Rather, bursary scholars at AUB traversed a geographic and cultural space which transcended borders, retracing the steps of their predecessors who had moved freely through the Ottoman Arab world. Although the pinnacle of the educational latter was no longer to be found in Istanbul, students seeking higher education and government employment traveled to institutions within the formerly Arab provinces, most frequently in the 1920s to AUB. Despite their disparate religions, social status, birthplaces, and citizenship, these students shared a sense of affiliation with one another.

Anderson's work seeks to explain the nation state. Therefore, he examines how a correspondence between nationalism, the nation, and the territorial boundaries of a state come about. The story of students at AUB on the other hand takes place at the front lines of the transition from empire to nation state where the territorial boundaries enforced by colonial powers and the

[18] These "pilgrim Creole functionaries and provincial Creole printmen," like Edward Said's intellectuals in exile, or Franz Fanon and his contemporaries, found themselves in an untenable position due to their inability to seize the reins of power they felt were their due. Rather than importing "modular" concepts to assert their modernity, as these concepts excluded Creole elites, they tried to create new hybrid versions. Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991). 65. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 1993). Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York; [Berkeley, Calif.]: Grove Press ; Distributed by Publishers Group West, 2008).

[19] It is hard to overestimate the influence of Anderson's work, however for an example of its continued relevance see Pheng Cheah and Jonathan D. Culler, *Grounds of Comparison : Around the Work of Benedict Anderson* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

"fictive kinship" of newly colonized people were at odds with one another. AUB bursary scholars viewed themselves as part of a nation that did not correspond to the Mandate borders the British and French had so recently defined. They inscribed limits of belonging based on shared experiences, language, and culture along the ghost lines of erased Ottoman territories.

This chapter contains four sections. The first provides a demographic overview of the bursary scholars. The second section investigates scholars during their years at AUB to demonstrate how experiences with students from throughout the region contributed to their sense of a shared international, pan-Arab identity. The third focuses on interactions between bursary scholars and their governments. The final section follows students after graduation, demonstrating their influence across the region as exhibited by textbooks, political movements and government service.

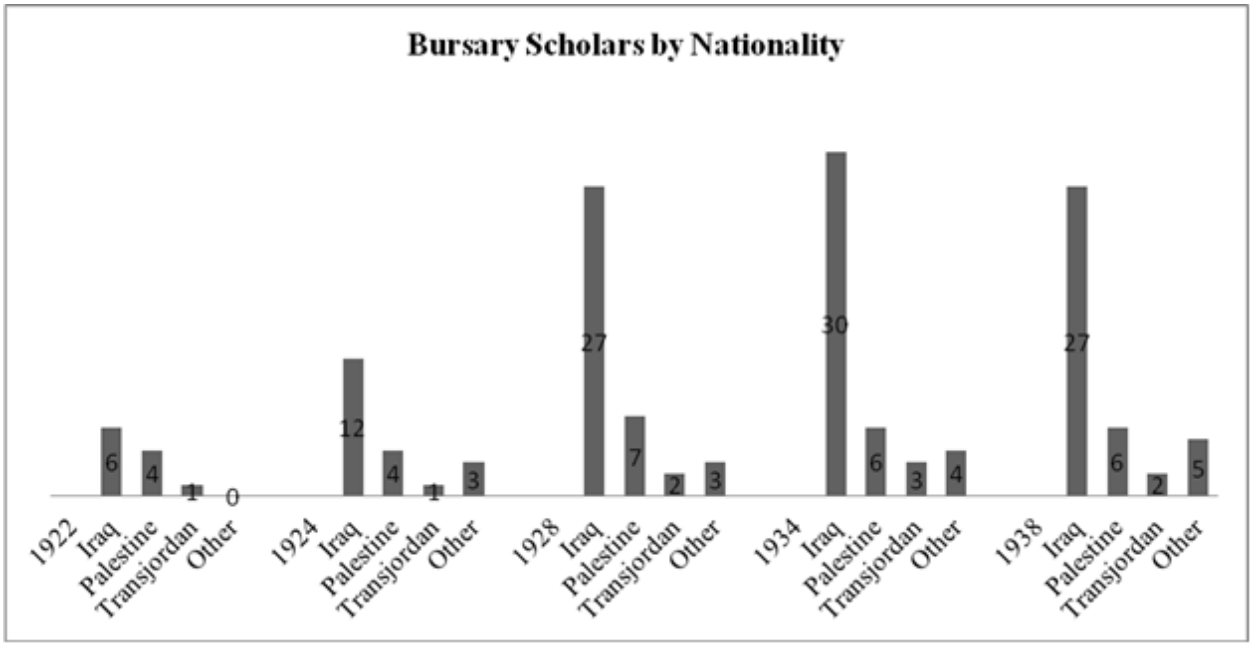
Despite their dissimilar backgrounds, students at AUB shared classrooms, joined the same clubs, sang the same songs, kicked the same footballs, and participated in the same demonstrations. In order to explore their world view as well as their role in society, this chapter uses a variety of sources produced by and about bursary scholars. These include records and publications of selected student organizations at AUB, the AUB alumni bulletin Al Kulliyah, Colonial and Foreign Office records, official newspapers, memoirs, personnel files and textbooks. [20] These materials demonstrate the forging of a transnational network of graduates as well as a united vision of an Arab world expressed in educational methods, a proliferation of textbooks in Arabic, and pan-Arab and anti-colonial agitation. The story of these students is that of intellectual and professional pilgrimage, new experiences and opportunities, and also encounters with governments, most particularly their own.

From classroom to stateroom: a demographic survey of bursary scholars and their peers

Although bursary scholars represent a small minority of the students who studied at the American University of Beirut, they had a disproportionate influence on the governments that sponsored their academic careers and on the societies they came from. The chart below portrays the number of bursary scholars by nationality. [21]

[20] . These sources are limited in that it is difficult to determine scholars' perceptions of themselves before they arrived at AUB, as all writings of that period are composed in hindsight.

[21] The data for this chart is taken from a number of sources including Acting President of the American University of Beyrouth Professor Nickoley, "To the Minister of Education, Baghdad Iraq, James Somerville, October 2, 1922," October 2, 1922. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2. The American University of Beirut, University Archives. Hearafter UA. *Al Kulliyah* 15, No 7. (May, 1929)., *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948: Volume 2, 1925-1928*, 16 vols., vol. 2 (Slough, England: Archive Editions, 1995), *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948: Volume 1, 1918-1924*, 16 vols., vol. 1 (Slough, England: Archive Editions, 1995), *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948: Volume 3, 1929-1931*, 16 vols. (Slough, England: Archive Editions, 1995), *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948: Volume 6, 1936-1937*, 16 vols., vol. 6 (Slough, England: Archive Editions, 1995), *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948: Volume 5, 1934-1935*, 16 vols., vol. 5 (Slough, England: Archive Editions, 1995), *Palestine and Transjordan Administration Reports, 1918-1948: Volume 7, 1937-1938*, 16 vols., vol. 7 (Slough, England: Archive Editions, 1995).



The first cadre of bursary scholars sent to AUB constituted barely a handful of individuals. Initially there were four students from Palestine, six from Iraq, and one from Transjordan.[22] Iraq consistently sent the largest number of bursary scholars, in part due to the larger budget allocation than the other Mandates, while Transjordan sent the least overall.[23] Iraq also had a larger population, approximately three million in 1919, while that of Palestine was 757,182 in 1922, and that of Transjordan roughly two hundred thousand. [24] In 1934, the government of Transjordan sponsored only three boys at AUB, two at the Women's Teacher Training College in Jerusalem, while eleven students and fifteen teachers were sent to agricultural schools in Syria and Palestine in a new government initiative to emphasize agricultural education. Overall, 107 scholars were supported by the Transjordanian government from 1927-1949; of these only eleven graduated from AUB. Only approximately 210 employees of the Department, later Ministry of Education in

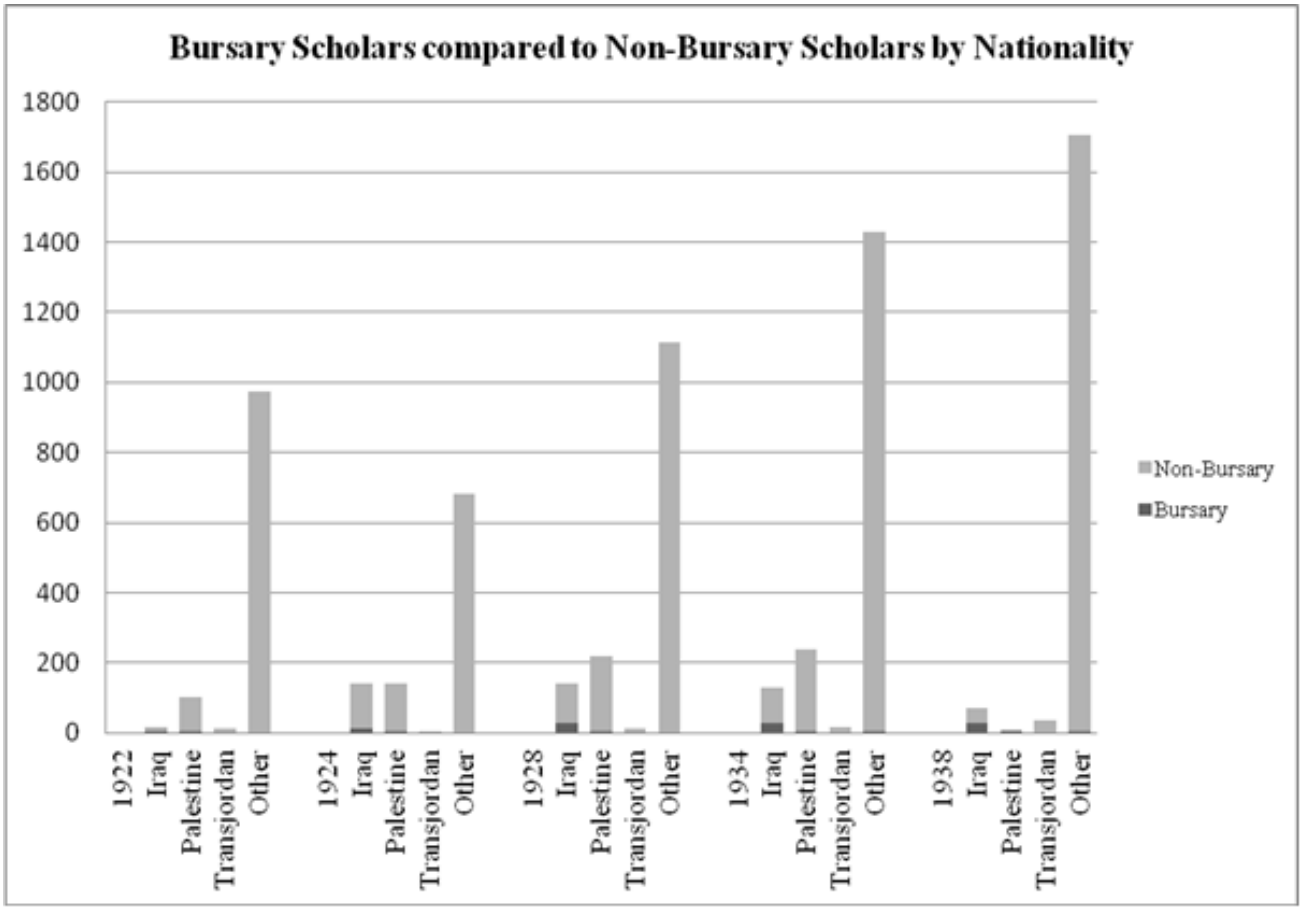
[22] Six years later, in 1928, the Government of Palestine had sponsored 12 students, that of Transjordan 5 while Iraq had funded 41 altogether. Penrose, 217

[23] Iraq's educational budget increased in absolute terms throughout the period, from approximately $521,440 in 1920-1 to $6,523,200 by 1945-6. Roderic D. Matthews, Matta Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the near East : Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949). 127. In terms of percentage of total budget, Iraq granted a mere 1.08% to education in 1919, 3.30% in 1921-1922, 4.59% in 1925-26, 10% in 1935, with a peak of 12.9% in 1938-39. Peter Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq : Contriving King and Country, 1914-1932* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007). 205, Matthews et. Al. 128. In Palestine on the other hand, initially $312,000 was devoted to education in 1920-21, reaching $4,148,832 in 1945-6. The percentage of the budget granted to education throughout this period ranged from 3.91-6.19%; however this includes the funds spent on Jewish education, which peaked at approximately 22% of the total education budget. Ibid., 222. In Transjordan on the other hand, the budget fluctuated between 1.1% and 7.1% of the total budget, actually decreasing from 1941-1946. However, the total funds devoted to education consistently increased from approximately $59,084 to $140,982. Ibid.,331

[24] Muhammad Fadil Jamali. "The new Iraq: its problem of Bedouin education." (New York City: Teachers college, Columbia University 1934). 11; Palestine, and J. B. Barron. 1923. *Palestine Report and general abstracts of the census of 1922. Taken on the 23rd of October, 1922*. (Jerusalem: Ptd. at Greek convent Press: 1922). 2; Yoav Alon. *The making of Jordan tribes, colonialism and the modern state*. (London: I.B. Tauris. 2009) 41

Transjordan and then Jordan, through the present day, graduated from AUB. [25] The largest number of Transjordanian bursary scholars was sent to Palestine to study at the Arab College of Jerusalem which provided a low-cost teaching certificate but not a university level course. [26] AUB, however, proudly touted the increasing number of bursary scholars, noting in its report to the Rockefeller foundation that bursary graduates, "are taking a prominent part in the development of educational work… In addition to the bursaries particularly trained for specific teaching positions, the governments and the private organizations of all these countries each year call for other graduates for teaching positions… the demand has always been greater than the supply."[27]

Bursary scholars did not make up the bulk of students of any nationality at AUB as the chart below illustrates.



Bursary scholars (represented by darker gray) form barely a blip in the number of students attending AUB. Despite the scant proportion of bursary scholars to AUB students overall, they played extremely influential roles in their respective countries and beyond after graduation. All

[25]Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Ta'līm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah. (Ministry of Education, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan." "Teacher Dictionary" http://www.moe.gov.jo/App/teacherDictionary/.

[26] Ahmad Yousef Al-Tall, "Education in Jordan : Being a Survey of the Political, Economic and Social Conditions Affecting the Development of the System on Education in Jordan, 1921-1977" (Sind University, 1979).59

[27] "Report for Mr. Staub and Dr. Close re Rockefeller Foundation, Division of Social Sciences" August 1929, AA:3.6, Faculty of Arts and Sciences [FAS], Box:5: School of Arts and Sciences, Reports of the Division of the Social Sciences of the Rockefeller foundation, File:1. UA. 10

bursary scholars worked for their respective governments, in leadership positions either in education or politics more generally. By 1934, bursary scholars had served as supervisors of education, such as Matta Akrawi in Iraq, Inspector of Education Najib ʻAlm-al-din in Transjordan, and lecturers at the Arab College of Jerusalem such as Wasfi ʻAnabtawi. The principal of the Teachers Training School in Iraq was Khalil al-Hashimi, Muhi al-Din Yusuf became Supervisor of Secondary Education in Iraq, and the General Inspector of Education, one of the highest posts in the Ministry of Education went to Fadil Jamali. While the number of those who had entered politics by the 1930s was small, bursary scholars gained posts as administration officers such as Thabit al-Khalidi in Palestine and Hikmat al-Majid in Iraq. Bursary scholar ʻAbd al-Karim al-Uzri also by 1935 had worked as Secretary to the Iraq consulate in Kermanshah, Attaché to the Iraqi legation Teheran, Secretary to the Ministry of Education and Assistant Chief of the Royal Diwan. [28] However, their influence, due to their work as civil servants, their authorship of textbooks, and their role in fomenting protest points to the necessity of examining their world view and how it was shaped by their experiences at AUB.

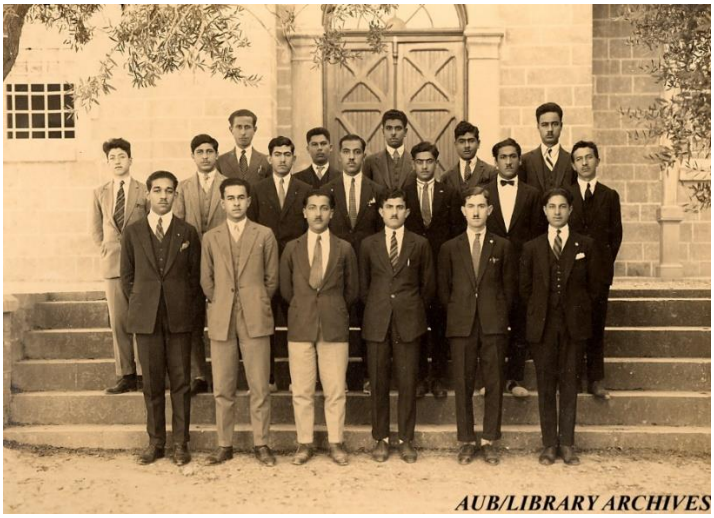
Thabit al-Khalidi (seated), Wasfi ʻAnabtawi (standing left) c. 1923 [29]

[28] http://www.imarawatijara.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Whos-Who-Iraq-Directory-1936.pdf 568

[29] Walid Khalidi. *Before Their Diaspora : A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948.* 281. "Schoolmasters, Jaffa, Ca. 1923", Institute for Palestine Studies http://btd.palestine-studies.org/content/schoolmasters. The other standing schoolmasters are Sami al-Eid, who would become the headmaster of a boys' school in Acre, and Salim Katul, another AUB graduate (though not Bursary scholar) and chemistry textbook author.

States, Studies and Societies: Attending AUB in the 1920s

At the American University of Beirut, bursary scholars paradoxically experienced intense surveillance from their own governments, as well as newfound freedoms to associate with their peers and to craft their future careers and identities. These students also began to lobby university authorities in order to promote what they felt would be the best future for themselves and their countries. When they arrived at AUB, students were closely watched by their governments and their teachers alike in order to assure their progress and the future viability of missions to the university. The president of AUB noted that as these young men constituted a "vanguard of what may become, and what we hope will become, a larger movement" special care ought to be taken to ensure their advancement.[30] They were to be model students and representatives of their newly created countries, carefully tended and observed. However, the objectives of government officials, university administrators and faculty, as well as of the students themselves frequently clashed. From the perspectives of the Mandate Departments and Ministries of Education, the main purpose of AUB was to cheaply create "efficient secondary teachers" particularly in math, science and English.[31] If the student could not keep up with his (and by 1925 her) studies, they would pay a hefty fine to their government for its wasted investment in intellectual capital. Meanwhile, the university sought to produce "ideal" men who would embody university values, representing the benefits of a liberal undergraduate education to the Middle East.[32] For their part, the students seized the opportunity to participate in a wide variety of extracurricular activities, forging friendships with politically motivated individuals from throughout the region.



Iraqi Bursary Scholars at the American University of Beirut 1926-1927[33]

AUB and the governments of Iraq, Palestine and Transjordan viewed themselves as shepherds of the first cadre of bursary students; moreover, they assumed that the experience of

[30] President of the American University of Beyrouth Professor Nickoley, "To Mr James Somerville, Ministry of Education, Baghdad Iraq, February 14, 1922" February 14, 1922. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.
[31] WJ Farrell, Government of Palestine Department of Education, "Subject: Mahfuz Ajluni, Palestine Government Scholar, December 20, 1923." Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.
[32] Penrose, *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut, 1866-1941*.84
[33] Iraqi Bursary Students (1926-1927). 1927. SC Ph:AUB:1927(08). UA.

AUB would hone the characters of these scholars into modern, moral, humble individuals. The Government of Iraq appointed James Somerville, an advisor to the Iraqi Ministry of Education (and an AUB graduate himself) as the chaperone of the Iraqi bursary students and covert inspector on their lengthy journey from Baghdad to Beirut. Somerville noted that the students were generally good, but there was one bad egg, Khalil Ibrahim, "an extreme whom we all trust the university will teach a lesson and who to our great sorrow happens to be a Christian." [34]

Somerville warned the university that the students would "require some degree of sympathy, and to be encouraged to drop their titles (sayyid and sheikh) as soon as possible while maintaining their religious observances." [35] These titles were actually religious in nature. *Sayyid* could be both a term of respect but also restricted to specific descendants of the prophet. Sheikh, a particularly flexible term, could indicate the leadership of a tribe or the memorization of the Qur'an among other things. For Somerville, these titles highlighted traditional, non-Western hierarchies that had no place at the American University of Beirut. Religious observances on the other hand, in their proper place, would keep the students well behaved. As Somerville articulated, from the university's perspective bursary scholars were not to lose their religious sensibilities but rather their traditional titles, becoming modern while remaining moral. The university appointed the registrar of the preparatory school (a 1906 alumnus) to act as the boys' "special guardian;" an unpaid position which involved advising the boys with regards to their coursework, dispensing their pocket money, and reporting on their progress to the president of the university and in turn to the government of Iraq.[36] Similarly, the students sponsored by the government of Palestine were closely watched and evaluated, particularly because of the extremely limited budget for education and the Department of Education's desire to get their money's worth.[37] The Department of Education in Palestine also sought a member of the AUB faculty to observe the boys individually and to keep the Department of Education up to date.[38]

Once at the university, however, students began to escape the grasp of their handlers and to experience the variety of activities available at AUB. Extracurricular activities at the university, organized by a combination of students and faculty members, promoted community service, literary and oral expression, physical fitness, and much to the dismay of university officials, displays of political and national sentiment. Several campus groups in particular appealed to bursary scholars: ''*al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá* ("the strongest bond"), the Students Union, the College

[34] James Somerville, Ministry of Education Iraq, "To the President of the American University of Beyrouth, Professor Nickoley," February 2, 1922. 2 Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Archives and Special Collections Jafet Library, American University of Beirut, "Directory of Aub Faculty Members, Staff Members, and Officers (1866 - Present): Najib Mulhim Nassar," The American University of Beirut, http://www.aub.edu.lb/cgi-bin/asc-directory.pl?step=detail&l_code=4786. Acting President of the American University of Beyrouth Professor Nickoley, "To the Minister of Education, Baghdad Iraq," September 27, 1922. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.
[37] For complaints related to the lack of funding for education in Palestine see, among others, Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac, 1956). 234, Khalil Totah, "Education in Palestine," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 164 (1932). 155. In fact, there were no additional bursary scholars sent to AUB in 1924 due to budgetary restrictions. George Antonius, Government of Palestine Department of Education, "Dear Mr. Dodge, in Reply Please Quote No 135/Pe," October 30, 1923. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.
[38] The representative of the Department of Education, Jerome Farrell, envisioned something akin to the tutorial system he had experienced at Cambridge. Jerome Farrell, "To President Dodge," January 30, 1923. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.

Assembly, the Arab Scientific Society and, for Iraqi students, the Iraqian Society. *al-`Urwah al-Wuthqá* was a literary society focused on the Arabic language. The Students Union was an English language society, which sponsored debates, plays, and a yearly gazette.[39] The College Assembly was a hybrid between a representative organization and a way of choosing which speakers and other public events the college would witness. The Arab Scientific Society was a scholastic club. The Iraqian Society was one of a number of national, or in the words of the university faculty "regional" societies, including Armenian, Egyptian and Jewish societies, whose existence the university grudgingly accepted, despite misgivings as to their divisive and political nature.[40] Students were not allowed to join or lead societies until their junior or senior year. However, they could attend events and read magazines produced by these societies from the beginning of their time at AUB.

The most significant society for the forging of friendships as well as Pan-Arab nationalist ties was *al-`Urwah al-Wuthqá*. Founded in 1918, the stated purpose of the group was to "develop in the students of the upper departments the habit of writing and of public speaking in Arabic, and to make them acquainted with parliamentary laws…"[41] *al-`Urwah al-Wuthqá* sponsored Arabic speaking contests and plays and, by 1921, an illustrated journal. In her seminal work on AUB, Betty Anderson highlights this journal as "the Arab nationalist bible for its students." [42] Anderson focuses on the 1930s, when the student group and its magazine became radicalized, providing an explicit Arab nationalist platform. However, during the 1920s, *al-`Urwah al-Wuthqá*'s members wrestled with not only what being an Arab, the Arab nation, and Arab unity signified, but also how to express themselves politically at school and beyond. Several bursary students participated in *al-`Urwah al-Wuthqá*, one of their first steps towards a life and career in print, collaborating with future poets, educators and ministers.[43] In 1925, the journal produced an "Iraqi Awakening" issue which highlighted moves towards democracy in Iraq, as well as the "mixing of Syrians and Iraqis on the AUB campus, seeing their intellectual interaction as "building up knowledge about the Arab nation, its past and present" while highlighting Arab unity.[44] The journal's projected audience was an Arab world which, although possessing a variety of newly created national divisions, was still one coherent, if ill defined, unit with a set of region wide concerns and traditions.[45]

[39] *Al Kulliyah* 8, No 2. (December 1, 1921).22 As the language of instruction at AUB was English, it made sense to have a group devoted to the mastery of the language and its literature.
[40] Faculty of the American University of Beirut, "Report of the Faculty Committee on Student Organizations, Revised August 5, 1927," August 5, 1927. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 2, File 4, UA.
[41] Matta Akrawi, "Al 'Urwat Ul-Wuthqa," *Al Kulliyah* 7, No 8 (June 1921). 139-140
[42] Anderson, *The American University of Beirut : Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education*. 129, *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá*, 1924, UA.
[43] Bursary scholars Wasfi Anabtawi, Yusuf Zainal, Fadil Jamali, the future prime minister of Iraq, Thabit Khalidi and Muhyiddin Yusuf as well as future luminaries Ibrahim Tuqan, one of the most famous Palestinian poets of his generation, educators Matta Akrawi and George Mu'ammar, and Anis Nusuli whose political association with Yusuf Zainal would prove disruptive on a national level in a few years time.
[44] Anderson, *The American University of Beirut : Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education*. 131
[45] By 1922, the society had over 40 members, including two honorary and six for life. *Al Kulliyah 9,* No *2* (December 1922). 1, Moreover, the audiences for the meetings of this society numbered from 50 to 90 individuals. *Al Kulliyah 10,* No 3 (January 1924). 48

The Administrative Committee of *'al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá*, Second Quarter 1925-1926. [46]

[46] *al-`Urwah al-Wuthqá* v. 2. No. 2. 1925-1926. Student Manuscript Magazines Collection. AA:4.2.1, Box 18 1924-1926. UA. Clockwise, beginning with the top right portrait is Yusuf Zainal, Tahsin Ibrahim, Kan'an Khatib, Fadil Jamali, likely Khalid al-Hashimi but the writing is unclear, Wasfi 'Anabtawi, Zafir Dajani and in the center 'Araft al-Duweik.

The society did not limit its activities to promoting the Arabic language and Arab nationalism; members of the group petitioned the university (unsuccessfully) to make Arabic the language of instruction in more classes. The carefully worded petition, entitled "A memorandum to the trustees and faculty from the Arabic-speaking students committee on the revival of instruction in Arabic in the American University of Beirut" argued that for AUB graduates to properly serve their countries and to be a credit to the university, they must express themselves better through the Arabic language. The petition contextualized AUB as a modern, secular school at the center of an Arab world, depending on Arabs to fill its classrooms. It describes the proliferation of schools where Arabic was the language of instruction: in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria tracing this intellectual development "to the national awakening before and after the War which naturally expresses itself in terms of language." [47] The students conceived of a world united by the Arabic language and a national awakening which was not disrupted by World War I despite the division of the region into new territorial units. The students noted that the most difficult issue would be to find adequate text books for these new courses. They offered two solutions: to use the same text books used currently in Egypt (as the British Mandates were doing) and "to write our own books." They argued that if the university could forge solid ties with schools in Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria, they would have a strong market for textbooks.[48] They also underscored the reality that for the majority of students in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, AUB was the only option for higher studies.[49] Although their petition was rejected by the faculty of AUB, this document reveals the world view and values of many of AUB's students. More concretely, its call to produce Arabic language textbooks in modern subjects was in fact answered by a large number of AUB alumni.[50]

The Iraqian organization was the strongest national student group on the AUB campus throughout the 1920s. It met weekly, putting on receptions and short plays.[51] During the late 1920s it was in a state of flux, caught between portraying a static Arab past and culture while advocating a vision of a modern, triumphant future. For example, at the Iraqian students reception in December 1926, the president of the university expounded "on the duty of the educated Mesopotamians" to serve their country "during this period of her reorganization and renaissance" citing the contrasting historical examples of Pompeii and Messina to demonstrate "how absurd it is for any nation to expect to become happy and prosperous and great by simply contenting herself with boasting of her past and bygone glory." However, this was in fact followed by a discussion of the glory of old Baghdad and a display of traditional Iraqi costume.[52] By 1932, when alumnus and bursary scholar Yusuf Zainal returned to AUB with 50 Iraqi boy scouts in tow, the Iraqian Society put on a play that clearly demonstrated "that the spirit of young irakians is inclined to discard the old and to

[47] "A Memorandum to the Trustees and Faculty from the Arabic-Speaking Students Committee on the Revival of Instruction in the American University of Beirut," July 1923. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 6, UA. 5-6

[48] Ibid.11-12

[49] Ibid.21-22

[50] Authors included Wasfi Anabtawi, Husayn Ghunaym, Husain Ruhi, Ahmed Samih Khalidi, Isaaf Nashashibi, Anis Nusuli, Darwish Miqdadi and Said Sabbagh among others.

[51] Chairman West Hall Committee Lh Seelye, "American University of Beirut West Hall, Annual Report of the Chairman of the West Hall Committee 1927-1928," 1928. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 9, UA. 21-22

[52] "The Iraquian Students' Reception," *Al Kulliyah* 13, No 3 (January 1927). 79

adopt the new…"[53] As the consul general of Iraq in Lebanon, the Iraqi scouts, Zainal, AUB students as well as the Moslem scouts of Beirut looked on, the society acted out the life of an "old fashioned pedagogue" who witnesses the radical transition to "the modern home life of Iraq." The audience, laughing at the wonderment of the elderly teacher, was made to realize "that the East is truly moving rapidly towards a new order of life." The new order of life represented in this play and desired by the Iraqian Society students paralleled that promised by the Mandate system, including modern teaching methods of modern subjects, independent thought, technology, and the achievement of a codified place for their country and their nation, whether or not the two coincided in the modern world. However, as the interactions between the Iraqi bursary scholars and the Iraqi ministry of education demonstrate, the values students learned at AUB frequently led them to butt heads with the government that sponsored their studies.

Biting the Hand that Feeds You: Learning to Protest at AUB

As future civil servants, AUB bursary scholars interacted frequently with officials in the Ministries or Departments of Education who were meant to embody the impersonal, bureaucratic authority of the Mandate governments. Yet, as the students discovered, rules could be bent, individuals could be negotiated with, and punishments could be changed to promotions. Interactions between bursary scholars and their governments escalated during the students' time at AUB, culminating in government fears that AUB student organizations were merely fronts for opposition parties in Iraq. The progression from petition to protest demonstrates the increasingly important role played by AUB students in Pan-Arab and anti colonial movements, the flexible boundaries between government and non government, as well as the personalized nature of state society interactions during the interwar period. AUB students' participation in protests and negotiations with their governments prepared them to continue these practices even when they had become government officials themselves.

Friction between bursary students and the Iraqi Ministry of Education began almost immediately, putting administrators at the American University of Beirut in a difficult position having to act as middlemen between the Iraqi government and its scholarship students. In August 1922, the Iraqi Ministry of Education decided in the interests of economizing their limited budget, to revoke the pocket money of the bursary scholars. This sparked a series of protests, beginning with the students negotiating with the president of AUB. On October 2, 1922 the acting president of AUB wrote to the Iraqi Ministry of Education that some of the students had come to his office and "expressed themselves rather strongly" that they felt the relationship between student and government constituted "a bilateral contract which they felt should not be materially altered without supplementary agreement between the two parties." The students saw their relationship with the Iraqi government as an agreed upon, set relationship, in some sense governed by the rule of law and a sense of fair play.[54] However, the representative of the Iraqi Government disagreed, asserting that the government had carte blanche to pay for only those items, including medical care and books, which the Ministry and the president deemed necessary. Therefore, funds would be dispersed on an ad hoc basis rather than giving the students a lump sum to be used as they saw fit. [55] This further enraged the students, leading them to involve their parents in the negotiations. By

[53] *Al Kulliyah* 18, No 5 (May 15, 1932).107-108, 111-12

[54] Professor Nickoley, "To the Minister of Education, Baghdad Iraq."

[55] James Somerville, Ministry of Education Iraq,, "To the President of the American University of Beyrouth," December 14, 1922. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.

March 1, 1923 students, as well as their parents, petitioned the government. The result of these protests was a clear victory for the students. By June 1923 they were each granted 50 Syrian pounds sterling additional pocket money.[56]Through this incident, the students learned the Iraqi government would respond to their petitions; the government would be willing to bend the rules if they made enough trouble. Accordingly, students continued to push their luck and to put pressure on their benefactors through petitions and communications with the university and their governments.

Bursary scholars continued negotiations with the university and the Ministries of Education illustrate the intense degree of government involvement in student's lives, the conflicting centers of authority students navigated, and the contradictory views of governance possessed by the students and government representatives. For example, although the Ministry prescribed a course of study for bursary scholars leading to the normal or teaching certificate, some scholars sought to take different courses and even to change their majors to the more lucrative field of Medicine.[57]. JB Riley, the British Advisor and representative of the Iraqi Government asserted that "… Our principal need is for teachers of mathematics and science and for men with a good knowledge of pedagogics…"[58] Riley, a British colonial official, equated himself with the country of Iraq as well as the Ministry of Education. He viewed his authority as broad and impersonal, while the students wrestled with his individual decisions in regards to their future professions. Riley asserted that the students would take the Bachelor of Arts course, including those classes that would allow them to obtain the teaching certificate, concentrating their electives in math and science. The Iraqi government was involved at a minute level in the lives of these scholars, caring whether they took French or chemistry. The students also expected the government to act as an impersonal authority according to the rule of law, or at least contractual agreements. For example, after one student received an additional benefit from the Iraqi government when he won a prize for his scholarship, another student who had previously won a similar award complained to the university, which brought it up with the Ministry of Education. The government praised the student's progress but did not allow him any extra benefits.[59]

The students did not confine their criticisms of the Iraqi government to its attempts to control as well as support their college experience. They used their newfound voices to protest the decisions of the Iraqi government itself. On January 13, 1926 the Iraqi parliament and the British government signed a new Anglo-Iraqi treaty which extended Iraq's status as a British Mandate, subject to British control through 1950, unless Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations before that date.[60] Iraqi students at the American University of Beirut sent messages via telegram and cable to the Iraqi parliament and to opposition newspapers in Baghdad denouncing the treaty. Yusuf Zainal, then president of the Iraqi Association at AUB, also wrote an article published in a daily Baghdad newspaper that described the meeting of the Iraqi Association and their subsequent

[56] Ministry of Education Baghdad, "Communication of June 12, 1923 No 1 155b 931," June 12, 1923. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.
[57] Acting Adviser of Education FB Riley, Ministry of Education Iraq,, "To Doctor Dodge," August 7, 1923. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Dean Alfred Ely Day, "To Minister Riley," December 27, 1923. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 1, File 2, UA.
[60] Great Britain, "`Iraq Treaty with King Feisal Signed at Baghdad, 13th January, 1926, with Explanatory Note." (London: H.M.S.O., 1926), http://www.llmcdigital.org/default.aspx?redir=98083b. p 2-6

protest of the treaty.[61] The British Supervisor of the Iraqi Ministry of Education received a letter from the Iraq Police Investigation Department noting that all the police knew at the moment about Yusuf Zainal was that his brother was also a "rabid nationalist or shall one say a patriot." [62]

At this point, the government of Iraq became more deeply enmeshed in not only the life of Yusuf Zainal, but also the administration of AUB. Although British officials did not believe AUB students possessed the wherewithal to organize such a protest on their own, they still wished to teach the students and the university a lesson. They assumed that Zainal was only a "figurehead" and that the Iraqi Association was essentially a front for an opposition party in Iraq. In response, the Iraqi Ministry of Education demanded that AUB suspend Yusuf Zainal and close down the Iraqi association, warning the bursary scholars that "if in future they interfere in politics they will be in danger of having their scholarships stopped and of being expelled from the university." AUB complied with the demands of the Ministry of Education, suspending Yusuf Zainal for two weeks due to his "participation in the activity of an Iraqi political club."[63] He still graduated in June 1926, with a normal (teaching) certificate and a Bachelor of Arts degree, as well as receiving an honorary lifetime membership to the Students Union organization. It appears that neither the university nor the government of Iraq wished to severely punish Yusuf, in all probability to protect their investment in his future career and also because in the government's case they presumed he was not truly behind the protest. His experiences at AUB however show how AUB students had both the opportunity and the support to express themselves publicly, specifically through written communication, and to think independently, priming them for teaching and for political activity.

The university's response to the activities of the Iraqian students organization and the demands of the Iraqi government shows that although certain aspects of political activity at AUB were limited, punishment was frequently light or brief. AUB administrators decided in the wake of the 1926 protests to rethink their policies and to reevaluate the connections between student organizations and society. New regulations implemented in 1927 sought to limit the interactions between AUB students and society outside of the university.[64] These regulations prevented student groups from meeting off campus, restricted the participation of persons outside the AUB community, and also strictly forbade discussions of religion or politics, particularly "questions of a partisan or propagandist nature."[65] Although the Iraqi chamber of deputies reported that in April the Iraqian association had been abolished, it seems the society was functioning during the 1927-28 academic year, albeit according to the new rules governing student organizations.[66] Despite

[61] "Intelligence Report No 5," March 4, 1926. IOR/2/20/A1238. India Office Records. The British Library, London. Hearafter BL.
[62] Iraq Police Investigation Department, "To Al Smith," February 15, 1926. Lionel Smith Collection, GB165-0266, Box 1, File 3. MECA.
[63] Committee of the Division of Arts and Sciences, "Arts and Sciences Faculty 1925-1926," March 1, 1926. Mss AUB 12 2/1, UA.
[64] Faculty of the American University of Beirut, "Report of the Faculty Committee on Student Organizations, Revised August 5, 1927." August 5, 1927. Student Life 1882-1980s Collection, AA 4.3, Box 2, File 4, UA.
[65] Ibid. 2
[66] "Intelligence Report Baghdad, the 11th of April, Report No 8. Meeting of April 5, 1926 of the Chamber of Deputies," April 11, 1926. IOR/2/20/A1238. BL. 3-4 The Iraqian society was mentioned as a regional organization in the report of the faculty committee on student organizations in August 1927, indicating that the society was closed merely for the remainder of the 1926-7 academic year. "Report of the Faculty Committee on Student Organizations, Revised August 5, 1927." 2 As the regulations stipulate that a regional society must function for at least one academic year in order to be allowed to hold a reception, and by May 1929 their annual reception was highlighted in the alumni

these rules, AUB was not by any means a total institution. [67] Connections between the university and the Arab world were continually strengthened through official alumni networks, new students including new bursary scholars, and also the unofficial ties between graduates. This next section will briefly explore the legacy of the first generation of bursary scholars at AUB highlighting pan-Arab, anti-colonial agitation as well as new interventions in education.

Textbooks and Tadhimun (solidarity): The legacy of AUB bursary scholars in the 1920s and 1930s discrete

After they graduated from AUB, bursary scholars and their peers played key roles in the formation of school systems, the increase of textbooks used throughout the Arabic speaking world, and in the promotion of international political movements, specifically a broad notion of pan-Arabism. An AUB degree guaranteed employability in the Arabic speaking world, allowing graduates to move freely from one Mandate to another. By the early 1930s in Palestine, AUB graduates constituted over half of the Arabs employed in the upper ranks of the educational bureaucracy.[68] By the end of the decade, two out of the three District Inspectors in Palestine were graduates, as were 17 of the 35 Arabs employed by the Department of Education.[69] By 1940, all three inspectors of education in Transjordan were AUB graduates, including the first bursary scholar from Transjordan, ʻAbd al-Qader al-Tannir, who also composed the Jordanian national anthem.[70] The first female graduate of AUB from Jerusalem, bursary scholar Olga Wahbe, having cleaned up on prizes at the male dominated AUB, worked her way up through the ranks of the Department of Education in Palestine, influencing a generation of Palestinian girls.[71] In 1920s and 1930s Iraq, AUB graduates from not only Iraq but Syria and Palestine were employed in administration and education. The university proudly noted the promotions of 8 AUB graduates in the Iraqi Ministry of Education in May of 1933.[72] By 1953, AUB could boast that one of its graduates (a former bursary scholar) Fadil Jamali had become Prime Minister of Iraq. [73]

AUB graduates sought to apply the world view, pedagogical philosophies, and methods of advancement they learned at AUB to their surroundings. This world view included a sense of affiliation with their fellow graduates (as the constant meetings-up and linkages described in the

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magazine, this indicates the society was functioning during the 1927-1928 academic year. *Al Kulliayh* 15, No 7 (May, 1929). 183

[67] Erving Goffman, *Asylums : Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Immates* (Harmondsworth; Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1970). 15

[68] Only the upper ranks of the Government of Palestine Civil Service were included in the Civil service lists. For the Department of Education in 1932, out of 25 positions, 13 were held by Arabs. Of those 13, 7 were AUB graduates. Government of Palestine, "Government of Palestine Civil Service List Revised to the 1st April, 1932," (Jerusalem. Government of Palestine 1932) CBS 127. BL.

[69] Government of Palestine, "Government of Palestine Civil Service List 1939 Revised to 1st January 1939," (Jerusalem. Government of Palestine1939) CBS 127. BL.

[70] *Al Kulliyah Review* 7, No 3. (January 1, 1940). 18 For the national anthem see the website of His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein. Royal Hashemite Court, http://kingabdullah.jo/index.php/en_US/pages/view/id/154.html.

[71] ""Wahbe, Olga Assaf" The Baltimore Sun," (February 28, 2006), http://library.pressdisplay.com/pressdisplay/viewer.aspx?newspaper=baltimore+sun. She won second prize in the sophomore class speaking contest. *Al-Kulliyah* 12 No 8. (July 12, 1926). 250. She was also president of her senior class. *Al-Kulliyah* 14 No 7 (May 1928). 245

[72] *Al Kulliyah* 19 No 5. (May 15, 1933). 152

[73] Muhammad Fadil Jamali, "Arab Struggle : Experience of Mohammed Fadil Jamali, 1943-1958," (1974). 64

alumni gazette demonstrate), as well as a sense of their own importance, and modernity. When they returned to their home countries, they attempted to modernize and unify their conception of an Arab world and to better their own careers. Unsurprisingly, their ideas did not always coincide with those of their superiors, or of their governments. AUB scholars seeking to receive teachers certificates, in addition to Bachelor degrees, as bursary scholars did, would have taken a variety of cutting edge pedagogical courses, influenced heavily by American standards. These included courses in school management and the history, psychology and philosophy of education. The textbooks were all produced by American educators, of varying viewpoints. The school management course would primarily use Classroom Management: its Principles and Techniques, a textbook written in the early years of the 20th century by William Chandler Bagley, an American school teacher and educational theorist. Interestingly, the book advocates a paradoxical relationship of authority between teacher and principal, partially "unquestioned authority" but also scope for initiative, democratic discussion of teaching methods and material, culminating in an "intelligent loyalty" resembling that of a soldier to his commander. [74] The history of education course would highlight the connections between education and social life, using the textbook A Brief History of Education by Paul Monroe, of Columbia Teachers College. Similarly, the course on educational psychology would focus on "the nature and conditions of learning" requiring works written by American educational philosophers. The course on the Philosophy of Education perhaps advocated the most explicitly American conception of schooling, by seeking to "connect the growth of the democracy with the development of the experimental in the sciences, evolutionary ideas in the biological sciences and the industrial organization…." [75] Only upperclassmen were allowed to take this course, which focused on John Dewey's Democracy and Education.

Graduates found that the emphasis on critical thinking, democracy, negotiation, and the links between schooling and society that they were taught to value at the American University of Beirut led to conflict with superiors rather than their admiration. Sati' al-Husri, who we met in the last chapter, included an entire section on AUB graduates in his memoirs. [76] Al-Husri complained that every graduate of AUB, "considered himself educated and he carried in his mind a plan of reform" which was imported wholesale from AUB. For example, former bursary scholar Hasan Jawad, then employed as an instructor of education at the Teachers Training School Baghdad, announced to al-Husri that in America there were associations for the parents of students, allowing them to have a say in their children's schooling. Moreover, Jawad continued, in America there was no set curriculum for the entire country but rather each location could implement its own curriculum according to local conditions. [77] Jawad then questioned why there was one syllabus for all of Iraq. Al-Husri was really shocked at the idea that a modern country would not have a unified curriculum. Al-Husri rebuked Jawad regarding parental input, as in al-Husri's opinion most of the parents were much more ignorant than officials in the Ministry of Education. Meanwhile, al-Husri sought to impose a very uniform, centralized, and politically driven curriculum on the entire

[74] William C. Bagley, *Classroom Management Its Principles and Technique*. (New York: Macmillan, 1907.) 263-264
[75] Faculty of the American University of Beirut, "Report Submitted by the Faculty of the American University of Beirut Concerning the Opportunity to Train Students for Service in the near East through Commerce and the Social Sciences."
[76] William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist : Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati'al-Husri* (Princeton, New Jersey: Pinceton University Press, 1971). 71-73
[77] *Al Kulliyah* 14, No 7. (May 1, 1928). 194 and see also Abu Khaldun Sati' al-Husri, *Mudhakkirati Fi Al-`Iraq 1921-1941*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Bayrut: Dar al-Tali`ah, 1967). 87

country in order to promote a Jacobin Pan-Arab identity.[78] Jawad's idea of local input in education undermined al-Husri's pedagogical as well as national goals. Jawad's notions of education and Pan-Arabism were more flexible and varied than that of al-Husri, leading to friction within the Iraqi educational system as a whole.

Al-Husri complained that AUB scholars were continuously discussing and promoting "modern education" and "the American way" but without any type of sound logic in their thinking on even the most basic of matters. Yusuf Zainal, having been secretary to the Iraqi consul in Beirut and a teacher at Baghdad's government secondary school, argued to al-Husri that because at AUB professors did not teach more than 12 hours per week he should not be required to teach 20 lessons per week. Al-Husri retorted essentially that what happened at AUB should stay at AUB and that if they reduced the number of hours teachers taught they would have to find more teachers, currently a real problem in the region. Zainal left the room muttering that this excess of work prevented teachers from fulfilling their duties. Yusuf Zainal returned to al-Husri's office two months later requesting permission to teach extra hours at another school. Al-Husri gleefully reminded him that he had previously complained about teaching too many hours and denied his request.[79]

The atmosphere of intellectual curiosity and questioning Zainal and his compatriots had experienced at AUB did not exist in the same way at the Ministry of Education in Iraq, nor in Palestine. Yet, former bursary scholars took advantage of the bargaining power their rare qualifications granted by teaching beyond the curriculum and rising through the ranks of government service. For example, Wasfi 'Anabtawi worked his way up from a secondary school teacher to an inspector of education. [80] One of his students recalled how 'Anabtawi "didn't look at the book he was teaching us from, but would dictate to us pages of knowledge that seemed to spring spontaneously from his well-learned mind… He was able to capture our minds and imaginations…"[81] 'Anabtawi taught beyond the syllabus, inspiring his students. Like his fellow bursary scholars, 'Anabtawi not only expanded the government's curriculum in Palestine as a teacher, but also shaped a generation's view of geography through several textbooks used throughout the region. [82]

AUB graduates, like Wasfi 'Anabtawi, could rest assured that freely expressing their opinions in print would not result in permanent dismissal. Their educational qualifications were

[78] Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist : Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Satiʿ al-Husri, p.* 62-64
[79] Al-Husri, *Mudhakkirati Fi Al-`Iraq 1921-1941*. 88-89
[80] Government of Palestine, *Staff List of the Government of Palestine as on the 1st October 1943* (Jerusalem: Alexandria Whitehead Morris Limited 1943).
[81] Jabra Ibrahim Jabra. *The First Well: A Bethlehem Boyhood*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995. p.162
[82] For example, Wasfi 'Anabtawi, Husayn Ghunaym. *Al-Majmal Fi Al-Tarikh Al-'Usur Al-Mutawassata Wa Al-Haditha (a Summary of Modern Medieval History)*. Jaffa: al-Matbaʿa al-'Asriyya [Modern Press], 1943., Wasfi 'Anabtawi, Sa'id Sabbagh. *Al-Jughrāfīyah Al-Iqtiṣādīyah* (Economic Geography) Jerusalem (al-Quds): Maṭbaʿat al-Ābāʾ al-Faransīsīyīn, 1941. Wasfi 'Anabtawi, Hussein Ghunaym, Ahmad Khalifa and Sa'id Sabbagh, *Al-Qira'a Al-Tarikhiyya Al-Musawwara (the Illustrated History Reader) Part 1* (Haifa: al-Matbaʿa al-'Asriyya [Modern Press], 1949). Wasfi 'Anabtawi and Sa'id Sabbagh *Jughrāfīuah Filasṭīn Wa-al-Bilād Al-'Arabīyah*. (Geography of Palestine and the Arab Countries) Jaffa: Maktabat al-Ṭāhir Ikhwān, 1946.

rare enough, and their government's investment in their schooling was costly enough to preclude real punishment.

AUB graduates shaped schooling not only in person but also in print, with and without government sanction. Al-Husri complained that AUB graduates were expressing their (in his view) heretical opinions on education in some of the opposition newspapers in Baghdad. [83] In 1935 the Ministry of Education of Iraq began publishing a quarterly magazine entitled *al-Mu'allim al-Jadīd* ("The New Teacher*"*). The intended audience of this magazine was teachers of Iraq; its subject matter included articles on education, translations of pedagogical tracts from the United Kingdom and the US as well as pieces which explored sociology, manual training and the educational and political needs of Iraq and the Arab World. Of the six members of the editorial committee, five were AUB graduates.[84] Graduates also published articles in "The New Teacher" including former bursary scholars such as Fadil Jamali as well as those on the editorial committee. Their articles reflect the experiences they shared at AUB and their personal views of schooling. For example, Jamali contributed 25 articles to the journal from its inception through 1942, writing about modern education, patriotism, morals in education, translations of John Dewey, and an article on democratic life in the modern school.[85] Similarly, graduates produced articles and translations focused on the teaching of mathematics, the scientific spirit, and the history of education in Iraq. Graduates also wrote textbooks that were used in schools throughout the Arab world. The governments of Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq all assigned bursary scholars' works, rangomg from history and geography to chemistry and mathematics that were used in Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq.[86]

Although writings highlighting Arab nationalism, Arab unity, and praise of an Arab nation proliferated, bursary scholars and other AUB graduates wrestled with how to define these terms,

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[83] Al-Husri, *Mudhakkirati Fi Al-`Iraq 1921-1941*. 88

[84] These included Matta Akrawi, then supervisor of primary education in Iraq, Muhyiddin Yusuf, supervisor of secondary education in Iraq and a former bursary scholar, Khalil al-Hashimi, Principal of the Teachers Training College in Iraq, Hikmat Abdul Majid, another bursary scholar and superintendent of publication and translation, Abdul Jabbar Chalabi, bursary scholar and supervisor of rural education as well as Miss Emmet Sa'id, supervisor of women's education. *Al-Kulliyah*, 21 No. 5, (May 15, 1935).158

[85]Ḥikmat Tūmāshī, *Fahāris Al-Mu`allim Al-Jadid*, (Volume 1, Index) (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1966).12-13

[86] The Textbook Museum at the Government Secondary School for Boys in Salt, Jordan contains textbooks used in Transjordan and Jordan from the 1920s through the present day. Among these books are works written by Wasfi Anabtawi, Hussein Ghunaym, Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi, Jibrail Katul, Ali Hussein Ruhi, Darwish al-Miqdadi and Anis Nusuli, to name a few. These include Wasfi 'Anabtawi, Hussein Ghunaym, *Al-Majmal Fi Al-Tarikh Al-'Usur Al-Mutawassata Wa Al-Haditha (a Summary of Modern Medieval History)*, Wasfi 'Anabtawi, Hussein Ghunaym, Ahmad Khalifa and Sa'id Sabbagh, *Al-Qira'a Al-Tarikhiyya Al-Musawwara (the Illustrated History Reader) Part 1*. This work was used in the second year of primary school in Palestine, (presumably before the end of the Mandate) as well as in Jordan. Wasfi 'Anabtawi and Sa'id Sabbagh *Jughrāfīuah Filasṭīn Wa-al-Bilād Al-'Arabīyah*. (Geography of Palestine and the Arab Countries), Salim Katul, *`Ilm Al-Kimya Al-`Amali Lil-Ṣufūf Al-Thānawiyat Al-Juz' Al-Thānī Al-Ṭab'ah Al-Thāniyah (the Science of Practical Chemistry for the Secondary Classes, Part Ii, Second Edition)* (Al-Quds: al-Matba`a al-mā'īyah al-ḥayyah, 1947), ———, *Al-'ulūm Al-Ḥadīthah: Khamsa Ajzā Lil-Ṣufūf Al-Ibtidā'ī (Modern Sciences: Five Parts for the Elementary Classes)* (Beirut: Maṭba'at Ṣādir Rīḥānī, 1946).Works known to be used in Iraq included Darwish al-Miqdadi's History of the Arab Nation as well as Anis Nusuli's The Umayyad State in Syria, discussed above. Reeva S. Simon, "The Teaching of History in Iraq before the Rashid Ali Coup of 1941," *Middle Eastern Studies* 22, no. 1 (1986). 42 Also, *al Kulliyah* describes with pleasure the publishing of "The principles of natural history" by Jamil M. Jammu'ah, BA1930 and Jalil M Jawad BA 1930, with the approval of the Iraqi Ministry of Education. This book was to be used in secondary schools. *al Kulliyah* 19, No 6, (July 1 1933). 190

and how to reconcile territorial divisions with shifting pan-Arab ideals. For example, Matta Akrawi, an AUB graduate and committee member of "The New Teacher" produced a tract in 1937, funded and published by the Iraqi Ministry of Education on compulsory education in Iraq. Akrawi argues that there is an Arab nation, expressed through literature, history, the arts, and supported by particular morals including honesty as well as respect for women." [87] Akrawi asserts that universal primary education is one of the best ways of preserving and promoting this Arab culture. A United Kingdom researcher, Victor Clark, funded by UNESCO, and writing on compulsory education in Iraq in the 1950s complained that throughout Akrawi's work, words meaning country, nation, community, the Arab nation, the country of Iraq and the country were used interchangeably. For Clark it was confusing as to what entity compulsory education was meant to support. Was it an Iraqi nation? An Arab nation? An Iraqi community within an Arab nation? [88] Akrawi's shifting word choice indicates the fluidity of his views on affiliation during the 1930s. The Iraqi nation was an inseparable part of an Arab world, as Iraqis, including Akrawi, had been a part of the Arabist club *al-`Urwah al-Wuthqá*.

Textbooks and teacher training were not the only ways in which AUB graduates shaped the trajectories of the Mandates. The techniques of protest learned by graduates at AUB escalated further during the 1920s particularly in three well-documented incidents: the 1925 protest on the occasion of Lord Balfour's visit to Palestine, the "Nusuli incident" in 1927 and the Mond protest of 1928. Secondary schools, teachers training colleges, and AUB graduates were central to all three demonstrations. Despite the overt denunciations of the Mandate governments and their policies, the governments were surprisingly lenient with demonstrators, particularly teachers. These three incidents highlight the porous boundaries between government and non-government personnel, as well as how the international environment of AUB promoted sustained links between graduates, across national boundaries. Moreover, these incidents point to the nature of civil service in the Mandates: rejection of government policies and British involvement did not require a boycott of government service.

Darwish al-Miqdadi as well as George Mu'ammar, both former members of *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá*, who graduated from AUB in 1922 and 1924 respectively, were employed by the Men's Teacher Training College in Palestine immediately upon graduation. There, both teachers began to promote values familiar to AUB: "activity, progress, openness and nationalism."[89] The nationalism espoused by these educators was firmly against Zionism and underscored the place of Palestine as a key part of the Arab world. In March 1925, the Men's Training College went on strike, demonstrating against Lord Balfour's visit to Palestine on the occasion of the founding of the Hebrew University. Students from the College began demonstrating in the playground behind the school, marching and "singing national songs."[90] The British government briefly closed the college and sent its students home, escorted by the police. [91] George Mu'ammar and Darwish al-

[87] Matta Akrawi, *Mashrū' Al-Ta'līm Al-Ijbārī Fī Al-'Irāq* (Baghdad: Wizārat al-Ma'ārif, 1937). 12. Victor Clark, *Compulsory Education in Iraq* (Paris: Unesco, 1951). 14

[88] Clark, *Compulsory Education in Iraq*.

[89] This is taken from the recollections of a former student, and later AUB graduate and instructor, Nicola Ziyadeh, as quoted in Yoram Kahati, "The Role of Some Leading Arab Educators in the Development of the Ideology of Arab Nationalism" (University of London, 1992).154

[90]Mahmud Abidi, "The Arab College, Jerusalem," in *Encyclopaedic Survey of Islamic Culture. Vol. 3, Educational Developments in Muslim World*, ed. Mohamed Taher (New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1997). 109

[91] Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration*. 200

Miqdadi were among the ringleaders of the strike. They were "charged with breaches of discipline in connection with the strikes in government schools on the occasion of the arrival of Lord Balfour." [92] As the Balfour declaration was contained within the text of the Mandate, the March 1925 strikes in protest of Balfour's visit dramatically rejected the legitimacy of the Mandate government itself. This constituted a level of rebellion that the government could not, in principle, tolerate. Yet, merely participating in strikes did not automatically result in dismissal. Instead the Mandate Government required a teacher to have incited other teachers and students to rebel, as well as an admission of guilt, for that teacher to be discharged. Mu'ammar, despite his rebellion, continued to work as a teacher, employed by the government he had denounced as illegitimate. [93]Al-Miqdadi had already come to the attention of the British administration for creating an Arab nationalist scout organization, which he refused to link with the parallel Government sponsored Baden-Powell international scout movement. [94] He decided to resign his post with the Government of Palestine and was promptly employed by the Government of Iraq, where he played a prominent role in similar demonstrations, discussed below. [95]The legacy of this AUB graduate inspired demonstration could be seen throughout the Mandate period: protesting the Balfour declaration became a yearly occurrence.[96]

The "Nusuli incident" in Iraq demonstrates how teachers protested their governments, without permanent consequences for their scholastic and professional careers. Anis Nusuli, a 1924 Syrian AUB graduate and former editor of the *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá* journal, published a textbook entitled *Al-Dawlah Al-Umawiyah Fi Al-Sham* (a History of the Omniades) which caused a "rowdy demonstration" by the schoolboys and teachers of the Baghdad secondary school and the Teachers Training College. [97] The book was offensive to Shi'a, a Muslim sect which made up a large portion of the population of Iraq. [98] Nusuli, then teaching history at the Baghdad Secondary School, distributed the book to his students. The Ministry of Education, after receiving protests from Shi'a, dismissed Nusuli from his post. Other teachers at Baghdad Secondary School, including Darwish al-Miqdadi, Abdallah Mashnuk (a former member of *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá*) and Jalal Zurayk, all graduates of AUB, wrote a letter of protest to the Ministry of Education. [99] Yusuf Zainal, then acting as the public voice of the political club "Nadi at-Tadamun ("The Solidarity Club") and a teacher at the Teachers Training College used his club to rally all six hundred students of the

[92] Government of Palestine, "Minutes of the Executive Council, Sixty-Second Meeting Held at the Government Offices on the 1st May, 1925," May 1, 1925. CO 814/21. NA. 15

[93] "George Mu'ammar" ISA 1010 8 M., Yoram Kahati. "The Role of Education in the Development of Arab Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent During the 1920s." In *Political Thought and Political History : Studies in Memory of Elie Kedourie*, edited by Elie Kedourie, Gammer M. Kostiner Joseph Shemesh Moshe. London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003. 29.

[94] Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand : British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000). 97

[95] Reeva S. Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). 91

[96] See for example, Khalil Totah's testimony before the Peel Commission. Great Britain Palestine Royal Commission, "Palestine Royal Commission: Minutes of Evidence Heard at Public Sessions (with Index) " (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937). 354

[97]"'Urwat Ul-Wuthqa." *Al Kulliyah* 11, No 2, (December, 1924). 31, Anīs Zakarīyā al-Nuṣūlī. *Al-Dawlah Al-Umawiyah Fi Al-Sham. (the Omniade State in Syria).* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at Dār al-Salām, 1927)

[98] "Intelligence Report for the Fortnight Ended the 3 of February, 1927. Report No 3," (February 3, 1927). IOR/2/20/A1238. BL.193 The textbook denigrated Ali, the founder of Shiism and praised Mu'awiyah, Ali's rival, successor and killer of his son Hussein.

[99] Although Kahati asserts these were all of the other teachers, Mohammed Khorshid was also present.

secondary school. [100] These schoolboys and their teachers, including Shi'a, demonstrated. They demanded the reinstatement of Nusuli, touting the need for free speech and "liberty of thought."[101] The Prime Minister of Iraq suggested to the British High Commissioner, (the real authority in the country) that the teachers be dismissed and the schools closed early for winter break. He added that the police should prosecute ringleaders of the student protests. The High Commissioner preferred to hush the matter up as soon as possible, punishing the schoolboys through their schools rather than the police. The secondary school and teachers training college were in fact closed early, the teachers in question were dismissed, however the schoolboys were punished by their headmaster rather than the police.[102] Although the other dismissed teachers were shortly reinstated, Nusuli left Baghdad for good, joining his father's business in Lebanon and publishing an Arab nationalist magazine in Beirut. [103] This incident, framed by the actions of AUB graduates constituted "Iraq's first student demonstration. From another point of view, this was also "the young generation's first blow on behalf of freedom of expression."[104]

The second "blow" followed soon after and was again framed by the actions of graduates of AUB. In 1928, Yusuf Zainal and his "Tadhimun" club decided to organize a demonstration against Sir Alfred Mond, a British Zionist. [105] On February 8, 1928, Mond and his party were surprised by thousands of demonstrators, including a core of schoolboys blocking the roads to Baghdad. [106] Their rally was so successful that over twenty thousand demonstrators clashed with police. [107] It is unclear the degree to which the students, and indeed the remainder of the demonstrators, understood what they were demonstrating about. In the Nusuli affair, the issue was not only freedom of speech, but more narrowly the firing of a favorite instructor. The Mond demonstrations were ostensibly anti-Zionist; organizers played on fears that the British would allow Zionist settlement to expand to Iraq. Students at the Baghdad Secondary School had been taught by their teachers to recognize and to reject the Balfour Declaration each year by holding a minute of silence on the anniversary of its signing, paralleling the demonstrations that took place annually in Palestine. However, one former AUB graduate and member of *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá* claimed in an anonymous letter to the Mandate Government in Iraq that in fact the students had no idea what they were protesting and did not even understand what Zionism was until 1931. He asserted that the students demonstrating could not even "pronounce 'Sahyonniyah' which meant

[100] Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq a Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, B'athists, and Free Officers* (New York: ACLS History E-Book Project, 2005). 399

[101] Eric Davis, *Memories of State : Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). 73., Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq a Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, B'athists, and Free Officers*. 399

[102] "Intelligence Report for the Fortnight Ended the 15 of February, 1927. Report No 4,"(February 15, 1927) IOR/2/20/A1238. BL.

[103] Kahati, "The Role of Some Leading Arab Educators in the Development of the Ideology of Arab Nationalism". 436, 473

[104] Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq a Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, B'athists, and Free Officers*.399

[105] Ibid. 399

[106] A. de L. Rush and Jane Priestland, *Records of Iraq, 1914-1966. Vol. 5, 1928-1930.* (Slough: Archive Editions, 2001).10

[107] Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq a Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, B'athists, and Free Officers*.400

'Zionism'" but shouted instead, "'Passwaniyah' which meant 'Night guards.'" [108] It has also been suggested that Zainal and other educators were taking the fall for politicians and even for the King, who may have promoted demonstrations in the hopes of delegitimizing the current configuration of the Iraqi parliament and thereby achieving a more favorable reshuffle. [109]

The consequences of this demonstration underscore the porous boundaries between government and society, particularly when real political authority was vested in colonial officials. The Iraqi government arrested the leaders of Tadhimun, including Zainal, forbade public meetings and processions, and set two special ordinances in place: educational authorities were given special authority to "flog" their students, and the ministry of the interior was given permission to place any individual involved under police surveillance and to force them to leave the capital.[110] Yusuf Zainal was therefore promptly subjected to this ordinance, placed under police surveillance and banished to Fao, Iraq, hundreds of kilometers from Baghdad, for a full year. However, by June 1928 he was released from these restrictions. [111] Zainal continued to work for the Iraqi Government in various capacities. By 1942 he had been promoted from being the Director of Education in Mosul to the Divisional Director of Education. [112]

His career was not unique. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the majority of those who protested against and were punished by the Mandate governments were never permanently fired from their posts. They found ways of moving in and out of education and government employment. Moreover, protests, particularly those regarding Pan-Arab causes and the issue of Zionism and Palestine only increased to the point where the line between official government protests and those against the government was blurred. [113] Iraqi and Palestinian civil servants and their Transjordanian counterparts fought to better their careers and to wrest control away from the British. This intermediary status between civil servant and civilian, that bursary scholars enjoyed in particular, was possible because the personalized nature of Mandate authority and the lack of educated persons more generally. Bursary scholars at AUB received not only the liberal arts education the university promoted, but also schooling in negotiation, petition, public speaking and protest. Neither collaborators nor rebels, these civil servants found they could write and demonstrate against their employers' policies, while retaining their posts, salaries and prestige.

Conclusion:

Throughout his political memoir, *The Arab Struggle*, Fadil Jamali frequently recalls his days as a bursary scholar at the American University of Beirut not only with nostalgia, but also with the belief that they laid the foundation of his Arab identity. [114] The book, which is divided into sections by Arab country, almost always begins each section with Jamali's reminiscence of

[108] "Nazi Propaganda in Iraq," July 18, 1941. FO 624/24. Foreign Office Records, NA. 3 Kahati, "The Role of Some Leading Arab Educators in the Development of the Ideology of Arab Nationalism". 474
[109] Sluglett, *Britain in Iraq : Contriving King and Country, 1914-1932*., 110
[110] A. de L. Rush and Jane Priestland, *Records of Iraq, 1914-1966. Vol. 5, 1928-1930.* 10
[111] "Intelligence Report No 5," February 29, 1928. IOR/2/20/A1238. BL. "Intelligence Report No 11," May 23, 1928. IOR/2/20/A1238. BL. 4 "Intelligence Report No 12," June 6, 1928. IOR/2/20/A1238. BL.
[112] *The Iraq Government Gazette*, No 19, May 19, 1942, CO 813/17. NA. 1
[113] Orit Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009). 54, Reeva S. Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). 101
[114] Jamali, "Arab Struggle : Experience of Mohammed Fadil Jamali, 1943-1958."

visiting that country while on AUB related travel, reading about its politics and history while a student and meeting its nationals in classes and clubs. He travels through Damascus, Homs, Hama, Maysaloun, Basra and the mountains of Lebanon. He avidly follows Egyptian and Palestinian politics, reads Arabic novels, and becomes part of an old-boy network with not only his peers but also his instructors from AUB. Although his work is written in the mid-1970s, after his stint as prime minister, imprisonment, death sentence, reprieve, the rise of the Baʿth Party in Iraq and his own retirement in Tunis, Jamali's emphasis on AUB is almost pedantic throughout the work. For example, in describing his experiences as a student at AUB he notes "At the American university, I majored in education and minored in natural sciences. In addition to my academic education, I practiced and lived inter-Arab unity. In the student society of *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá*, Arab students met together—Iraqis, Syrians, Lebanese, Palestinians, Jordanians, Egyptians, Sudanese—and we all worked together for our national aims, namely the liberation and union of the Arab nation." [115]

Beginning in the 1920s, the American University of Beirut constituted not only a hub but also a crucible of pan-Arabism and transnational identity. The experiences of students at AUB, as the political memoir of Fadil Jamali shows, helped constitute a transnational community, which conceived of national belonging in a way that did not fit the boundaries of the Mandates, or the states which succeeded them. Moreover, the negotiations between bursary scholars, the university and the Mandatory governments demonstrate the contested nature of schooling and governance throughout the interwar period. In the 1930s demonstrations and protests would escalate to mass strikes, revolts and coups throughout the region. Those educated at AUB, their students and those who read their publications framed these political movements, although they did not start them.[116] In the mid-1920s, the faculty of AUB had articulated the goals of an AUB education; the "training of men of broad vision and modern ideals", in order to create wise, native leaders who would provide a bridge across racial and sectarian divisions and between East and West. They hoped these leaders would allow the Mandates to "develop by evolution rather than revolution."[117] However, the transformations in the region during the 1930s, 40s and 50s would be too much for evolutionary change. The following chapter will examine the escalating violence of the 1930s and early 1940s. In these decades educators found themselves behind the tide of revolution; they continued in government service. AUB graduates and their colleagues in the civil service had to seek ways of explaining these revolutions. AUB alumni sought to reform rather than overthrow their governments to fit with the lessons they had learned at the university.

[115] Ibid.132-133

[116]For example, the 1936-39 revolt in Palestine was not sparked by educators or intellectuals, rather intellectuals and politicians were forced to explain and become part of a popular movement driven by economic factors. Ted Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt : The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

[117] Faculty of the American University of Beirut, "Report Submitted by the Faculty of the American University of Beirut Concerning the Opportunity to Train Students for Service in the near East through Commerce and the Social Sciences." UA. 4

Chapter 4: Nationalist Educators and Others' Revolutions

"Akram Zueitar(Zu'aytir), school teacher, frequently addresses hot-headed youths, mostly recruited from boy scouts and his own students.…He spoke of sacrifice and the boycott of foreigners, he mentioned de Valera and Gandhi, he commended training as soldiers and fighting for independence, he hoped to see the young men as soldiers fighting for their country…"[1]

Akram Zu'aytir as a professor in Baghdad, 1934. [2]

From the 1920s through the 1940s, Akram Zu'aytir worried government officials. He wrote, spoke, and protested against Zionism and imperialism. He met with kings, intellectuals, soldiers, British officials and schoolboys. Working in Palestine, Iraq and Jordan, Zu'aytir interspersed stints as a primary or secondary school teacher in government and non-government schools with interludes as a journalist, nationalist agitator, and historian.[3] He was subject to imprisonment, fines, internal and external exile. His later job titles included ambassador, government minister and senator in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Zu'aytir has been immortalized as the quintessential nationalist teacher. [4] Historians and political theorists have mined Zu'aytir's memoirs and polemics for their contributions to pan-Arab and Palestinian nationalism as well as insight into events in the Middle East during the 20th century. [5] Yet, even Zu'aytir, along with his less well known contemporaries discussed in previous chapters, could maintain his post as a teacher, or get rehired if he chose to resign, if not in one Mandate or

[1] "Periodical Appreciation Summary No 8/33, March 10, 1933," Palestine: Police Summaries, March 10 1933. IOR/L/PS/10/1315, India Office Records, the British Library, London. Hearafter BL.
[2] Sari Akram Zu'aytir, Nasher, "Ustādh Fī Baghdād 1934" http://www.akramzuayter.org/galary/1/22.jpg (accessed April 13, 2015).
[3] Philip Mattar, *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians* (New York: Facts on File, 2000).566-567, The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, "Personalities" (PASSIA 2006). http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/personalities/alpha_z.htm (accessed April 17, 2014).
[4] A website devoted to him includes a section of hagiographic quotes from Palestinian intellectuals. Nasher, www.akramzuayter.org (accessed April 5, 2014).
[5] Weldon C. Matthews, *Confronting an Empire, Constructing a Nation : Arab Nationalists and Popular Politics in Mandate Palestine* (New York; New York: I.B. Tauris ; Distributed by Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Betty S. Anderson, *Nationalist Voices in Jordan : The Street and the State* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas press, 2005).

country than in another. He frequently drew pay checks from governments he criticized or even disavowed, while retaining his status as one of the most infamous nationalist teachers in the Middle East.

Figures like Akram Zu'aytir represent many of the tensions and contradictions inherent in educators' roles during the 1936 revolt in Palestine and the series of coups that took place from 1936 to 1941 in Iraq. Histories, newspaper articles, memoirs and popular accounts have lionized these teachers, from the lowliest unclassified village schoolteacher to professors in Iraq's colleges, as nationalist heroes. Educators appear as the mouthpieces of violent, peasant, or popular revolutionary uprisings rather than part of the often maligned elite negotiations. [6] Schools themselves are repeatedly described as "hotbeds of nationalism." [7] In these narratives, educators preach to legions of angry young men and women, inspiring them with "the spirit of nationalism" and "resistance to imperialism", thereby inciting and participating in anti-colonial rebellions.[8] Yet, simplistic contrasts between elite and peasant elide the complex experience of the growing number of individuals who fell between these categories, their role as government subsidized nationalists, and the nature of the nationalisms they espoused. Teachers rarely defined the content of the nationalisms they promoted, which bear little resemblance to the codified territorial nationalisms of today. Moreover, these teachers, and those they educated more generally, seldom participated in the armed uprisings that swept the region.

This chapter argues that colonial policies limiting schooling during the Mandate period had two paradoxical effects on the role of education in the violent rebellions that took place in Iraq and Palestine during the 1930s. First, the scarcity of educated individuals and nearly universal support of education ensured educators even of Zu'aytir's nationalist proclivities a post within the civil service. Educators could publicly vilify their governments, while still working for them. Second, this incorporation into government employment meant educators and those they educated gravitated towards working within the government rather than joining the segments of the population working towards the government's violent overthrow. The formation and cooperation

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[6] Matthews.50,57, 73. Mattar.25, Reeva S. Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004)., Peter Wien, *Iraqi Arab Nationalism : Authoritarian, Totalitarian, and Pro-Fascist Inclinations, 1932-1941* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006). Michael Eppel, "The Elite, the Effendiyya, and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921-1958," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998). 233 Bernard Reich, *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa : A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990). 35. Darwish al-Miqdadi and Sati al-Husri are described as the counterparts to the ideologues of the Ba'th party, Aflaq and Bitar. 35. See Humphrey Ernest Bowman, *Middle-East Window : With an Introduction by Sir Ronald Storrrs* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942). Swedenburg., Anderson; Eppel, "The Elite, the 'Effendiyya', and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921-1958."; Simon, Wien, Davis, Toby Dodge *Inventing Iraq : The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening : The Story of the Arab National Movement* (Safety Harbor, FL: Simon Publications, 2001). 405-407.

[7] Anderson. 98, The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, "Personalities: Dr. Khalil Totah (1886-1955)"(PASSIA 2006) http://www.passia.org/images/personalities/totah-khalil/khalil-text.htm (accessed April 17, 2014)., A. de L. Priestland Jane Rush, *Records of Iraq, 1914-1966, Volume 9 1941-1945* (Slough: Archive Editions, 2001). 397 Sami Khalil Mar'i, *Arab Education in Israel* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978).17-18

[8] Bahjat Abu Gharbiyah, *Fi Khidam Al-Nidal Al-`Arabi Al-Filastini : Mudhakkirat Al-Munadil Bahjat Abu Gharbiyah, 1916-1949* (Bayrut: Muassasat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyah, 1993). 19 Great Britain Palestine Royal Commission, *Palestine Royal Commission Report* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1937).133-34 , 340

of educated nationalists within the government schools of Iraq and Palestine bolstered the status quo, undermining radical changes in governance.

Teachers' interests were often more closely aligned with those of politicians rather than peasants. Political and economic elites as well as government employed educators depended on the state for their positions, prestige, and livelihood. They benefitted from their governments in tangible ways, in contrast to workers, fellahin, and particular tribesmen who suffered from the status quo. Nevertheless, educators in particular did not draw local ire for their part in the generally reviled government system because of near universal support for education as well as educators' articulation of fluctuating nationalist ideals. Education and its acquisition represented social mobility, national improvement, modernization and the expertise necessary to articulate nationalism. This meant that many famous nationalists were either teachers or former teachers. In contrast, those denied the benefits of education, in Palestine, and those excluded from a clear career path through the civil service in Iraq led violent rebellions.

In Palestine, individuals who participated in armed uprisings were frequently from uneducated rural backgrounds. [9] They were often peasants or workers of peasant origin. [10] They also generally lacked access to education beyond the first four years of elementary school, if that. [11] They sought to expel the Mandate government and to end its support of Jewish immigration and the Zionist project in Palestine. In Iraq, high level officers allied with civilian politicians in attempts to rearrange parliament. [12] They tried to increase their own role in governance, without changing the structure of that government. Teachers and other civil servants used Iraq's educational system to gain more lucrative and powerful government posts, although a web of interpersonal relations and corruption precluded purely meritocratic advancement. [13] During this period, government employment was the most attractive, and indeed frequently the only opportunity for the limited number of secondary school graduates in Iraq.

[9] In the censuses of 1922 and 1931, the population of Palestine was overwhelmingly rural: In all of Palestine in 1922 there were 757,182 inhabitants, 1035,821 in 1931; the non-Jewish population was 673,388 and 861,211 respectively. Out of these, 477,693 and 602,387 were rural, meaning approximately 70% of the non-Jewish population was rural in both 1922 and 1931. It dropped to approximately 60% by 1944 estimates. Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Jewish Problems in Palestine Palestine and Europe, *A Survey of Palestine* (Jerusalem: Printed by the government printer, 1946). 147, 149-150, 152

[10] Abdullah Schleifer, "Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam: Preacher and Mujahid," in *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Edmund Yaghoubian David N. Burke(Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). 171-175

[11] Government of Palestine, Department of Education, "Annual Report for the School Year 1939-1940," (The Government Printing Press, Jerusalem: 1941). 8. Approximately 80% of boys in towns, and 50% of girls received education for "some period or other" but only 50% of village boys and 4% of village girls. Town schoolchildren who completed elementary schooling would receive six years, whereas in the villages they would receive only four to five years.

[12] Adeed Dawisha, *Iraq : A Political History from Independence to Occupation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009). 92, 121

[13] Mass insurrections in which teachers' participated would not take place until the late 1940s in Iraq, when salaries of government workers could not keep up with inflation; a government post was no longer the secure paycheck it was in the earlier period. Joseph Sassoon, *Economic Policy in Iraq, 1932-1950* (London, England; Totowa, N.J.: F. Cass, 1987). 46, Peter Gran, *Beyond Eurocentrism : A New View of Modern World History* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996). 66, Hanna Batatu correlates increases in the prize of foodstuffs for workers with rebellions. Batatu. 471

Transjordan remained relatively quiet throughout this period, partly because it was spared the effects of Jewish immigration. Its army was actually engaged in suppressing the revolt in Palestine. Its ruler also relied on British funding and support. The government, therefore, had an even greater interest in a quiescent population. Moreover, Transjordan's educated elites consisted of a cadre of only approximately 300 individuals whose livelihood and status depended on their role in government service.[14] Transjordan provided a route for Iraqi as well as other Arab fighters to proceed to Palestine. Sporadic strikes and protests also took place within its borders during this period, however these rebellions did not compare in scope or character to those in Iraq and Palestine.

Historians often portray Palestinian rebels as a disorganized bunch or rabble. The revolt itself is sometimes construed as contributing to the Palestinians' defeat in 1948. [15] Historians, social scientists, and participants have debated the role of elites vs. peasants in leading and perpetuating the revolt, reasons for its failure, and the consequences of that failure for Palestinians and the region as a whole.[16] Researchers have studied this period in Iraq for the unrealized possibilities of democracy, liberalism as well as communism, and dictatorship. The overriding question they ask is how the coups that took place between 1936 and 1941 set the stage for not only the destruction of the monarchy in 1958, but the rise of Saddam Hussein as well. [17] Sectarianism, tribalism, communism, military culture, Nazi propaganda, nationalisms and economic shifts have all acted as causal factors in narratives of the rise of violent military dictatorships. [18] Iraq's elites, their social makeup, and the high politics of the period are understandably the focus, as the coups were not mass movements.

In all these works, the formation of nationalism is a key but fraught component. [19] Nationalisms and nationalists constitute imprecise categories even as historians self-consciously try to differentiate between the following types: Iraqi, Palestinian, Pan-Arabist, anti-imperial,

[14] Ma'an Abu Nuwar, The development of Transjordan 1929-1939, 185-6

[15] Khalidi.

[16] Recent histories on the revolt in Palestine decry outside views of the revolt as masterminded by elites of various stripes, particularly the mufti. Another key issue is whether the revolt was purely anti-imperial, or also focused on social justice: an "indictment" of the class system of Palestine as well as the failure of political elites to affect change. Ted Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt : The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1995). Anderson.. However, essentially all Palestinian-oriented historiography asserts that this was a peasant-led revolt. Ghassan Kanafani, *Palestine : The 1936-1939 Revolt* (London: Tricontinental Society, 1980).

[17] Tarbush. Bashkin.

[18] Batatu, takes seriously different ideologies but unites them in their protest against the consequences of Iraq's integration into the world economy. Batatu.1113, Reeva Simon also essentially asserts that German influence as a counter to Britain provided a framework to be filled with pan-Arab ideology that channelled nearly universal anti-imperialist sentiments into militarism and racialized nationalism. Simon.

[19] Marion Farouk Sluglett and Peter Sluglett in their review of Iraqi historiography make a similar contention. The Slugletts argue that anti-imperialism was fundamentally linked to ideas of social reform, asserting that, "As it was widely believed that genuine social reform could not be carried out until Iraq was fully independent from Britain, those who believed in these ideals considered the struggle for social justice and the struggle for national independence to be inseparable. Hence, although it is true that national independence was the goal of almost all politically conscious Iraqis, only a small minority of those who espoused these sentiments were "pan-Arab nationalists" in the strict sense of being in favor of merging Iraq into a larger Arab entity." Peter Sluglett Marion Farouk-Sluglett, "The Historiography of Modern Iraq," *The American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (1991). 1414-1415

secular, communist, reformist, Islamist and others. [20] In contrast, this chapter analyzes nationalisms during the 1930s on their own terms, avoiding anachronistic searches for the origins of pan-Arab or territorial affiliations. Instead, I argue nationalism amongst teachers, and indeed the educated elites of the region, signified political engagement, erudition and an ill defined concept of nation rather than links to a specific territory or political system.

In accounts of these revolts, educational systems, if not teachers, appear in contradictory ways. Histories of the Palestinian revolt focus on only schoolboys or scouts, with nationalist teachers like Akram Zu'aytir representing the educated ideologues who gave voice to the people.[21] Despite continued references to rebellious teachers, historians and contemporaries all describe the Palestinian educational system as repressive. They argue it denationalized students due to strict British control over curricular content. [22] In Iraq, education and teachers in the 1930s act as transmitters of militarism and pan-Arabism, while in the 1940s schools spread Communism instead. [23] Lately, historians have begun to explore questions of gender, in terms of nation building efforts and in the psychology of those educated in the government schools of Iraq. [24] This scholarship has also underscored the important role of youth as a political category, particularly intellectual, literate youth, in creating a public sphere in both Iraq and Palestine.[25] In these new narratives, government education forms a site of contestation for the hearts, minds and bodies of the Mandates' youth, as well as a clear promoter of militant nationalism.

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[20] Bashkin; Eric Davis, *Memories of State : Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Dodge; Eppel, "The Elite, the 'Effendiyya', and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921-1958."; Simon; Wien. Majid Khadduri, *Independent Iraq, 1932-1958; a Study in Iraqi Politics* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1960). Professor Majid Khadduri was an official and academic employed by the Iraqi Ministry of Education, as well as a delegate to the United Nations, until 1947.http://www.al-hakawati.net/english/Arabpers/majid-khadduri.asp, *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 31, August 4, 1946. CO 813/22 NA.; *Al-Kulliyah*, 20, No 6, (July 1, 1934). 210 Majid Khadduri also served as a teacher, under Darwish al-Miqdadi at the Government Secondary School in Mosul.

[21] Anderson; Bowman; Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt : The 1936-1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past*.

[22] Thomas M. Totah Khalil Ricks, *Turbulent Times in Palestine : The Diaries of Khalil Totah, 1886-1955* (Jerusalem; Ramallah: Institute for Palestine Studies; PASSIA, 2009). Sarah Graham-Brown, *Education, Repression & Liberation, Palestinians* (London: World University Service (UK), 1984).

[23] Davis; Dodge; Simon; Wien. Bernhardsson's work on Iraqi archaeology addresses education as a nation-building tactic, focusing on Sati al-Husri's platform, and how it relates to the promotion of archaeological awareness among the Iraqi population. His main concern is pan-Arabism, Iraqi nationalism, and the use of archaeology as an anti-imperial battleground. Magnus Thorkell Bernhardsson, *Reclaiming a Plundered Past Archaeology and Nation Building in Modern Iraq*, (University of Texas Press 2005). Elizabeth Thompson's latest work contains a section on Iraqi communist Fahd (Yusuf Salman Yusuf), in which she discusses the idealistic rise and fall of Communism, including reference to a number of school-teachers, but essentially no discussion of education. Elizabeth Thompson, *Justice Interrupted : The Struggle for Constitutional Government in the Middle East*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013). 177-207

[24] Sara Pursley, "The Stage of Adolescence: Anticolonial Time, Youth Insurgency, and the Marriage Crisis in Hashimite Iraq," *History of the Present History of the Present* 3, no. 2 (2013).

[25] For example, Orit Bashkin in her account of Hashemite Iraq argues that popular uprisings in 1948 and 1952 demonstrated the increasing gap between Iraqi society and the state, which to me indicates the effects of mass education and the professionalization of teachers and other professions as alienating these groups from their intermediary role as government representatives. Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*.88, Matthews; Anderson., John Harte, "Contesting the Past in Mandate Palestine : History Teaching for Palestinian Arabs under British Rule, 1917-1948" (2009). Arnon Y. Degani, " (Uni)Formed Youth: The Palestinian Arab Scout Movement 1920 – 1948," *The British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, (April 25, 2014).

In this chapter, I look beyond elite vs. subaltern dichotomies and searches for defined, modern day notions of political affiliation, by focusing on educators at all levels of the government bureaucracies. These individuals formed a segment of the population that represented the colonial state but also the dreams of the local population. The majority of these individuals were semi-elites, educated, and often young; they could stay employed by the government during this tumultuous period, with the support of not only their employers but also local communities and leaders of uprisings and coups. Teachers and former teachers articulated, and at times theorized, the wide variety of ideologies that appeared throughout the region. Yet, they did not generally take up arms. By closely examining educators as teachers and practitioners of nationalism, and as a crucial part of the civil service, a more nuanced picture forms of how educated individuals engaged in the practices of "nationalism" and how this paved the way for revolutions on the part of other social groups.

The first section of this chapter provides a brief overview of the upheavals that took place in Iraq and Palestine during the 1930s. The following three sections juxtapose the actions of teachers en masse with accounts of more infamous nationalist educators in both Palestine and Iraq. The second section explores the possibilities government service afforded educated individuals economically, politically and nationally. The third section delves more deeply into the content of the nationalisms educators articulated, particularly in Iraq. The fourth and final section analyzes the limits and consequences of educators' rebellions in Palestine. The teachers and former teachers discussed in this chapter differed in their religious affiliation, economic, and social status. Many combined teaching with literary activities, writing articles as well as textbooks. Their shared conditions of government employment profoundly shaped their role as ideologues and propagandists. They experienced government service, circumscribed and non-representative political arenas, as well as the contradictions of nationalisms dislocated from the boundaries of their nation states. The content of these nationalisms was diverse and multifaceted, encompassing a variety of political, social and pedagogical principles, none of which required educators to physically participate in armed rebellions. Teachers and their communities saw little contradiction between anti-government agitation and drawing a government salary. Analyzing self-avowedly nationalist teachers at their most extreme allows for a reinterpretation of the content and form of anti-colonial protest from the perspective of its mythologized propagandists and ideologues. Their place as government subsidized nationalists, supported by consistent demand for schooling, excluded educators and the educated alike from revolutions, as groups barred from government service took up arms.

Education and Political Upheavals During the 1930s

In 1932, Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations. However, it was hobbled by a treaty that granted Great Britain control over Iraq's foreign policy. This shift permitted an even greater degree of local control over education and a large increase in Iraq's army, leading to an increased military style in government education.[26] During the 1930s, militarism, fascist appreciation, and

[26] The army expanded from 7,500 soldiers in 1932 to 11,500 in 1933. With the advent of conscription in 1934, the army grew to 20,300 men. Dawisha. 37. Malik Mufti, *Sovereign Creations : Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).28.

rebellions against these changes permeated the government schools of Iraq. For example, in the below picture, Iraqi schoolboys wear military-style khaki uniforms as they march.

School boys celebrating Iraq's entry into the League of Nations, October 6, 1932. [27]

Despite this militarization of Iraqi educational culture, a clear division between military and non military institutions perpetuated the links between civilian government schooling and the civil service, as well as class and sectarian divides. For example, in 1936, Iraq's conscription law, first implemented in 1934, was amended such that students (provided they passed yearly nation-wide examinations) were exempted from military service.[28] The combination of student exemptions for those who could afford to attend higher education (or who could pay a fee), and the lack of options for poorer families, meant that it was frequently lower class boys, who either joined or were conscripted into the army. Officers were generally Sunni Arabs, rarely Shi'a or

[27] American Colony (Jerusalem), Photo Dept., Photographer. *Iraq. (Mesopotamia). Celebration of Iraq Becoming Member of the League of Nations, Oct. 6, 1932. Baghdad. School Boys Pay Their Respects. At the Palace*. Oct. 6 1932. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Catalogue: G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection. http://www.loc.gov/item/mpc2010001549/PP/. (Accessed May 14, 2015)

[28] Dorothy Van Ess, "The American Mission School for Boys, Basrah Iraq." 1953. 78-M124, File 33. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (Hereafter SL)

Kurdish. [29] In contrast, the civilian education system, particularly beyond the first six years of schooling, catered to a more elite social group, albeit more varied in terms of sect.[30]

Throughout Iraq, conditions for non elites, particularly peasants, were dire; they also generally lacked education, which remained limited and confined to urban areas. [31] For example, in 1933, for every 1,000 inhabitants in the administrative district of Baghdad, 27 students were enrolled in government schools; 30.5 in Mosul; 25 in Basra as compared to more rural districts which had only six to nine students.[32] Iraq's fellahin suffered from government patronage that consolidated the hitherto nebulous power of tribal leaders or shaikhs particularly in the south.[33] Landowners, frequently shaikhs or politicians, and residents of Baghdad, owned increasingly large farms as part of large tracts of land throughout the country given as a means of pacification by the government. Although the situation for peasants, tribal groups, and workers deteriorated rapidly in Iraq during the 1930s, their rebellions were limited and short lived. [34]

In Palestine, there was a huge increase in Jewish immigration in the 1930s, leading to petitions, strikes, protests and riots. [35] Although the vast majority of Jewish immigrants during the 1930s moved to cities, particularly Tel Aviv, their influx added to the number of landless

[29] It wasn't necessarily the cost of secondary education which precluded lower class boys, it was also the time spent while at school was time spent not earning money to support their families. Ibrahim Salama Sammy Al-Marashi, *Iraq's Armed Forces : An Analytical History* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009). 37, 40.

[30] Educational Inquiry Commission Iraq, Paul Monroe, *Report of the Educational Inquiry Commission* (Baghdad: Printed at the Government Press, 1932). 72, Adeed Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century : From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003).78

[31] In the 1936-7 school year, there were 109 schools in mosul, 43 in Kirkuk 32, in Irbil, 34, in Sulaimaniya 124, in Baghdad 46, in Diyali 27, in Dulaim 36, in Hilla 21, in Karbala 43, in Diwaniya 55, in Basra 46, in Muntafiq 46, and Amara 39. By the 1938-9 school year, there were 132 schools in Mosul, 59 in Kirkuk, 41 in Irbil, 39 in Sulaimaniya, 142 in Baghdad, 45 in Diyali, 37 in Dulaim, 31 in Kirkuk, 47 in Hilla, 27 in Karbala, 51 in Al Diwaniya, 63 in Basra, 53 in Muntafiq and 43 in Amara. The number of students in secondary schools ranged from 753 in Baghdad to a mere 14 in Diwaniya. Wizarat al-Ma arif Iraq, "Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi `an Sayr Al-Ma`Arif 1938-1939," (Baghdad: Wizarat al-Ma`arif., 1939).8, 20

[32] Abd al-Karim Uzri, *Tarikh Fi Dhikrayat Al-`Iraq, 1930-1958* (Beirut: Markaz al-Abjadīyah lil-Ṣaff al-Taṣwīrī, 1982).28

[33]In 1933, "The Law Governing the Rights and Duties of Cultivators" was enacted, granting the owner of each farm authority over how the farm was run, and over the lives and actions of those who worked the land. The law essentially gave owners feudal rights over their peasant cultivators: a peasant had to obey the owners' orders in terms of when and how to plant, or face severe penalties; agricultural debt owed by the peasant to the owner in essence tied the peasant to that owner permanently as they could not be employed elsewhere without repaying this debt. The former British inspector general noted that the fellahin were, under this new law "reduced to the status of a slave." Quoted in Sassoon.169, 172. Beginning in the 1920s, the British strategically economized by taking care that the British-installed monarch's army was always less powerful than possible alliances of "tribal chiefs." Batatu. 90. There has also been some controversy about whether or not these "chiefs" were actually chiefs, or indeed whether their tribes existed in any meaningful political way before the British arrival. Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq : The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

[34] Dawisha, *Iraq : A Political History from Independence to Occupation*.39, The rise and fall of the communist party of Iraq, 14

[35] "In the first eight months of 1933, 16,000 Jewish immigrants entered with permission, compared with 10,000 in twelve months of 1932 and 4,070 in 1931. " This is of course to say nothing of illegal jewish immigration. Great Britain Colonial Officem, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1933* (London: H. Maj. Print. Off., 1933); "Riots in Palestine," *Sunday Times* Perth, WA 1902-1954, (October 29, 1933). Although some demonstrations in support of Palestinian protesters took place in Transjordan, they were also put down by the Trans-jordan frontier force, which was also called in to Palestine.

agricultural workers because when Jewish immigrants or the Zionist executive purchased land, they generally sought to employ only Jewish employees, a policy known as "avodah ivrit" or "Hebrew labor." As in Iraq, native peasant laborers frequently worked for absentee landlords. When land changed hands amongst Arab landlords, they allowed agricultural workers to remain on their land. In contrast, with the rise of the idea of "avodah ivrit," Jewish immigrants supplanted Arab workers. [36] Unemployed villagers flocked to urban areas such as the port city of Haifa seeking unskilled jobs. [37] Their frustrations and lack of opportunities contributed to a rise in strikes and protests even before the beginning of the revolt. [38]

A variety of individuals, the most famous being a religious leader and activist Shaykh Izz al-Din al-Qassam, formed small cells of armed "revolutionaries" particularly among pious and illiterate workers in the port city of Haifa. After he was killed in a skirmish with the British, one of his followers led a group of guerilla fighters, targeted Jewish travelers in 1936, killing two. This sparked retaliations. The Mandate Government declared a state of emergency. Local groups set up national strike committees, while elite leaders struggled to catch up to the tide of revolution, showing solidarity by joining together in the "Arab Higher Committee."[39] A general strike continued for six months ending, by order of the Arab Higher Committee, in 1937.[40] Although the strike was relatively peaceful, there was no resolution to Arab Palestinian demands, and fighting resumed.[41] The revolt lasted until 1939 when it ended due to repressive methods on the part of the British, including collective punishment of villages, public hangings, the exile of prominent Palestinians, and the promulgation of the White Paper. The White Paper limited Jewish immigration and land purchases, while promising that the Mandate would eventually become one, binational state with an Arab majority. [42]

In contrast, in Iraq, military and elite political figures instigated the political upheavals of the 1930s. [43] With the death of the fairly well established Hashemite monarch Faisal, and the succession of his young son Ghazi, who himself died in 1939, the balance of power shifted away from the monarchy and towards the cabinet. [44] In 1936, civilian politicians allied with intellectuals and a Kurdish Army General, Bakr Sidqi, in order to enact a coup that would rearrange the Iraqi

[36]Joel Beinin, *Workers and Peasants in the Modern Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 2001). 94,: Amos Nadan, *The Palestinian Peasant Economy under the Mandate : A Story of Colonial Bungling* (Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 2006).5, 8

[37]Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies : Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). 406

[38] For example, there were 21 Arab worker strikes in 1935. Rachelle Leah Taqqu, "Arab Labor in Mandatory Palestine, 1920-1948" (Columbia University, 1977). 149

[39] Matthews. 253

[40] Humphrey Ernest Bowman, " Diary June 1935 – Oct 1936, October 11, 1936," Humphrey Bowman Collection, Box 4 B, GB165-0034, The Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford University. Hearafter MECA.

[41] Baruch Migdal Joel S. Kimmerling Baruch Kimmerling, *The Palestinian People : A History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003). 130

[42] The Mufti in fact rejected the white paper, as did most of the local Palestinian committee heads. Rashid Khalidi, *The Iron Cage : The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).116. Kimmerling. 129, Lauren Elise Apter, "Disorderly Decolonization the White Paper of 1939 and the End of British Rule in Palestine", (Austin, University of Texas, 2008)

[43] Davis., 64-67

[44] Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq* (Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002)., 98

parliament but not remove the monarchy. [45] This coup was initially popular among educated Iraqis, particularly intellectuals from an Iraqi political club entitled, "the Ahali group" which will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter. [46] The popularity of the coup was due to the assumption that at this point military intervention was the only way to achieve wide ranging reforms of parliament. The "Ahali group" whose membership included the overlapping professions of teacher, former teacher, civil servant and politician helped to provide the rhetoric of democratization and populism that accompanied the coup. [47]

Yet, the parliamentary shift that resulted, including a more prominent role for the army, did not change the social policy of the Iraqi government. While political changes would reverberate throughout Iraq's educational system, social reforms and press freedoms promised by the initial coup did not materialize. The civilian cabinet members who had been brought to power during the coup, including several Ahali members, resigned when the military refused to obey their orders during a tribal uprising. The group would not reemerge until 1946. [48] General Bakr Sidqi was assassinated in 1937. Between 1937 and 1941, four colonels would dominate Iraqi politics. They used the backing of the army and the privileges they amassed as politicians to control parliament's factions.

During this period, the rising influence of the army in politics paralleled an increasing militarization of the Government curriculum at all levels, and to a degree the British could no longer tolerate, anti-imperial and even pro-Nazi sentiment. Many pro fascist, as well as pro Nazi groups and individuals connected these political sentiments to ideals of Pan-Arabism, including support for the revolt in Palestine against the British and the Zionist communities alike.[49] Iraqi individuals like Akram Zu'aytir, fought in Palestine, and Palestinians, worked in Iraq, finding support for their cause as well as, more concretely, their economic well being.[50] In 1941, there was an attempt to break the power of the colonels by a civilian politician allied with the regent for the young successor to King Ghazi. The colonels then reshuffled parliament to appoint Rashid Ali Gaylani, a former lawyer and politician, as prime minister for the second time. [51] The regent fled, and Britain sent troops to Iraq in order to secure military bases and to consolidate their position. Fearing that Germany would ally with the Iraqi army, Britain defeated Iraq's armed forces in a 30 day war. Britain then cracked down on politicians and educators alike, deporting non Iraqis employed in the education system. In the 1940s, the Iraqi Communist Party would gain a more prominent role in Iraq's politics, as mass protests, economic crises and a depreciation in civil

[45]Al-Marashi. 46-48

[46]Abdul-fattah Ibrahim, who was a key member of this group, will be discussed later in the chapter. Samira Haj, *Making of Iraq, 1900-63 : Capital, Power and Ideology* (Albany: State Univ.of New York Press, 1997).176

[47] Bashkin. *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*. 70

[48]Ibid. 73

[49]Eppel, "The Elite, the 'Effendiyya', and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashemite Iraq, 1921-1958." Peter Sluglett, "The Urban Bourgeoisie and the Colonial State : The Iraqi and Syrian Middle Classes between the Two World Wars," in *The Role of the State in West Asia*, ed. Annika Utas Bo Rabo(Istanbul [Turkey]: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2005).

[50] Ghada Hashem Talhami, *Syria and the Palestinians : The Clash of Nationalisms* (Gainesville: University press of Florida, 2001).19, Also this did mean a deterioration in the status of Iraq's Jews, despite their overwhelming lack of support for Zionism, (and concurrently pan-Arabism).

[51] Simon.135, Al-Marashi. 62

servants' salaries combined to create popular movements, in contrast to the elite/military reshufflings of the 1930s. [52]

Transnational Educators, Transnational Nationalisms and the Civil Service in Iraq and Palestine

As described above, during the 1930s, changes in politics, economies, and society came to a head in Iraq and Palestine. In terms of education, access to schooling, as well as the number of teachers employed by in the Government schools, increased drastically, although secondary school teachers and those qualified to teach at this more advanced level remained scarce. [53] Simultaneously, the connections between government education and a career in the civil service became even more pronounced. These factors allowed teachers to act as both nationalists and government employees, for various governments and at nearly all ranks of the civil service.

The unstable nature of Iraq's government paralleled that of its education system; both can be characterized by the frequent movement of an elite cadre of individuals in and out of official posts. As this group circulated ministerial positions amongst themselves, they also moved in and out of power and in and out of government employment. [54] Legislation took this situation into account, absolving government employees from any "political crimes" they may have committed during one or another of the elites' turns as prime minister. Individuals could be ousted and even punished for disagreeing with whichever political configuration was in place and yet return to

[52] Peter Sluglett, "The Iraqi Communist Party 1934-1979," *The Middle East Online Series 2: Iraq 1914-1974* Thomson Learning EMEA Ltd, Reading, (2006). Haj. 98

[53] Roderic D. Matthews, and Matta Akrawi. *Education in Arab Countries of the near East : Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949).140. In Iraq in 1920-21 there were 486 primary school teachers and 34 secondary school teachers. By 1930-31 there were only 1,325 primary school teachers and 129 secondary school teachers. This means approximately 84 primary school teachers and 9.5 secondary school teachers were added each year; a 173% increase in the number of primary school teachers, and a 279% increase in the number of secondary school teachers. However, by 1940-41 there were 3,525 primary school teachers, 472 secondary school teachers, 86 teachers in teachers' colleges, 58 teachers in vocational schools and 37 teachers in higher institutions. This means 220 primary school teachers, approximately 34 secondary teachers as well as teachers in vocational and higher institutions were added per year after the end of the Mandate. The increase in primary school teachers was 163% and that of secondary school teachers was 266%, even though the initial figures are skewed low because of the rebellions which took place during 1920-21. Although the percentage increase is less over 10 years, the number of teachers and students increased drastically. Moreover, enrollment in education jumped from approximately 8000 in primary schools, 110 in secondary schools, 91 in teachers colleges, 80 in vocational schools and 65 in higher institutions in 1920-21 to 34,513 in primary, 2,082 in secondary, 386 in teachers colleges, 140 in vocation schools and 99 in higher institutions in 1930-31. By 1940-41 there were 90,794 students in primary schools, 13,969 in secondary schools, 2,119 in teachers colleges, 464 in vocational schools and 907 in higher institutions. In contrast, in Palestine in 1920-21 there were 525 teachers (including both primary and secondary) with a total enrollment of 19,639 students. By 1930-31 there were 744 teachers, and 24,288 students enrolled and by 1940-41 there were 1,340 teachers with a total of 54,367 students enrolled in the government school system. Ibid., 236. This means a 40% increase between 1920-21 and 1930-31, and a further 80% increase between 1930-31 and 1940-41. The Iraqi population grew from approximately 3.2 million in 1914 to 3.5 million in 1930.Charles Philip Issawi, *An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982). 94

[54] Ayad Al-Qazzaz, "Power Elite in Iraq - 1920-1958: A Study of the Cabinet," *The Muslim World* 61, no. 4 (1971). From 1936 through 1941 military figures at the head of armed forces became part of this limited group. They became not only politicized, but also a tool for adjusting politics. Mohammad A. Tarbush, *The Role of the Military in Politics : A Case Study of Iraq to 1941* (London; Boston: Kegan Paul International, 1982).

ministerial, and indeed educational posts, without permanent penalties. [55] The constant movement of government employees, including officials as well as teachers around Iraq meant they were seldom in one place long enough to make reforms. The consequences of the reshuffling a fairly limited group of individuals in and out of the top levels of the government bureaucracy and a rather larger group below meant that these government employees were frequently conservative in their social policies, corrupt, and divorced from local conditions.

Iraqi graduates of upper levels of schooling usually became civil servants because a high school education was necessary to serve in the government, and because there were few desirable alternatives to government employment. [56] As the British Advisor of education noted bitterly after the cessation of the Mandate, "Government schools are the avenue to government employment but to no other career."[57] In practice, this meant many boys who had attended government schools at an upper level tended to desire greater participation in government service rather than an overthrow of the system as a whole. They sought to change the government from within its ranks, through time honored methods of negotiating, bickering, and patronage.

In contrast, in Palestine, the range of positions open to local individuals within the government was more restricted than that of Iraq, Simultaneously, schooling remained even more limited than in Iraq, increasing local demand for government funded education. The number of applicants turned away from admission to the government schools in Palestine clearly demonstrates local demand for government schooling. During the 1936 school year, 7,554 students applied for admission to the town schools; 11,121 to the village schools; 62% of applicants to the first elementary class in town schools; and 48% of those applying to village schools were denied admission, due to the lack of teachers as well as facilities.[58] This meant parents, teachers, the government of Palestine and even rebels against that government sought to keep all schools open and to prevent students from going on strike. [59] Villagers had to fund the construction of school buildings and even the salaries of some teachers if they wanted their children to be educated. The fact that villagers did fund the construction of several new schools demonstrated their investment in their children's education, and presumably strengthened their interest as they had paid for these facilities rather than the state. [60] Because teachers could protest the governments that employed

[55] See "The State Officials Discipline Law, no 68 of 1936." *The Iraq Government Gazette*, No 27 July 5, 1936. CO 813/10. Colonial Office Records, the National Archives Kew. Hearafter NA.

[56] Dyala Hamzah, *The Making of the Arab Intellectual : Empire, Public Sphere and the Colonial Coordinates of Selfhood* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2013).221

[57] E. C. Hodgkin, "Lionel Smith on Education in Iraq," *Middle Eastern Studies* 19, no. 2 (1983).256

[58] Ibid., 78

[59] Students on the other hand were perfectly happy to go on strike, both for nationalist reasons and because they wanted to miss school.

[60] Ylana N. Miller, "From Village to Nation : Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920-1948" (University of California Berkeley, 1979). 285 18 new schools were built from 1935-1940. Government of Palestine, Department of Education. "Annual Report for the School Year 1935-1936." (The Government Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1937). 67, Government of Palestine, Department of Education. "Annual Report for the School Year 1940-1941." (The Government Printing Press, Jerusalem, 1942). 1. There were at least 17 teachers, (and probably more) during the 1936 school year that were paid by villagers rather than by the government. Government of Palestine, Department of Education "Annual Report for the School Year 1936-1937." 29 The following teachers represent examples of supernumerary teachers paid by villagers. "Elias Isa Benawi Rama Boys School, " The Israel State Archives, (Hearafter ISA) ISA 1026 18 M. "Ahmad Muhammad Qasem Isa Sali, " The Israel State Archives, ISA 1037 17 M. "Ahmad Zikra Jara, " ISA 1031 19 M. "Rashid Shakir El Saleh Khalsa, " ISA 1037 14 M; "Amin Sheikh Qasem Kufar Qavi, " ISA 1032 24 M. "Widad Al Hanna Rama Girls School, " ISA 1038 15 M.

them without losing their government jobs, and without garnering accusations of collaboration from the communities they served, they did not have to choose between anti-imperial nationalism and government service.

The continued scarcity of educated personnel throughout Iraq and Palestine allowed educators to move freely in between governments, to rise through the ranks of those governments, and to propagate nationalist ideologies. For example, Akram Zu'aytir's career parallels a number of his contemporaries, including Darwish al-Maqdadi, his colleague and co-author on a history textbook used in the government schools throughout the Mandates. [61] These individuals traveled throughout the Arab world combining teaching with political intrigue. An elite and well studied group, they were self-proclaimed nationalists first and educators second.[62] Yet, they could always find employment with governments even when they fomented protests against them. Their nationalism, both within and outside of schools, made them infamous. However, their ability and desire to maintain posts within governments meant that they were not the rabid revolutionaries their biographers have described.

As a teacher in both Palestine and Iraq during the 1920s and 1930s, Akram Zu'aytir, by his own account, preached nationalism to eager students, some of whom were older than he was. Yet, even Zu'aytir ended up as a firmly entrenched politician. He was born in 1909 in Nablus. His father was the sometime mayor of Nablus during the Ottoman period. On the other hand, the Ottoman government sentenced his brother Adel Zu'aytir to death during World War I for participating in a Hashemite led, allies sponsored revolt. [63] Zu'aytir completed his early education at al-Najah, a private school in Nablus. He was one of its first students. [64]

Al-Najah's administrators and teachers, as well as historians of Palestinian nationalism, repeatedly and explicitly touted the "nationalist" curriculum and atmosphere of the school. [65] This nationalism was broadly anti-imperial, anti-Zionist and pan-Arab, focused on the Arabic language but not a defined polity or system of government. Al-Najah was founded with the express purpose of "strengthening the national consciousness of the student and implanting in him respect for, and devotion to, the Arabs' cultural heritage, and awareness of the inseparable bonds of the Arab nation

[61]The careers of these individuals and their contribution to Palestinian national literature and history have been well studied, but generally with a focus on discovering the origins or definition of Arab or Palestinian nationalism. Yoram Kahati, *The Role of Some Leading Arab Educators in the Development of the Ideology of Arab Nationalism* (University of London, 1992). Ernest C. Dawn, "An Arab Nationalist View of World: Politics and History in the Interwar Period: Darwish Al-Miqdadi," in *The Great Powers in the Middle East, 1919-1939*, ed. Uriel Dann(New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988).

[62] This group generally includes not only Zu'aytir and Miqdadi, but also Taleb Mushtaq, Anis Nusuli, at times Muhammad 'Izzat Darwazeh

[63] The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, "Personalities".He took part in the 1916 Arab revolt, fighting on the side of the Hashemites. Mustafá Kabaha, *The Palestinian Press as Shaper of Public Opinion 1929-39 : Writing up a Storm* (London; Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007). 13

[64] Muhammad Izzat Darwazehh, *Mudhakkirat Muhammad `Izzat Darwazehh, 1305 H-1404 H/1887 M-1984 M : Sijill Hafil Bi-Masirat Al-Harakah Al-`Arabiyah Wa-Al-Qadiyah Al-Filastiniyah Khilala Qarn Min Al-Zaman* (Bayrut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1993). 533 His peers included Farid al-Sa'ad and Hikmat al-Masri.

[65] Yoram Kahati. "The Role of Education in the Development of Arab Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent During the 1920s." in *Political Thought and Political History : Studies in Memory of Elie Kedourie*, edited by M. Gammer. (London: Frank Cass, 2003). 28 Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh, *Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine During the British Mandate* (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1973). 93-94 Matthews., 52, 101,

throughout the Arab world." [66] The bonds may have been inseparable, but the borders were ambiguous. Singing national songs, reading Arab history, and, during the early 1920s, listening to nationalist lectures of then principal, and future Arab Higher Committee member, Muhammad Izzat Darwazeh, would (according to Darwazeh) heighten students' "national consciousness." Darwazeh asserted that even al-Najah's existence, as a "free, national school" constituted an Arab nationalist statement. In trying to drum up students in the early 1920s, he preached that the curriculum of the government schools was "incompatible" with strength, knowledge and "national culture" or at the very least, neglected that culture. Therefore, it was incumbent upon the learned, the well to do, Muslims, and Arabs to support al-Najah and its mission of "steadfastness" in the face of Zionism. [67]

The student body, including Scout troops, and staff of the Najah School, Nablus, 1924. [68]

Zu'aytir then spent a brief period as a student at the American University of Beirut (AUB). Although he did not graduate, his short stint in higher education was enough to grant him educational and nationalist credentials, as he improved his English, protested against Zionism, participated in debates, and won prizes for his speeches, such as "Is the East suited for self-government" and "I do not fight for the sake of 'Umar."[69] The second speech referenced a phrase attributed to Khalid bin al-Walid, a general during the 7th century Islamic conquests of Syria and Palestine, fighting against the Christians. al-Walid is betrayed by the Caliph 'Umar, but continues to fight against the Byzantine Empire, stating "I do not fight for the sake of 'Umar, but I fight for

[66] Abu-Ghazaleh. 94
[67] Darwazehh.533
[68] Walid Khalidi. *Before Their Diaspora : A Photographic History of the Palestinians.* 168. "The Student Body, Including Scout Troops, and Staff of the Najah School, Nablus, 1924.", Institute for Palestine Studies http://btd.palestine-studies.org/content/najah-school. (Accessed May 14, 2015)
[69]Akram Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935* (Bayrut: al-Muassasat al-`arabiyyat li-l-dirasat wa-al-nasr, 1994). 8

the God of 'Umar," indicating Zu'aytir's anti-imperialism, particularly against Christian empires, even at this impressionable age. [70] The subject of al-Walid actually reappeared in a textbook Zu'aytir would write 10 years later with Darwish al-Miqdadi. This textbook, *Tarikhuna bi-Uslub Qisasi* (our history in stories) was used throughout Iraq, Syria and Palestine.[71]

The clubs Zu'aytir joined while at AUB highlight his growing interest in broad notions of Arab nationalism and the camaraderie that rebellions against authority inspired in AUB's young men. Zu'aytir chose to be part of the two societies devoted to the Arabic language and the use of that language for pan-Arab nationalism.[72] He published one article, in the student society *al-`Urwah al-Wuthqá*, entitled "The philosophers of the East" which focused on al-Ma'arri, an 11th century Syrian-born poet who advocated humanism and "social justice" as well as Omar Khayyam, a 12th century Persian poet and scholar.[73] Zu'aytir's article, filled with exclamation points, likened these poets to England's Shakespeare, Italy's Dante as well as France's Hugo and Germany's Goethe, asserting that the similarities between Khayyam and al-Ma'arri were necessary to remember in a modern context, and lamenting his generation's lack of knowledge of their own philosophers. [74] Zu'aytir assumed that education, particularly focused on a civilization's glorious history, was necessary for modernity and pride in one's nation, however that nation was defined. In *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá*, in classrooms, and in student led protests, Zu'aytir mixed with a number of future teachers, government officials, prime ministers, littérateurs and rabble-rousers from throughout the Arabic speaking world. [75] These contacts would later prove useful in Zu'aytir's career, and his promoting himself as somewhat of a professional nationalist. [76]

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[70] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 2014)"Khalid Ibn Al-Walid." Nicola A. Jarrah, Nuri Ziadeh, *Hawla Al-`Alam Fi 76 `Aman : Rihlat Muthaqqaf Shami Fi Asiya Wa-Urubba Wa-Al-Shamal Al-Ifriqi 1916-1992* (Bayrut: al-Muassasah al-`Arabiyah lil-Dirasat wa-al-Nashr, 2007). 131-2. Zu'aytir asserts that this speech was attended by Amir Amin arslan, a journalist and former pan-arabist agitator, who yelled that Akram Zu'aytir should get the prize. Rashid Khalidi, *The Origins of Arab Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991). 35, Zu`aytir. 8

[71] Akram Zu`aytir and Darwish Miqdadi, *Tarikhuna Bi-Uslub Qisasi* (Beirut: Dar al-Katib al-`Arabi, 1979). 219, Harte. 210

[72] These groups where Zahrat al-Adab and *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá*

[73] Akram Zu`aytir, "Falāsifat Al-Sharq " *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá* 2, no. 2 (1925).p 18, Henry Abu al-Ala al-Ma'arri Baerlein, *Abu'l Ala, the Syrian* (London: J. Murray, 1914). *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 2014), "Al-Ma'arri." Ibid., "Omar Khayyam."

[74] Zu`aytir, "Falāsifat Al-Sharq ". 18. Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*. 8

[75] In *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá* at that time he would have met with (among others) Wasfi Anabtawi, Thabit al-Khalidi, Arafat al-Duweik, Fadil Jamali and Farid Zin al-Din, *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá* 2, no. 2 (1925). 1 He also mentions meeting with Wasif Kemal, and Farid al-Zin, and Ahmad Tuqan, (future teacher at the Arab teachers' college, textbook author, Minister of Education and Prime Minister of Jordan). Majlīs al-A'yān l-Urdunī, "Deputy Al-Said Ahmad Tuqan" http://www.senate.jo/node/336 (accessed April 24, 2014 2014). Qism al-Arshīf, Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Ta'līm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah,, (Amman, Jordan: Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Ta'līm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah, 2013). (The Human Resources Department, Archive Section, the Ministry of Education of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.) Hearafter, HRD. Employee Record Number 0000485. Aḥmad Salīm Sa'īdān Aḥmad 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṭūqān, *Mabādi' Al-Jabr Al-Jazā' Al-Awwal* 2 vols., vol. 1 (Bayrūt: al-Maktabah al-'Aṣrīyah, 1947). Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*. 9-10, He asserts that Wasfi Anabtawi was his friend and distant cousin, and that his professors such as Assad Rustam (History), Taqi al-Din (sociology) and others wrote petitions on his behalf to try to allow him to get as much benefit as possible from his time at AUB, despite his illness.

[76] For example, Fadil Jamali and Matta Akrawi would prove crucial in Zu'aytir's political clout as a teacher in Iraq. Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*. 662, 664, 667, 673

Akram Zu'aytir was an ambitious student, concerned with both activism and his career. When ill health forced him to return to Palestine, Zu'aytir used the English he had learned at AUB to try to help support his family by gaining a post as an English teacher in Nablus. [77] He cried to himself when he first learned of his appointment, because he feared it would not be enough for him to languish as simply an elementary school teacher, rather than completing his BA. [78] As a teacher, Zu'aytir sought to use the leverage he had to make the best of the situation. Opportunistically, he petitioned the Department of Education on multiple occasions and with a wide variety of requests. [79] He asked the department to tell him if he could attend (and receive a scholarship) to any law school in the United Kingdom without passing an examination (he could not); if the Higher Teachers Examination he took would be a sufficient credential to enable him to matriculate at the Sorbonne (it would not); and if the department would transfer him to Jerusalem to allow him to take law classes while a teacher (it would not).[80] Meanwhile, while working as a teacher, Zu'aytir wrote political tracts in Egyptian and Palestinian newspapers, wrestled with his supervisors, and made contact with other self-described nationalists both within and beyond government service. [81]

Zu'aytir resigned as a teacher in Palestine in 1929. In retrospect, he defined his teaching as a nationalist platform. The period he worked, after he had submitted his resignation but before it took effect, he gleefully defined as a chance "to inflame nationalist sentiments!"[82] What he meant by those nationalist sentiments is harder to tease out. He was clearly against Zionism and Imperialism, and clearly for a broad notion of Arabism which included Palestine. However, Zu'aytir's nationalism was one of broad strokes rather than specific details. His memoirs claim his resignation was partially due to the Department of Education's awareness of his nationalist proclivities, and that they thought of him as "the most prominent agitator in the city."[83] However, his file notes only that he sought to study in Jerusalem at the law classes and could not do so because he was not a teacher in Jerusalem, and preferred not to wait for the department to transfer him.[84] His own letter of resignation merely complains that he was not promoted soon enough, and

[77] Ibid.12-14,

[78] He also actually worked in the department of labor as a clerk, for 10 pounds but they made him quit because he wasn't yet 18 years old. Even his father had worked as a teacher before becoming the first man in Nablus. Ibid. 15

[79] His file contains 10 petitions, although he was only a teacher for 4 years. For example, he petitions for an increased salary, (which is denied). Akram Zu'aytir, "Letter to the Director of Education, the Inspector of Education for the District of Samaria, and the Principal of the Salahiyya School," November 14 1946, Jerome Farrell, "D.I.E. Galilee, Subject :- Akram Eff. Zuaiter," July 22 1929 "Akram Zuaiter", ISA 1012 15 M. He also petitioned repeatedly for transfers, Jerome Farrell, "Letter to Akram Zu'aytir," May 31, 1927, DIE Samaria, "Application for Transfer, Akram Zu'yatir" 23 July 1927. "Akram Zuaiter" ISA 1012 15 M. He also petitioned to take the entrance examination at the American University of Beirut, DIE Galilee Jibrail Katul, "Akram Eff. Zu'aiter, Thro' H. Master, Sec. B.S., Acre" May 29, 1929. Akram Zuaiter, ISA 1012 15 M.

[80] Akram Zu'aytir, "Director of Education Jerusalem, through the Official Channel." December 15, 1928. Jerome Farrell, "D.I.E. Galilee, Subject:- Akram Zu'aiter" December 22, 1928, Akram Zu'aytir, "To the Director of Education Thro the Principal of the Salahiyya School" February 17, 1928. Jerome Farrell, "D.I.E. Galilee Subject:- Akram Zu'aitar" March 21, 1928. Akram Zu'aytir, "Letter to the Director of Education, through the Inspector of Education and the Principal of the Secondary School Esq." April 6, 1929. Jerome Farrell, "D.I.E. Galilee Subject:- Akram Zu'aitar" May 11, 1929. "Akram Zuaiter" ISA 1012 15 M.

[81] Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*. 28.

[82] Ibid.65

[83] Anderson. 64

[84] District Inspector of the Galilee, "Director of Education Jerusalem, Subject :- Akram Zu'aiter - Acre Sec. B. School" July 17, 1929.. Farrell, "D.I.E. Galilee, Subject :- Akram Eff. Zuaiter." "Akram Zuaiter", ISA 1012 15 M

that his repeated requests to transfer to Jerusalem were denied.[85] Zu'aytir proceeded to study law in Jerusalem while editing a newspaper and writing articles which advocated independence. [86] He was arrested, subjected to internal exile in Nablus where he worked at a private school and organized a youth bloc also seeking independence.[87]

From 1933-1935 Zu'aytir worked as a teacher for the government of Iraq, where he persisted in combining government service with anti-imperial activities. He then returned to Palestine to try to participate in the Great Revolt. [88] His participation was short lived. As he was no longer an employee of the government of Palestine, he lacked the bargaining power he had had as a teacher. The Mandate government quickly imprisoned him. Within the year, he returned to Iraq, back again to the Ministry of Education where he worked as an inspector and teacher. [89]

Zu'aytir's negotiations, threats of resignation and written protests characterize the methods of educators in the 1930s to promote political causes, and their own careers. Zu'aytir lobbied the Iraqi Government in order to protest journals and political organizations that he felt did not support his type of nationalism and the cause of Palestine specifically, or that denigrated "Syrians." [90] He threatened to resign on multiple occasions and solicited help from politicians in order to discredit his "rivals," or those who preferred Iraqi citizens to hold posts in the Iraqi government. [91] Even as a lowly teacher, Zu'aytir's connections to government officials, and his prolific writings and ability to agitate granted him enough power to make claims on Iraq's government. He also worried Iraq's British advisors by verbally attacking the British Government during official ceremonies.[92] His ability to protest while maintaining a government post in Iraq ended in 1941, after military coups and a crackdown by both the British and the monarchy alike teachers from beyond Iraq. He would reemerge as a politician in Jordan during the 1960s through the 1980s. [93]

Like, Zu'aytir, Darwish al-Miqdadi, whose penchant for inducing students to go on strike was discussed in the previous chapter, taught throughout the Middle East, emphasizing a nebulous version of pan-Arab nationalism and non-violent protests, yet seldom receiving punishment or permanent dismissal for his actions. Darwish al-Miqdadi, was born Darwish Hajj Ibrahim in Taybeh, in Northern Palestine in 1897. He completed his elementary education in Taybeh and

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[85] Akram Zu'aytir, "Letter to the Director of Education, through the Principal of the Secondary School in Acre, and through the Inspector." November 6, 1929 "Akram Zuaiter" ISA 1012 15 M.

[86] The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, Jerusalem, "Zu'aiter, Akram (1909-1996), Palestine Personalities" http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/personalities/alpha_z.htm (accessed April 17, 2014). Kabaha. 22

[87] Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*. 139-143. At the Nebi Musa festival, Zu'aytir gave a speech calling for independence, and continuing the struggle in order to achieve independence, which caused his imprisonment, and subsequently restricted his movements to Nablus. Matthews. 70-71. Matthews claims that Zu'aytir was expelled from the law classes, but Kabaha claims Zu'aytir became an attorney. Kabaha. 14. Zu'aytir asserts that he was able to take the law exam, albeit under police guard. 185-186

[88] Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*.747, 748

[89] "*The Iraq Government Gazette* No 24, June 11, 1939. CO 813/14 NA.

[90] Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*. 617-619

[91] Anderson.For example, in his memoirs, he offers his resignation because he complains that certain newspapers were publishing anti-Syrian articles. Zu'aytir recalled meeting with Sami Shawkat, then Director of Education, who begged him to rescind his resignation. Zu'aytir did, and the newspapers who had denigrated him and Adel Arslan published apologies, which satisfied Zu'aytir that he did not need to resign. Zu'aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*. 617, 662

[92] The Right Honourable the Viscout Halifax, "Syria Visas, July 29, 1939," FO 624/17/489. NA

[93] Nasher.

Tulkarem. Like Zu'aytir, he attended a private rather than government school before proceeding to the American University of Beirut. [94]

Al-Miqdadi graduated from the American University of Beirut with a BA in 1922. [95] In 1921, al-Miqdadi had joined the literary club *al- `Urwah al-Wuthqá* as a member of the executive committee with his future colleagues Matta Akrawi, and Anis Nusuli. [96] At AUB, Al-Miqdadi learned not only to value Arab unity, but also to question authority, as he was part of a senior comic roast of their teachers during commencement. [97] After graduation, he taught at the Teacher Training College in Jerusalem, where he protested the Balfour Declaration, as described in the previous chapter. One of his students recalled that at the College, al-Miqdadi talked ceaselessly about Arab nationalism. The student noted that "when teaching about European history, whether medieval or modern, he (al-Miqdadi) would raise issues relating to Arabs and Islam… when he taught the reformation in Europe he would make a case for the need for religious reform in the Arab East, and discuss at length the problems related to the subject, speaking with total freedom and frankness."[98] The student also asserted that Al-Miqdadi's decision to change his name from Ibrahim to al-Miqdadi was also an Arab nationalist statement: al-Miqdadi was a name which hearkened back to the earliest Muslims. al-Miqdadi also encouraged his students to change their name to reflect their genealogies, thereby emphasizing their long history and, therefore, stronger ties to the region, in answer to Jewish-Zionist narratives of ancient connections.[99] While at the Teacher Training College, he also wrote articles for the College journal (generally on historical issues), gave talks and tours to students and the public, and founded a non government scouting organization, which he refused to incorporate into the government run scouts or to dismantle. These activities helped him to gain a reputation as one of a number of "ardent nationalists" who viewed teaching as a political platform. [100] He also led long walks as a means of promoting pan-Arabism, actually going by foot with students throughout the north of Palestine and areas of Syria and Lebanon. [101]

Like Zu'aytir during the late 1920s through 1941, al-Miqdadi found a larger paycheck, and greater leeway to teach varieties of Arab nationalism in Iraq rather than in Palestine. He resigned his post at the Teachers College in 1926, the same year he officially changed his name.[102] As a self-proclaimed nationalist civil servant, he pushed the limits of what government employment could permit by demonstrating, founding and participating in various clubs. He taught at the intermediate school in Baghdad and received Iraqi citizenship in 1928, despite his role in the Nusuli demonstrations, described in the previous chapter. [103] He returned briefly to Palestine for a revolt in 1929. During these years he founded an anti-imperial group, "the Arab

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[94] al-Miqdadi attended al-Kuliyya al-Islamiyya, a school that combined the study of European languages and modern science with Islamic studies, located in Beirut. Matthews. 50

[95] *Al Kulliyah* 8, No 9. (July 1922). 131

[96] *Al Kulliyah* 7, No 8. (June 1921).140

[97] *Al Kulliyah* 8, No 9. (July, 1922), 130

[98] Nicola Ziadeh. "Journeys in Palestine During the British Colonial Period." *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 51 (2012). 69

[99] Ibid. 69

[100] Kahati. 155, Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine : A Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac, 1956).200, Harte.210-213

[101] Nicola Ziadeh, "Min Baytī Ilá Al-Jāmi'ah Al-Amīrikīyah 1992," History of Syrian Protestant College/American University of Beirut : General 1866, American University of Beirut Archive AA:1.6.1., Box 5, File 6. Hearafter AUB.

[102] *Al Kulliyah* 12,No 4 (February 12, 1926). 108

[103] Simon. 91

Liberation Society" which failed to attract adherents or attention.[104] In Palestine, he was arrested and sentenced to six months in prison for having preached against Zionist actions and the British government, although he did not go so far as to advocate armed rebellion.[105] Despite his arrest, the government of Iraq quickly reemployed him as a teacher. Through his position in Iraq, al-Miqdadi was able to avoid serving his prison sentence. [106] In 1931, the scout group of the government secondary school in Baghdad, which al-Miqdadi enthusiastically led, was incorporated into the *futuwwa*, a militarist government-sponsored youth organization which will be discussed further in this chapter. [107] In 1933, he tried his hand at founding another group, this time named "the League of National Action" but yet again it failed to attract a mass following, although its members included a wide variety of young educated Arabs. [108] By 1935, he was promoted from principal of the Baghdad secondary school to permanent instructor at the Higher Teachers Training College. [109] Despite his promotion, al-Miqdadi sought to pursue higher studies (and anti-British activities). He studied at Berlin University from 1936-39 with a scholarship, allowing him to learn Islamic history from German Orientalists. [110] He then returned to Iraq, again to the Higher Teachers Training College.[111]

Like Zu'aytir, al-Miqdadi's luck would run out in 1941, when he would be incarcerated for three years for his alleged support of the 1941 coup. He would go on to head the education department of Kuwait. [112] al-Miqdadi's ability to balance extracurricular activities, such as clubs and scouting, as well as anti-government protests with government service illustrates both the leniency teachers enjoyed during this period and their incorporation into government service. Although by his actions and writings he was clearly anti-imperial, he still chose to work for governments controlled by colonial powers.

Education functioned not only as a guarantee of a government post, but also a means of rising through the ranks of the civil service. In Palestine, the top echelons of the government bureaucracy were closed to Arab Palestinians, although government schooling guaranteed a stable salary as a teacher. In Iraq, the connections between public education and government employment bound a wide variety of educated individuals to their government regardless of their support of its nature or premise. These ranged from Dhu al-Nun Ayyub, a teacher, novelist, communist, and politician to Dr. Sami Shawkat, a medical doctor and Minister of Education who was most focused

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[104] Sami M. Moubayed, *Steel & Silk : Men and Women Who Shaped Syria 1900-2000* (Seattle, WA: Cune, 2006).420

[105] Kahati.157 In Zu'aytir's memoirs, he notes that during the 1929 demonstrations, , a delegation came from Tulkarem to Nablus in order to demonstrate the news, including Professor Darwish al-Miqdadi who gave a speech in one of the squares instigating rebellion. Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*.40

[106] Zua'ytir also describes the court case in which he was arrested, noting that the people who were sentenced to six months in prison were Salim Abd- al Rahman and Darwish al Miqdadi who was absent in Baghdad. Anderson.97

[107] Hayyim J. Cohen, *The Anti-Jewish Farhud in Baghdad, 1941* (London: F. Cass, 1966). 6

[108] Moubayed.420

[109] *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 46. November 17, 1935 CO 813/9. NA.

[110] Alumni Association American University of Beirut, *Directory of Alumni, 1870-1952* (Beirut: 1953).142. He also may have served as president of the Arab Club during these years. Götz Nordbruch, *Nazism in Syria and Lebanon : The Ambivalence of the German Option, 1933-1945* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009).157 Nicola Ziyadeh, "Darwīsh Al-Miqdādī Ustādhunā li-Durūs Al-Qawmīyah," *al-Mustaqbal* no. 783 (December 19, 2004).

[111] *The Iraq Government Gazette*, No 49, December 3, 1939 CO 813/12. NA.

[112] A M Qattan, "Leila Darwish Miqdadi - Al-Qattan (1934-2015)" http://www.qattanfoundation.org/en/members/leila-darwish-miqdadi-al-qattan-1934-2015 (accessed April 6 2015 2015)., *Al Kulliyah* 25, Nos 6 and 7 (June and July 1950). 34

on promoting German and even Nazi style militarism in the Iraqi schools. These educators had very different backgrounds, as well as wide ranging prescriptions for Iraqi education.

Despite their different opinions, teachers and officials in Iraq, including Palestinians, overwhelmingly sought to change only certain aspects of government policy; adding new players but not new rules. The following section will analyze in more detail the ideologies these individuals promoted. Educators' articulations of nationalisms were surprisingly vague and impractical, despite their reputation. I argue that the ill defined nature of the nationalisms espoused by educators was related to their incorporation into government service. Their nationalisms signified erudition and political engagement but not the intention to violently overthrow the government itself.

Education and Nationalisms in 1930s Iraq

Palestinian and Iraqi teachers, officials, and students were divided in their prescriptions for nationalism and educational policy. Officials, particularly within the Iraqi education department, often worked on an individual level and at cross purposes with one another. Amidst the upheavals of the 1930s, educators in the government schools of Iraq and Palestine and officials at the highest levels of the Iraqi bureaucracy used education as a means of promoting a variety of notions of political affiliation. Educated individuals could write communist "esque", pan-Arabist, fascist, or territorial nationalist tracts extolling the benefits of the nation but generally could not and chose not to put these policies into practice, even when they did reach the top leadership positions in government service. On the one hand, educators' continued reference to "nationalism" coupled with their ability to publish and to form literary as well as political clubs signified their erudition and their participation in modernity. On the other hand, educators' ability to promote these ideologies without losing their posts distanced them from revolutionary movements that sought to overthrow their governments.

During his tenure as an educator in Iraq, Akram Zu'aytir's activities and writings and those of his peers were well known. The wife of the head of the American School for Boys in Baghdad noted with distaste the growing number of transnational nationalist teachers in Iraq. She described them as "inflated and bigoted nationalists from Palestine and Syria… employed as teachers in the schools of Iraq or given other posts in the government." [113] Her account highlights the public nature of these educators' politics, but also fails to define what their nationalism actually meant. While teaching at the Higher Teachers College in Baghdad, Zu'aytir wrote constant articles promoting what he defined as nationalism, namely broad references to pan-Arabism that linked the concerns of Palestinians with those of Iraqis. [114] Many of his students recalled his inspiring "nationalism" in the classroom as well as that of his fellow teachers, particularly their calls for "Arab Unity," although what this Arab Unity would entail in practice remained undefined. [115]

More concretely, historians and contemporaries have read Zu'aytir and al-Miqdadi's works, particularly their textbooks, in order to explore the origins of Pan-Arabism as well as any

[113] Ida Donges Joseph John Staudt, *Contemporary Issues in the Middle East : Living in Romantic Baghdad : An American Memoir of Teaching and Travel in Iraq, 1924-1947*. (Syracuse, NY, USA: Syracuse University Press, 2012). 247

[114] Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*.154

[115] Abd al-Latif Dhu al-Kifl, *Mudhakkirati* (`Amman: Dar Sindbad lil-Nashr, 2000).
21, Bashkin, *New Babylonians : A History of Jews in Modern Iraq*.132

Nazi-inclinations on the part of its adherents. [116] These textbooks provide key insight into Arab understandings of the "Semitic Wave Theory," which granted the idea of Arab unity a longer history and allowed various civilizations to be incorporated into a pan-Arab canon. [117] While the history of the Arab nation that these textbooks describe is well defined, its borders, potential policies and political future were not. [118] For example, in his analysis of a history textbook written by Darwish al-Miqdadi, C. Ernest Dawn asserts he can find "all the elements of the self-view set forth by later Ba'thist and Nasserist writers." He notes, however, that politicians who seemed to believe in the ideology put forward by nationalist writers, including al-Miqdadi, did not actually describe "any specific concept of the Arab nation." [119] In this textbook, as well as his other works, al-Miqdadi is clearly and explicitly pro-Arab and anti-imperial, but without a clearly defined Arab nation and political platform. Al-Miqdadi links the factionalism and imperialism of the 1930s to the pre Islamic Jahiliyyah, or time of ignorance, arguing that the Arab nation needed to free itself of its own problems as well as the imperial yoke.[120] Al-Miqdadi claims that American schools (like the American University of Beirut that he attended) were better than other Missionary schools "because America has not been covetous of colonizing the Near East. Despite that, their effect is obvious in bringing up doubting, materialistic students." al-Miqdadi offers no prescription for the Arab nation's current borders, or what type of political formation would best suit this nation. Beyond his opposition to imperialism, al-Miqdadi's program signifies an understanding of current literature and of a desire to achieve modernity. However, it was not in any sense a program for governance. It may have had some gestures towards strongman politics in its idealization of Muhammad, but overall this work indicates a sense of solidarity that can encompass Islam, the language of Arabic, and a broad notion of civilization.

Darwish al-Miqdadi's legacy, in terms of speeches, fomenting protests, as well as textbooks would puzzle a generation of historians and ideologues searching for the origins of Pan-Arabism, Arab support of Nazism, and Palestinian nationalism's place within a larger, pan-Arab canon. Al-Miqdadi's nationalism was anti-imperial, but impracticable. Both his and Akram Zuaytir's careers in government employment, and for a variety of governments, complicate notions of them being rebellious anti-colonial nationalists, while illustrating the scope for nationalist activities across national borders.

In Iraq, Darwish al-Miqdadi, along with Akram Zu'aytir and other teachers and government ministers, participated in the "al-Muthanna" club, whose platform included impassioned rhetoric but few logistics. The club advocated "sovereignty, independence, unity, revival, and the means to develop the nationalist spirit…" Its leaders pursued the unification of

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[116] In terms of Nazism and German influence on Pan-Arabist national ideals, see Simon., Wien. His textbook *Tārīkh al-Ummah al-'Arabīyah* was used in the second year of the intermediate level in Iraq. Wizārat al-Ma'ārif Iraq, *Al-Taqrīr Al-Sanawī 'an Sayr Al-Ma'ārif 1938-1939*, (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-ḥukūmah, 1939). 39

[117] Simon.92-93, Bernard Lewis, *The Arabs in History* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).19, Nimrod Hurvitz, "Muhibb Ad-Din Al-Khatib's Semitic Wave Theory and Pan-Arabism," *Middle Eastern Studies* 29, no. 1 (1993). 118-134, Harte.157

[118] Al-Miqdadi generally uses a bodily image, as do many influenced by the Semitic wave theory, to define the Arab region. There are questions of language, but there is no essential political program, no idea of federation, just simply Arab unity.

[119] Ernest C Dawn, "An Arab Nationalist View of World Politics and History in the Interwar Period: Darwish Al-Miqdadi," in *The Great Powers in the Middle East, 1919-1939*, ed. Uriel Dann(New York; London: Holmes & Meier, 1988). 355

[120] Harte.159

Arab resistance efforts against imperialism, and colonialism (Zionism in particular), as well as the creation of an Arab national economy that would respect private property and the promotion of national manufacturing. [121]

In a lecture given at the club in Baghdad in 1939, Fadil Jamali, then one of the most powerful officials in the Ministry of Education expounded on his view of nationalism explicitly, even as he criticized the variety of uses of the term "nationalism." This lecture appeared in the magazine sponsored by the Ministry of Education *al-Mu`allim al-jadid;* its intended audience included all the teachers of Iraq. Jamali began his speech by asserting that he and his compatriots were part of "a nation awakened and arisen..." Jamali, like Darwish al-Miqdadi and Akram Zu'aytir hearkened back to the glory days of the "nation," arguing that its "latent strength" would enable his listeners and their nation to regain their previous role "among the nations of the earth." However, Jamali never actually defined what that nation is, or was, or how the concept of an Iraqi nation relates to the broader idea of Arab unity. He only indicated that the Arab nation is "among the most fertile of the nations in terms of soul and thought…and it was chosen by god ... " [122] He did, however decide that "We should, while we are in the midst of our nationalist renaissance, understand first what is nationalism then what are the active factors of its composition."

In defining nationalism, Jamali focused on how his contemporaries used the word as a positive signifier and its lack as an insult. He stated "Nationalism is not a question of names or allegations. It is not a matter of hubbub." For Jamali, the key issue with nationalism that he wished to convey to the supposedly ultranationalist Pan-Arab club was its controversy; the term was being thrown around inappropriately. He continued by asserting that, "It is easy for some to monopolize the name of nationalism, and to accuse others of non nationalism as soon as they are in a personal feud or when there is jealousy between them." Jamali further compared those who accuse others of not being nationalist to priests during the Middle Ages, whose "monopoly" on religion meant they called everyone not exactly like them "aetheists." This indicates a flexibility in the definition of nationalism, as Jamali decried the idea of monopolizing the concept. It also meant that nationalism was something inherently positive. Jamali stressed that nationalism as an ideology signifies knowledge, and that learning not to "trade in the name of nationalism" as well as understanding how to keep individuals on a nationalist path, is what he and his contemporaries desired of a nationalist education. [123]

Even Jamali, a staunch nationalist educator and politician, could essentially only define nationalism in a circular manner, as what one should learn in "nationalist education." [124] In turn, a nationalist education was meant to teach nationalism and to preach that nationalism "with soul and thought and emotion and passion and action. ..."[125] These broad definitions of nationalism, and indeed Jamali's own criticisms of how the word nationalism was being used, indicate that nationalism itself was a term in flux due to recent national boundaries, the disjuncture between state and nation, and the limited political arena in which to put "nationalist" ideal into practice. Rather than trying to pin down which individuals or even governments were in and out of Jamali's nation state, his speech to the most radical "nationalists" of Iraq indicates that nationalism

[121] Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*. 693
[122] Fadil Jamali, "Al-'awāmil Al-Fa'ālah Fīl-Tarbiyah Al-Qawmīyah," *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* 4, no. 1 (April 1939). 5
[123] Ibid. 6
[124] Ibid. 6-7
[125] Ibid. 7

essentially signified an intellectual stance and the ability to argue for that stance. His lack of a definition may also have pointed to his own disagreements with his fellow members of the club in terms of how nationalism should be defined. In practice, Jamali's view of nationalism was inclusive, as indicated by his dislike of the monopolization of the term nationalism, and his work to educate and incorporate more Shi'ites and AUB graduates into the government of Iraq.

On the other hand, the minister of education during the 1930s was Dr. Sami Shawkat, who was most focused on promoting German and even Nazi style militarism in the Iraqi schools. Shawkat was instrumental in incorporating a "Hitler Youth type paramilitary" group into the elementary and secondary schools of Iraq.[126] In previous years, scouting, a pet project of colonial officials in both Iraq and Palestine, had included more sedate and less nationalistic organizations.

Bir Idhren Schoolboys ?arrayed as boy scouts. Lloyd, some RAF, myself (Arthur Lionel Forster Smith, then Director of Education in Iraq) & others. Iraq, 1920s. [127]

By the late 1930s, older boys were participated in a government sponsored militarist organization, comprised of students in the secondary and intermediate schools. The *futuwwa* meant essentially masculine youth or "youthful masculinity."[128] Implemented shortly after the 1934 law of compulsory military service it became compulsory five years later. The purpose of the *futuwwa* in 1939 was overtly militaristic: " to give the youth of the country such various forms of military training as to accustom them to rough life, hardships and devotion to duty, and to foster in them the military spirit and manly, chivalrous and other kindred qualities of love of discipline…" The Minister of Education was granted the title of prince or Amir of the *futuwwa*, while the *futuwwa* officers were to wear a badge including both sword and pen. Moreover, these students used arms

[126] Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny*. 103
[127] Arthur Lionel Forster Smith. *Bir Idhren Schoolboys ?arrayed as boy scouts. Lloyd, some RAF, myself & others*. Lionel Smith Collection, GB165-0266. Alb6-021. MECA. 1920s.
[128]Pursley, "The Stage of Adolescence: Anticolonial Time, Youth Insurgency, and the Marriage Crisis in Hashimite Iraq." 178

and live ammunition in their training. [129] They were required to pass a test in "military information" each year and to attend "the military training, military lectures and camps" in order to advance to the next class. [130]

These drills, camps and parades seem to have been quite memorable. Khalid al-Kishtaini, an Iraqi author, journalist, and artist currently living in London, remembered marching in the late 1930s. He stated that "once or two times a year, we formed lines and would march, all of us in uniforms…with a band with at least one drum…." [131] al-Kishtaini thought that these practices were "very nationalistic" and that there was a lot of "Nazi influence" although he specifically mentioned this influence manifesting itself in "khaki uniforms" and "nationalistic songs." Moreover, al-Kishtaini took care to argue that the 1930s were in fact a period of tolerance, "with regards to religion and beliefs" despite the nationalistic parades, and the fact that his history lessons were quite nationalistic and focused on Islamic civilization and Arabic heritage. For the young al-Kishtaini, nationalism was self evident: an idea of Arabic and Islamic civilization, tied to particular practices rather than any particular territory or political platform. The lasting influence of the parades dictated by Shawkat's reforms, was in their experience rather than their message.

The message Shawkat sought to convey through both the *futuwwa* and the type of history taught in the schools of Iraq was one of militarist resistance against imperialism, anti-intellectualism in favor of a strong, masculine ideal. In a famous 1933 speech, *Sana't al Mawt* or the "profession/art of death," Shawkat underscored a militant anti-imperial "strength" as the ultimate goal of government education, rather than any academic subjects. He told the teachers at the training college that education and a strong economy were not enough to win independence. He emphasized the importance not of civil schooling, but instead of military drill and its spread throughout Iraq. Shawkat highlighted the examples of Harun al-Rashid, Ataturk, Reza Shah Pahlavi, and Mussolini as possessing the necessary "strength," namely military might, to successfully resist imperialism. [132] He also asserted that these teachers must teach the "'history of the fatherland, and the past of the nation." Moreover, they should teach without giving too much attention to historical facts, to promote patriotism and not to "oppress the memory." [133]

On the other hand, Sati al-Husri, the sometime Director General of Public Instruction in Iraq discussed in previous chapters, thought education was nothing without attention to historical facts. al-Husri did not disagree with Shawkat's patriotism; however, he could not support Shawkat's disavowal of academic learning if it did not promote militarism and Arab unity in any way. For example, al-Husri's peers as well as historians have criticized the curriculum he implemented for Iraq as too filled with memorizing Arab history and devoting too many hours to the Arabic Language. [134] In contrast, Shawkat went so far as to argue for desecrating the grave of

[129]Zu`aytir, *Bawakir Al-Nidal : 1909-1935*., 673., He also mentions Matta Akrawi, Darwish al-Miqdadi, and others as participating in this military training as teachers.
[130] *The Iraq Government Gazette*, No 47, November 19, 1939. CO 813/13. NA. 628-631
[131] Interview with Khalid al-Kishtaini, December 12, 2011.
[132] Sami Shawkat, "The Profession of Death," in *Arab Nationalism, an Anthology*, ed. Sylvia Kedourie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).97-99
[133] Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny*.41
[134] Jamali criticizes the 1930s curriculum in the Government schools of Iraq for being too alien from Iraqi life, and full of impractical "inert subject matter." Jamali. 10-11. The Monroe commission argued that the requirements for History and Geography were not only impossible to achieve, but also too "warlike." Monroe. 152 Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny*. 71

Ibn Khaldun and destroying his works because they could be read as critical of Arabs, a position anathema to al-Husri. [135] Yet, al-Husri, an Ottoman trained pedagogue praised compulsory military service the year after it was implemented as "the most important event which happened this past year in the Arab East." For al-Husri the benefit of militarization was making "the army a tool to defend the nation, deriving its strength from all the classes of the nation …."[136]

Al-Husri himself was a transnational figure. He was born in Yemen to Syrian parents and knew Turkish better than he knew Arabic before becoming an Iraqi citizen. He was kicked out of Iraq along with Akram Zu'aytir in 1941. Al-Husri sought to find a type of "nation" that could encompass his own background and those of his diverse colleagues, in both education and government service. As one of the most important ideologues on Arab nationalism, his writings, particularly those from the 1940s, have been analyzed both for their pedagogy and for their contribution to the Arab nationalism as a whole. [137] His idea of Arab unity was based on shared language and history rather than a defined race, as Shawkat had believed. Yet for both of these individuals the concrete form of Arab unity and the political formations that would best support this unity were vague because they were impractical in the face of local and imperial resistance to reforms

In the 1930s, not all of Iraqi Shawkat's colleagues appreciated militarization of schoolboys, the incorporation of all secondary school graduates into government service, or the emphasis on racial pan-Arabism throughout the schools. Dhu al-Nun Ayyub, and Abdul-Fattah Ibrahim, both educators, authors, and politicians demonstrate the range of political ideologies (particularly leftist and Marxist varieties) government employees could explore from within its ranks.

Dhu al-Nun Ayyub, a novelist, communist, teacher, and politician, was born in Mosul in 1908. Ayyub attended local government schools in his hometown. In 1927 he matriculated at the Teachers College in Baghdad, graduating in 1929.[138] According to one of his students, Ayyub was a tall redhead, and he would sometimes come to class having literally fought for his beliefs (bearing the bruises to prove it) which made him even more impressive in the students' eyes. [139] Ayyub began to publish short stories and essays in 1935. [140] Literary critics, historians and his contemporaries have focused on Ayyub as an "organic intellectual" who clearly opposed racially based pan-Arabism, and any monolithic accounts of Iraqi history, civilization, and culture. [141] His

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[135]William L. Cleveland, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist; Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati` Al-Husri* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972).63

[136] Sati al- Husri, "Al-Khidmah Al-'askarīyah Wa-al-Tarbīyah Al-'ammah " *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* 1, no. 3 and 4 (June and September 1936). 273-274

[137] Pursley, "The Stage of Adolescence: Anticolonial Time, Youth Insurgency, and the Marriage Crisis in Hashimite Iraq."; Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny*. Bernhardsson., Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century : From Triumph to Despair*; Khalidi, *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*; Wien.

[138] al-Musawi.45

[139]André Elias Sultana Ronald G. Mazawi, *World Yearbook of Education 2010 : Education and the Arab "World" : Political Projects, Struggles, and Geometries of Power* (New York: Routledge, 2010). 174

[140] His narrative voice as well as his political stance was influenced by Russian literature Muhammad Mustafá Badawi, *Modern Arabic Literature* (New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
288-89

[141] Davis.137, Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*. 74-86, Orit Bashkin, ""Out of Place": Home and Empire in the Works of Mahmud Ahmad Al-Sayyid and Dhu Nun Ayyub," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 28, no. 3 (2008). Muhsin al-Musawi, "Dhū Al-Nūn Ayyūb," in *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography*, ed. Roger Allen(Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009).

life-story and fictional works provide a self conscious analysis of educators' place in society, criticisms of the educated segment of that society, as well as a window into the variety of ideologies open to educators in Iraq during the 1930s and 1940s.

Dhu Ayyub was frustrated throughout his experience as a civil servant and teacher by the Iraqi government's corruption and the personal rather than professional nature of interactions within the government. [142] He had been selected to receive a scholarship to study abroad but was refused, due to "medical reasons," which left him forever embittered towards the government which did not recognize his merit. He himself cited not ill health but his leftist tendencies for the government's refusal of his scholarship. [143] He was also nearly (but not actually) fired later in his career as a teacher, when he was embroiled in a scandal with a spurned Iranian woman who committed suicide. [144]

In his fictional works, Ayyub satirized the Iraqi government, and their lack of commitment to the nationalisms they espoused. [145] For example, in his 1939 short story "A pillar of the tower of Babel" and the longer novella, "Doctor Ibrahim" Ayyub made no secret of his disapproval of the educational system and its promotion of racial ideas of Arabism in a country filled with non Arabs and a variety of sects, which all participated in and cared about education. For example, the photograph below depicts several different Iraqi ethnicities and religions, as well as the suited Education Officer.

A wayside ?tea stop on the road from Mosul to Dohuk. Left to right a Yezidi, the Area Education officer, an Arab, a Christian & a Kurd. Iraq, 1920s. [146]

[142] Ibid. 208
[143] Orit Bashkin, "When Muawiya Entered the Curriculum: Some Comments on the Iraqi Education System in the Interwar Period," *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006).359
[144] al-Musawi. 45
[145] Ibid., 359
[146] Arthur Lionel Forster Smith. *A wayside ?tea stop on the road from Mosul to Dohuk. Left to right a Yezidi, the Area Education officer, an Arab, a Christian & a Kurd*. Lionel Smith Collection, GB165-0266. Alb6-05. MECA. 1920s.

Ayyub's stories provide caricatures of Iraq's nationalisms and its bureaucracy. Although these stories were not purely factual, the short story collection was actually banned by the Ministry of Education, and Ayyub transferred at the same rate of pay from his position as a teacher in the central intermediate school of Baghdad to Koya, a town some 450 km north. [147] Ayyub's punishment was due, among other issues, to the fact that the main character, Dr. Ibrahim, bore too close a resemblance to Dr. Fadil Jamali. Both Jamali and the fictional Ibrahim achieved doctorates abroad, married foreign wives, and possessed Shi'ite ties. [148]

In order to improve his chances at career advancement, the protagonist of both the novella and short story, Dr. Ibrahim, becomes a member of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Men's Muslim Association, the Society of Free Masons, and the "Muthanna Ibn Haritha al-Shaybani club (a jibe at the real al-Muthanna club) because he was a staunch nationalist." [149] The protagonist's desire and ability to join these clubs, whose premises actually conflicted with one another, indicate the fluidity of the ideologies educated individuals could promote, while foregrounding hypocrisy, lack of patriotism, and dearth of concern for society on the part of Iraq's leaders. In addition, Dr. Ibrahim opportunistically "made bitter attacks on the Shi'ites and dubbed them 'foreigners' before zealous Sunnites, in order to win the trust of his party, while he confessed before the communists that he had been a communist when he was a student…" Dr. Ibrahim's simultaneous Arab nationalist and pro Communist leanings, and his ability to use whichever ideology he felt furthered his career, point to the corrupt and limited sphere of political involvement in Iraq.

In the novella, Ayyub goes still further, underscoring contradictions in the idea of pure Arab nationalism and "Arabness." Dr. Ibrahim, and indeed all of the politicians at one point in the novella suddenly findd themselves trying to prove their pure "Arabness." [150] However, Dr. Ibrahim realizes that really none of the politicians could claim a pure Arab lineage (he himself was married to an English woman and his father was in fact Persian). Therefore, Dr. Ibrahim he was safe in paying lip service to racialized Arabism without having to prove ethnic purity. Although Ayyub's jibes at the educated classes are caricature rather than recorded fact, Ayyub's transfer indicates they were too close to the truth for the comfort of his higher ups. Despite his transfer, Ayyub was able to disapprove in both writing, and in conversation with his superiors without being fired from

[147] Dhu al-Nun Ayyub, *Al-Athar Al-Kamilah Li-Adab Dhi Al-Nun Ayyub*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Baghdad: al-Jumhuriyah al-`Iraqiyah, Wizarat al-I`lam, 1977).24. In this segment, entitled Dr. Ibrahim's revenge, Dhu Ayyub reads a note from the Ministry of Education to a high ranking official, and the officials states that the Ministry of Education could do much worse to him than it has, namely that they have the right to expel him from his job, either temporarily or permanently. Dhu Ayyub thought the official informing him of his transfer's description of the government was Machiavellian, however the official states he has no idea who this Machiavelli is, as he hasn't read anything since he finished his studies, and doesn't intend to read anything in the future.

[148] Bashkin, "When Muawiya Entered the Curriculum: Some Comments on the Iraqi Education System in the Interwar Period." 359

[149] Dhu al-Nun Ayyub, "A Pillar of the Tower of Babel," in *Arab Stories : East and West*, ed. R. Y. Young M. J. L. Ebied(Leeds: 1977).7-8

[150] Muhsin Jasim Musawi, *Reading Iraq : Culture and Power in Conflict* (London; New York; New York: I.B. Tauris ; Distributed in the U.S.A. by St. Martin's Press, 2006). 99, Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*.360, Matthews.161-162

his post.[151] In later years, he began to portray communism as the only viable alternative to the opportunism of racially based Arabism, and the Arab nationalist elite. [152]

Both Dhu al-Nun al-Ayyub and Abdul Fattah Ibrahim (unrelated to the fictional Dr. Ibrahim) participated in communist and reformist parties while maintaining government jobs. Particularly during the 1930s, this overlap of political parties, anti-imperialism and government service meant that multiple political parties could use political tracts by Ayyub and his contemporaries, even if the authors themselves disagreed. [153] Ayyub was elected leader of the communist party in 1939, but was ousted, as he was deemed too critical of communist ideology as well as other members of the party. [154] Abdul Fattah Ibrahim would go on to lead the "Marxist-oriented National Union Party" in 1946-47 before the government banned it. [155]

Abdul Fattah Ibrahim's writings underscore how pan-Arabism was not the only ideological game in town. His career demonstrates how educated individuals of a wide variety of opinions and backgrounds could maintain their posts in government service. Abdul Fattah Ibrahim was one of seven graduates of the government secondary school in Baghdad in 1924. [156] He received his Bachelor's degree from AUB before teaching in Mosul. He also spent one year doing graduate work at Columbia. [157] Throughout the 1930s, Ibrahim worked as a teacher in the government schools of Iraq.[158] During this period he contributed two articles to *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* which focused on history. [159] He also wrote pamphlets promoting Marxism that began to appear during the late 1930s, and he owned a bookshop. [160]

Ibrahim was one of the original members of the "al-Ahali group" which allied in 1936 with Bakr Sidqi to enact the first of the series of coups. Historians have described this group as one of the more liberal organizations in Iraq during the interwar period. The Ahali group defined itself as reformist, including repeated references to democracy and populism. It actually criticized the concept of nationalism in general as being "full of blood and hypocrisy." [161] Yet, it officially supported the non democratic coup that brought military figures into Iraq's limited political arena.

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[151] Bashkin, "When Muawiya Entered the Curriculum: Some Comments on the Iraqi Education System in the Interwar Period." 364

[152] Bashkin, *New Babylonians : A History of Jews in Modern Iraq*.147

[153] al-Musawi.48

[154] Bashkin, *New Babylonians : A History of Jews in Modern Iraq*. 46

[155] Batatu. 403, Edmund Dougherty Beth Ghareeb, *Historical Dictionary of Iraq* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004). 171

[156] Memdouh Zeki, "The First Graduates," *The Iraq Times*January 9, 1953. 3 The seven graduates included Abdul Jabbar al Chalabi, a Minister, Khalid al-Hashimi, a professor, Ibrahim Ismail, another professor, Ali Haidar al Jamil, an official in the Ministry of Health, Abdul Amir al-Uzri, another Minister, and Najib al-Rubai'I, a senior member of the Iraqi army staff.

[157] The March 1928 alumni report from Mosul noted that Ibrahim and several others were teaching in the city. One of the alumni noted, "We are all sound and fit and are doing our very best to bring safely home the message we feel we are sent to carry to this place." Edward Jurji, "1928 Letter to Professor Nickoley by Edward Jurji, B.A. Of Mosul, Iraq," *Al-Kulliyah* 15, no. 5 (July, 1922). Haj. 176

[158] Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*.321.

[159] Abdul Fatah Ibrahim wrote two articles that appeared in *al-Mu`allim al-jadid*: 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm, "Ahdāf Al-Tārīkh wa-Asālībuh" *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* 3, No 3 (June 1938). 185-189 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm, "Niṭāq Al-Tārīkh Wa-Al-Falsafah," *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* 3, No 2 (April 1938).90-94

[160] Nissim Rejwan, *The Last Jews in Baghdad : Remembering a Lost Homeland* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).113, 123

[161] Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*. 61-72, Clark.21, Khadduri. 73

While certain members of the Ahali group asserted that military intervention was required, Ibrahim left the group as he opposed the initial military alliance.[162]

Rather than become a politician due to a coup, Ibrahim chose to work as a teacher, committed to education and concepts of democracy. [163] For example, his 1939 work on sociology highlights his desire for democracy and civic participation, while his 1935 account of the history of India emphasized his anti-imperialism. [164] By 1943, he was the vice president of the disciplinary board of education officials. [165] By 1944, he was the district director in the Ministry of Education. [166] Orit Bashkin has analyzed (idealized) Abdul Fatah Ibrahim as one of the few Iraqi proponents of democracy. She also cites him as a key intellectual figure, whose works have been underappreciated because he was not part of the state bureaucracy. [167] However, he worked as a teacher and as an education official during the 1940s. Therefore, he was, like his contemporaries, on the government payroll and, therefore, cannot be so easily divorced from Iraq's state bureaucracy. Despite Ibrahim's radical and indeed liberal ideological platforms, he continued to work for a fundamentally illiberal government. Importantly, he never advocated violence or revolution.

In 1941 with World War II, the British cracked down on teachers' freedoms in Iraq by buttressing the Hashemite monarchy and by winning a month long Anglo-Iraqi war. After the war, the British and the monarchist politicians reinstalled by the British victory, changed the *futuwwa*'s purpose from "military training" and the cultivation of a "military spirit" to developing "in the students of virtue and noble character, and to accustom them to rugged life, self-confidence, endurance, earnest performance of responsibilities, and, consequently, love of order and obedience." The *fata* (singular of *futuwwa*) was to obey his king, his parents, and the principals of the *futuwwa*; which included obedience yet again as well as other principles similar to that of boy scouts including truthfulness, courtesy, cleanliness, etc., and they were to perform tours, camping, scouting and other "constructive work." [168] Zu'aytir and his non-Iraqi, or even recently Iraqi, contemporaries were sent packing throughout the Arab world, while within Iraq communist parties began to form, offering a new vocabulary of anti-imperialism that would ultimately fail in the face of coups that mirrored those of 1936. [169] The entry of the military into politics would characterize

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[162] Batatu. 340-341,

[163] Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*.70

[164] ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm,, *`Alá Tariq Al-Hind* (Dimashq: Wizarat al-Thaqafah fi al-Jumhuriyah al-`Arabiyah al-Suriyah, 1991). Bashkin, *The Other Iraq : Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*. 66.

[165] "Regulation No 11 of 1943 for the Admission of Students to Vocational and Higher Schools, October 31, 1943," *The Iraq Government Gazette*, No 42. October 31, 1943. CO 813/18. NA.

[166] *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 42. October 15, 1944. CO 813/19. NA.

[167] Orit Bashkin, "Iraqi Democracy and the Democratic Vision of 'Abd Al-Fattah Ibrahim," in *Iraq between Occupations : Perspectives from 1920 to the Present*, ed. Amatzia Rohde Achim Zeidel Ronen Baram(New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).109-111

[168]*The Iraq Government Gazette*, No 45, November 9, 1941. CO 813/16. NA. 620-621

[169] During the 1930s, Communism had been just as nebulous as Pan-Arab ideologies. For example, Professor Kamal Majid, a Kurdish Iraqi communist, now living in London, recalled hearing about a communist teacher growing up, who did not get in trouble with the government despite his left leaning beliefs. Moreover, Majid noted that in the 1930s "there wasn't a communist party. He (the teacher) was just a person who has read about communism and liked it and wanted people to become communists but he wasn't at all frightening the government..……This fellow, the first communist, he never managed to convince anybody…" In the 1940s, Iraqi Communists, according to Majid, actually held a parade ending at this teachers' grave. They retroactively proclaimed the teacher a full-fledged Communist, and celebrated that communism in speeches and poetry. This teachers' ability to explore communist-style ideologies

Iraq's trajectory into the present day. The following section focuses on the role played by teachers in the 1936 revolt in Palestine by contrasting the story of the only government teacher to actively participate in the revolt with the overwhelmingly non-violent nature of other teachers' support of this fundamentally violent uprising.

Teachers and the Limits of Resistance in Palestine

Sami al-Ansari and Bahjat Abu Gharbiyeh were both young and angry men during the 1936 revolt. [170] Their frustrations, their youth as well as chance, played key parts in their decisions to take up arms against the British and the Zionists. al-Ansari constitutes essentially the only one out of approximately 1,168 government-employed teachers in the 1936-37 school-year who is known to have fought and died as a rebel. [171] His comrade and school-chum, Abu Gharbiyeh, had his hopes of government employment dashed due to a combination of occurrences, paving the way for his rebellion during his employment as a teacher in the non government Ibrahamiyye School. His story illustrates the path of those denied government employment having a greater tendency to seek that government's overthrow. In this section, Abu Gharbiyeh and al-Ansari's stories are set against those portrayed in teachers' personnel files in Palestine.

Abu Gharbiyeh, was born in Khan Younis, now in the Gaza Strip, in 1916. [172] His father had worked for the Ottoman Government, but their family fell on hard times under the British. His father went years without work, even though he had to support his extended family. [173] This did not improve Abu Gharbiyeh's opinion of the British. Abu Gharbiyeh attended government schools in Hebron, Jerusalem, and Haifa, where his brother taught at the Islamic School. One of his colleagues was Izz al-Din al-Qassam, the Sheikh whose martyrdom helped inspire the revolt. [174]

In his memoir, Abu Gharbiyeh argues that his teachers in the government schools of Palestine imbued their students with "the spirit of struggle and resistance to occupation and striving for independence" as well as "a love for the Arabs, "a love of Arab unity and a rejection of the fragmentation… created by colonialism in our Arab countries."[175] Abu Gharbiyeh also asserts his home environment of festivals, demonstrations, the press, scouting, and physical activity (particularly drills), religious education, and the singing of nationalist songs pushed him to rebel against British control of Palestine. [176] Abu Gharbiyeh became part of what he described as a small, "revolutionary group" in 1934. Initially it was nameless, but by 1936-37, the public knew it as

during the 1930s exemplifies the freedom teachers enjoyed during this period. On the other hand, the celebration of this teacher as a communist in later years is symptomatic of the tendency to project ideological coherence back into the past. Individuals could write communist-esque, pan-Arabist, pro-democracy and Iraqist tracts extolling the benefits of the nation, but generally could not or chose not to put these policies into practice, even when they did reach the top leadership positions in government service. Their ability to publish and to form literary as well as political clubs signified their erudition and their participation in modernity. Interview with Kamal Majid, March 3, 2013.

[170] Abu Gharbiyeh was 20, al-Ansari was 18. Matthew Hughes, "A History of Violence: The Shooting in Jerusalem of British Assistant Police Superintendent Alan Sigrist, 12 June 1936," *Journal of Contemporary History* 45, no. 4 (2010). 725

[171] Palestine, "Annual Report for the School Year 1936-1937."29.

[172] Abd al-Hadi. 12

[173] Abu Gharbiyah. 4

[174] Ibid. 4

[175] Ibid.23

[176] Ibid.19-22

"freedom."[177] Abu Gharbiyeh notes that this group was secret, even from the more established Palestinian leadership, and that it had trouble arming itself, despite its best efforts. Its activities focused on students (rather than teachers, or their parents), particularly during the general strike, distributing pamphlets and meeting with student leaders, in government and non-government schools alike.[178] This group included al-Ansari, a shoemaker-cum-Sufi Sheikh, Sheikh Yasin al-Bakri (a religious school-teacher), workers, students, petty traders, and by 1936, the leader of Palestinian resistance in Jerusalem, Abdul Qader al-Husayni .[179]

Regardless of this plethora of rebellious influences, Abu Gharbiyeh, and his older brother Nidam pursued government education with the hope of attaining government jobs. Nidam studied at the Arab College of Jerusalem, receiving a secondary school certificate and graduating in 1931. [180] However, both Nidam and Bahjat suffered from eye problems. Nidam failed the medical exam necessary to serve as a teacher; despite all of his connections and academic success, he could not gain the government post he had worked so hard to achieve. Nidam and Bahjat's father, according to Bahjat, overreacted and fearing for his son's future, refused to pay the fees required in government secondary schools. For Bahjat's father, the sudden realization that government education might not automatically result in a government job and a secure future meant he could not support his son's continued study. Bahjat on his own initiative sought again to guarantee a government job for himself by studying for the matriculation exam. However, he was unable to take the exam due to, in his account, the outbreak of the revolt (and his first stint in prison). [181] His exclusion from higher education and the secure future it promised characterizes Palestine's revolutionary fighters. On the other hand, Sami al-Ansari's rebellion is more unique; a government teacher and student at the most elite government institution in the Mandate, his youthful passion and his friendship with Abu Gharbiyeh seem to have been crucial factors in his decision to lay his life on the line for his nationalist cause.

Al-Ansari was described as a "handsome" and "a tall boy, wiry, slender, sharp and adept… mad about sports, well-dressed…"[182]

[177] It would reemerge in 1948 as the "Jaysh al Jihad al Muqadas" the "Army of the Holy Jihad". Ibid. 47-48
[178] Ibid. 63
[179] Ibid. 47. Sheikh Yasin al-Bakri would go on to fight in the 1948 conflict at the head of a "Holy Jihad" group. Hillel Cohen describes this meeting with Jewish officials in 1947. Hillel Cohen, *Army of Shadows : Palestinian Collaboration with Zionism, 1917-1948* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2009).210 He also worked as a teacher at al-Aqsa mosque, and at the Ibrahamiyye school. Mahdi Abd al-Hadi, *Documents on Jerusalem*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Jerusalem: PASSIA, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, 2007).132 Abdul Qader al-Husayni, from an elite family, received a BA in Chemistry at the American University of Cairo in 1932. He was then employed as a Land Officers before resigning in 1936 to lead the revolt. He taught briefly in the Military College in Iraq after the revolt. The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, "Al-Husseini, Abdul Qader (1907-1948)" http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/personalities/alpha_h.htm (accessed April 17, 2014).
[180] *The Palestine Gazette*,No 290. September 1, 1931. CO 742/8. NA.
[181] Abu Gharbiyah. 50
[182] Khalil al-Sakakini, quoted in Segev.366.

Sami al-Ansari[183]

Sami al-Ansari studied with Abu Gharbiyeh at the Rashidiyya school in Jerusalem, where they discussed possibilities for future careers in resistance. Their plots included graduating from a military college in one of the Arab countries (namely Iraq), or even joining the Palestine Police force, before they nixed both those ideas. [184] Al-Ansari was passionate about Arab unity, extremely anti-British and frustrated with the lack of action characteristic of Palestinian politicians. [185] He also voiced his frustration with the older generation's political tactics by yelling at his uncle in front of a delegation of Palestinian politicians (of which his uncle was one) that the "youth of this country" were "fed up with your negotiations. You go to London and try your negotiations there. But we will try ours here, in the land of Palestine." [186] His outburst, which embarrassed his family, indicated his growing militancy and desire to take action. Despite these rebellious tendencies, he did not neglect his studies. Sami al-Ansari passed the Palestine matriculation certificate, the highest exam the Palestinian government offered, in July of 1934. He was then a student at the Arab College of Jerusalem, from which he graduated in 1935.[187] He began teaching at the Rashidiyyeh school from which he and Abu Gharbiyeh had graduated in Jerusalem, enjoying the opportunity to participate in sports and "military drills" with his students, as well as moonlighting as a rebel by setting fire to Jewish stores in the Jerusalem area. [188]

Abu Gharbiyeh and al-Ansari attempted to assassinate Superintendent Alan Sigrist, a hated British Police Commissioner in Jerusalem. They chose Sigrist due to a combination of personal anger and broad resentment of this individual, in particular, who was well known for his brutality

[183] Abu Gharbiyah. 69
[184] Abu Gharbiyah.63
[185] Abu Gharbiyah. 63
[186] Shahid. 93
[187] *The Palestine Gazette*, No 468. September 27, 1934. CO 742/11. NA. Abu Gharbiyah. 66
[188] Abu Gharbiyah. 66

and abuse of Arab Palestinians. [189] In the course of the attempted assasination, Sami was killed and memorialized as a hero by his friends and neighbors. Sami al-Ansari's death, while noble, was also considered a tragedy, as a young, educated, and employed man (with aristocratic connections and a violent streak) lost his life. He was only 18 years old when he died. [190] However, his compatriot Bahjat Abu Gharbiyeh's trajectory illustrates the possibilities for Sami had he survived. Abu Gharbiyeh participated in radical politics throughout his career, ending his life as an esteemed nationalist. The perhaps rash decision on the part of Abu Gharbiyeh and Sami al-Ansari to participate in the armed conflict in their youth was an almost unique occurrence among teachers in the government schools, as the following analysis of educators in the government schools in Palestine demonstrates.

During the six months of the general strike in Palestine, government run schools were closed one after another, either due to "action of the government", or because those strikes had already happened. [191] In total, 197 out of 382 schools were closed during this period due to student strikes, including all of the town schools. [192] "Action of the government" included the closing of schools in anticipation of student strikes or their occupation by the army, as they were often the most suitable buildings for lodging soldiers.[193] 29 schools were occupied during the general strike. Even after the strike ended, in January of 1937, the army was still using four school buildings. [194]

However, within a year of the strike's beginning, schools were reopened, with teachers to staff them. Teachers, like the more elite nationalists who comprised the Arab Higher Committee and the Palestinian political parties, usually chose to remain at their posts and to negotiate rather than to take up arms. Moreover, many parents and even rebels themselves were loath to stop their children's education regardless of their sympathies with and participation in the strike and revolt.

For example, a circular written by "The Central Committee of the Arab Revolt in Palestine" in February of 1939 echoed later popular accounts and histories that alleged that the British government was denying schooling in order to retard Palestinian national development. This circular addressed striking students directly while blaming the Mandate government for closing schools. The circular notes,

> Ye dear students, the throbbing heart of the nation, ye young men of the present and men of the future…we invite you to return to your classes and studies where you can get light for the proper path to follow…Please note that the Government is anxious to

[189] Hughes, "A History of Violence: The Shooting in Jerusalem of British Assistant Police Superintendent Alan Sigrist, 12 June 1936." 733-735

[190] Palestine, "Annual Report for the School Year 1936-1937."29, Matthew Hughes, "Assasination in Jerusalem: Bahjat Abu Gharbiyah and Sami Al-Ansari 'S Shooting of British Assistant Superintendent Alan Sigrist 12th June 1936," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 44, (Winter, 2010). 5

[191]Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Education in Palestine General Survey 1936-1946* (Jerusalem, 1946). 1

[192] Government of Palestine, Department of Education, "Annual Report for the School Year 1936-1937." 71-72, 78, Government of Palestine, Department of Education, "Annual Report for the School Year 1935-1936," (The Government Printing Press, Jerusalem: 1937).20

[193] Humphrey Ernest Bowman, " Diary June 1935 – Oct 1936, April 26, 1936," Humphrey Bowman Collection, Box 4 B, GB165-0034, The Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford University. Hearafter MECA. Bowman, " Diary June 1935 – Oct 1936."

[194] Government of Palestine, Department of Education, "Annual Report for the School Year 1935-1936." 20

> suspend your studies. They send you weak hearted men to arouse you to strike. Beware such men and continue your studies whatever the case may be…We declare that the Schools authorities have the full right to punish instigators for strike. Please note that schools should never be closed…"[195]

This circular, although partisan in its nature and distributed towards the end of the revolt, indicates a desire for schools to remain open for the good of the nation. It asserts that gaining an education was in fact an act of rebellion. Educators could therefore maintain their nationalism, loosely defined, while working for the government they believed repressed that nationalism. Similarly the Department of Education perhaps overoptimistically asserted that even the Arab insurgents themselves did not see the village schools as extensions of the state because "in general the Arab insurgents left the schools unharmed and sometimes made money contributions (to their upkeep)…"[196] It was not only government schools that remained open despite strikes. Al-Najah, the national school that Akram Zu'aytir had attended as a young man and teenager, after the general strike, remained open "with some slowdowns" despite the fact that several of its teachers were simultaneously acting as advisors to the rebels. [197]

Teachers struggled with the practicalities of safety, salary, and dealing with the communities in which they taught, and with divisions within the government that employed them. The restriction on the number of teachers relative to the number of students was so extreme that villages petitioned the Mandate government in Palestine to allow them to appoint teachers whose salaries the villages rather than the government paid. During the revolt, the extra money to support village teachers evaporated in the face of strikes, uprisings and collective punishment, forcing the discharge of seven teachers. [198] Many teachers did not feel safe, with good reason. At least two teachers requested (and were granted) permission to carry arms for protection. [199] Several teachers died in bombings of public places. Many government bureaucrats, including teachers, acted as intermediaries. They hedged their bets by staying at their posts while donating a portion of their salaries to the rebels.

The military, as well as Jewish police forces, did not discriminate between government officers and rebels. However, teachers who were arrested frequently appealed to the Department of Education to secure their release.[200] The government that arrested these teachers actually paid them while in prison. For example, Khaled Shukri al-Qadi, a hardworking teacher was arrested in

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[195] The Deputy Inspector General of the CID, "Appendix B, Criminal Investigation Department, 50/2/G/S., File 47/65, February 21, 1939," Damascus. Haganah Archive, Tel Aviv, This document is a translation from a group called "The Central Committee of the Arab Revolt in Jerusalem" which supports the viability of the then banned "Arab Higher Committee" while denigrating the Nashashibi-led "National Defence Party;" the only political party that wasn't banned during the course of the revolt. The factional nature of this document may indicate the view of pro-Husayni factions towards schooling.

[196] Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Education in Palestine General Survey 1936-1946* (Jerusalem, 1946). 1

[197] Darwazehh. 543, Yehoshua Porath, *The Emergence of the Palestinian Arab National Movement. Vol. 2, Vol. 2* (London: Cass, 1977).391, 396, 402, Abu-Ghazaleh. 93

[198]"Farah Khadr Rama Boys School, " ISA 1030 22 M., "Niazi Qadri Hafiz Zib, " ISA 1027 1 M., "Hanna Nasser Nazareth, " ISA 1029 4 M., "Abd El Hamid Zu'bi Hittin Vs ",ISA 1038 17 M., "Ahmad Muhammad Qasem Isa Sali ", ISA 1037 17 M., "Atwa Hanna Rama Boys School, " ISA 1032 4 M., "Amanda Sabbagh, " ISA 1029 22 M.

[199] "Ahmad Tawfiq Najami, " The Israel State Archives, ISA 1014 16 M. Khalil al-Sakakini requested permission to bear arms as well. Segev.366

[200] See "Aziz Khuri" ISA 1020 6 M, "Mahmud Arrabi" ISA 1019 11 M, "Amin al Abdallah" ISA 1018 1 M,

1939 by the military and imprisoned in a concentration camp. The principal of the school at which Shukri taught wrote the local British official, who forwarded the letter on to the District Inspector of Education and the director as well. The teacher was freed "without any conviction." He thanked the Director of Education for securing his release, and returned to work, being paid for his absence and in fact securing a raise.[201]

During the revolt "civil administration of the country was, to all practical purposes, nonexistent."[202] Yet, schools continued to function. Approximately 5,679 Arabs were "detained."[203] Out of these thousands, 90 out of approximately 1300 teachers were arrested.[204] Only 10 of these teachers were dismissed. [205] Out of the 140 teachers whose careers included any year of the revolt, and whose personnel files remain, three files do not explain how their careers ended, 10 died, seven were transferred or seconded to other departments, six were terminated(none during the revolt itself) 14 retired, 24 resigned, 72 served until the end of the Mandate and two were fired, one during the revolt. This means out of 140 teachers that served during the years of the revolt, only six had their service ended by action of the government. [206]Yet, even the British Director of Education in Palestine stated that every Arab student and teacher "was a supporter of the Arab cause; every one an ardent anti-Zionist."[207] These supporters, strikers and protesters were still counted, and counted themselves as employees of the Department of Education. Their ability to remain nationalists, protesting the policies of the government they served, would start to lessen during the 1940s in Palestine, ceasing in 1948. In Iraq, the 1940s would see not only the expulsion of radical, non Iraq teachers, the expansion of communist and left leaning policies, but also a professionalization of schooling and education. However, several of the individuals discussed in this chapter used the tactics they learned as government paid nationalists in their political careers during the 1950s and beyond.

Conclusion:

British, Iraqi, and Palestinian officials alike, throughout the first half of the 20th century and beyond, associated mass education with political instability. They were half right; limited education did incorporate educated individuals into government service, which made them less likely to rebel against that government as a whole. On the other hand, those who did not have access to government schooling and a clear path of upward mobility through the civil service were more inclined to seek its overthrow. Officials in the Iraqi as well as Palestinian governments defined education as disruptive to the social and political order, often explicitly denying universal

[201] D.I.E. Galilee "To the Asst. District Commissioner Acre" May 24 1939." Khaled Shukri el-Qadi "Letter to the DIE Galilee" June 13 1939. "Yearly Increment" July 10 1941. Khaled Shukri El Qadi, " ISA 1029 10 M.
[202] Khalidi, *The Iron Cage : The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. 107
[203] Ibid. 107
[204] Matthews., 236
[205] Ylana N. Miller, "From Village to Nation : Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920-1948" (University of California, 1975). 336, A. L. Tibawi, "Educational Policy and Arab Nationalism in Mandatory Palestine." *Die Welt des Islams* 4, no. 1 (1955) 20.
[206] The teacher who was fired during the revolt, Ibrahim Jadallah was actually fired by the High Commissioner, over the authority of the Department of Education, for his participation in the revolt. Letter from the Inspector of Education to Ibrahim Jadallah, February 1, 1937. "Ibrahim Jadallah" ISA 1018 6 M.
[207] Humphrey Ernest Bowman, *Middle-East Window* (London, New York etc.: Longmans Green and co., 1942). 311

education in order to prevent volatile political situations. [208] As late as 1956, a governor of a southern province of Iraq (where the poor condition of the peasantry was particularly pronounced) noted that

> an illiterate man is like a man who has been slumbering for a very long time. As long as his sleep continues, he requires nothing from you. But once you have interrupted his sleep you must be prepared to satisfy all his demands….now the case is the same with educating our masse and especially the peasants. So long as they remain ignorant and illiterate, they will continue to show their respect to the authority of the government, to obey the law of the land, to accept the social system as it is and to be happy. But once they are educated, come troubles. They will demand land reform, land distribution. They will begin to speak of their rights. Of course I am not against the enlightenment of the people. I only believe that it is dangerous to awaken the people to new needs when we are not prepared to satisfy those needs. [209]

In this paragraph, the governor asserted that ignorance allowed for stability, while education meant political awareness and, therefore, rebellion. Without the capacity or will to change Iraq's economy, particularly unequal (and feudal) land policies, this official could not advocate universal education. However, in both Iraq and Palestine, those whom the official would deem "ignorant and illiterate" in fact led rebellions that called for social justice, while those who "began to speak of their rights" sought to manipulate the government from within its ranks.

After being expelled from Iraq in 1941, Akram Zu'aytir moved to Turkey, Syria, and finally to Jordan where the government welcomed him with open arms as, in essence, a trophy nationalist.[210] In 1962 Zu'aytir acted as Jordan's Ambassador to Syria, then to Iran. In 1966 he was appointed Foreign Minister, and Minister of the Royal Court in 1967. He was a member of the Senate in 1984. [211] Hugh Foot, a former British official in Mandate Palestine by the late 1970s recalled Zu'aytir's radical transformation from a "particular leader of.. the Nablus schoolboys who was especially violent…" Foot also noted, "I exiled him to the desert but I didn't meet again until he later, he was the Jordanian ambassador and he came to the UN where I met him and we are now on the most friendly terms…"[212] Zu'aytir's participation in the Jordanian government, and his fraternization with the former imperialists he had rebelled against, lent that government both pan-Arabist and pro Palestinian credentials, helping to make palatable the perpetuation of a monarchy financed by foreign donations.

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[208] Great Britain Palestine Royal Commission. 120, "Administration Reports for the Year 1918 of Certain Departments of the Civil Administration of the Occupied Territories of Iraq," in *Records of Iraq, 1914-1966, Volume 2 1919-1921*, ed. A. de L. Priestland Jane Rush([Slough]: Archive Editions, 2001). 99

[209] Victor Clark, *Compulsory Education in Iraq* (Paris: UNESCO, 1951).4-5

[210] The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, Jerusalem, "Zu'aiter, Akram (1909-1996), Palestine Personalities" http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/personalities/alpha_z.htm (accessed April 17, 2014).

[211] Majlis al-Aʿyān l-Urdunī, "Al-Majālis Al-Sābiqah " http://www.senate.jo/content/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%82%D8%A9 (accessed April 24, 2014 2014).

[212] Thames Television. Gb165-0282 Thames Television Palestine Series Collection. Box 1, File 18, Lord Caradon. 1978. MECA.

Akram Zu'aytir, Jordanian Foreign Minister gives a speech at the United Nations' General Assembly. October 17, 1966. [213]

Zu'aytir's career from teacher, to political criminal, to government minister in Jordan was by no means unique. In the following chapter, I will focus on the role of former teachers after the Mandate period ended, particularly in Jordan due to the prominent role played by educators in Jordan's government. In Jordan, as in Iraq, the Government bureaucracy at all its levels was the main employer of those educated in Government Schools. By the late 1950s, due in part to the influx of educated Palestinians, the government actually sought to limit the number of secondary school graduates through exams as for the first time it "found itself unable to ensure employment for all of them" implying that before this, all secondary school graduates were essentially assured a government post. [214] Out of a total of 17 prime ministers from 1946-1972, of which many enjoyed multiple terms of office, six were former teachers.[215] Dozens of teachers, including Akram Zu'aytir achieved ministerial status.

This incorporation of teachers, particularly fiery nationalists, essentially granted the Jordanian Government "street-cred;" they benefitted from the nationalist credentials of their ministers without having to change their policies. Moreover, Jordan's government persists in the same form as the 1950s with few alterations. The incorporation of educated "nationalists" into government service, despite the variety of nationalist views they held, has contributed to the perpetuation of the status quo in Jordan's political sphere.

[213] Sari Akram Zu'aytir, Nasher, "Akram Zu'aytir, Wazīr Al-Khārijīyah al-Urdunīyī Yukhṭabu fī al-Jamʿīyah al-ʿāmmah lil-Umam al-Muttaḥidah 17-10-1966" http://www.akramzuayter.org/galary/6/10.jpg (accessed April 13, 2015).

[214] Ahmad Yousef Tall, "Education in Jordan : Being a Survey of the Political, Economic and Social Conditions Affecting the Development of the System on Education in Jordan, 1921-1977" (National Book Foundation, 1979)., 106

[215] These teachers include Sulayman Al Nabulsi, Fawzi al Mulqi, Wasfi al-Tall, Abd al-Munim al-Rifai, Ahmad Touqan and Ahmad Lowzi.

In this chapter, by examining educators in both Iraq and Palestine during a key period of political turmoil, I have shown that the overwhelming majority of teachers were not participants in armed rebellions. By focusing on what happens in the classroom, and within the writings of educators, rather than their mythologies, this chapter has described the unintended consequences of government schooling and provided a more nuanced account of educators' actions. I have found that teachers were not the nationalist revolutionaries they have been portrayed to be in histories and popular accounts of the interwar period. Teachers' ability to write and protest against the governments they served incorporated these educators and many of those they educated into government service; other groups took up arms against those governments.

Chapter 5: The Professional Teacher: Educators in the 1940s and 1950s

From the 1940s onward, former mandate governments, whether their inhabitants gained independence or faced occupation, devoted more attention and more funding to education. Politicians, policymakers, as well as an ever-increasing number of students, teachers, and professors sought to move away from imperial notions of education's civilizing mission towards modernization, development, and nationalization of schooling. Educational bureaucracies, exams, and school inspections became more comprehensive, centralized, and uniform, extending countrywide. As national governments consolidated their control over state education, the role of teachers changed. Standardization and increased funding for education led to the codification of teaching as a profession. Paradoxically, these trends also contributed to a decline in teachers' social and economic status.

Politically, two broad factors aligned to limit teachers' individual claims on their governments: the increasing number of teachers and the nature of each post-colonial state. A glut of teachers meant these formerly rare educated individuals gradually lost their bargaining chip with the governments that employed them. As governments increased in size, power, and interest in educating their populations, these states began to enforce the previously flexible educational rules and policies teachers had been able to bend or break shifted. Teachers no longer represented the limits of the state they served; instead, they found themselves its subjects. Concurrently, independence for Iraq and Jordan, or occupation and diaspora in the case of the Palestinians, led not to representative governments, but to narrow autocracies. Repressive measures on the part of each state severely limited the intermediary position teachers had enjoyed in previous decades.

This chapter traces how governments' desire and ability to educate their populations affected teachers along the divergent histories of Iraq, Palestine and Jordan. Mass education and the curtailing of teachers' political activities did not occur simultaneously across the region, nor did they have the same causes and consequences. This chapter examines the different rates of educational expansion in each country and the moments when teachers lost their intermediary status. Comparing Iraq and Jordan teases out the interplay between the processes of political independence, and the quality and quantity of government sponsored schooling. Although I make no claim that education is the only, or even the most prominent, causal factor in the political outcomes in each country, in this chapter I draw out the connections between educational expansion, teachers' experiences, and regime stability. Palestine functions as a unique case study because of the statelessness of its former, non-Jewish, inhabitants. However, analyzing Palestinians' experiences within Israel and abroad provides one of the more extreme examples of teachers' repression in the region and explores educated individuals' influential roles abroad, as well as global trends in schooling.

Guarantees of employment by the government bureaucracy began to dissolve as degree-holders increased beyond the capacity of the government to find them jobs. While former teachers enjoyed positions in the upper levels of the state bureaucracy, those who began their careers during the 1940s in Iraq and the 1950s in Jordan generally remained teachers. Moreover, independence did not lead to representative governments throughout Britain's former Mandates. Punishments for political activity, particularly public critiques of government, on the part of Iraqi, Jordanian and Palestinian teachers, changed from reprimands and transfers to imprisonment, exile or even

execution. The connections between government schooling and government employment began to fall apart, not only as the number of educated individuals increased beyond the government's ability to employ them, but also as independence led to an opening up of the private sector, tourism, and in Iraq, oil. The strengthening of ties between the nation state and its educational system, brought about by independence, actually weakened the links between that system and government employment, reflecting shifts in the practices of governance as well as education.

This chapter proceeds chronologically and comparatively beginning with a broad overview of trends towards standardization and professionalization in Iraq, Palestine and Jordan. I contrast each country's educational policies and their effects on teachers' autonomy and social status, specifically funding, salaries, exams, inspections, and other changes in the quality of government-sponsored education. These first sections emphasize that even though educational policies and the timing of their implementation differed in each country, for teachers the eventual outcome of educational expansion and standardization was the same; teachers became more professionalized, but they lost the rare elite-intermediary role they had enjoyed during earlier decades. Comparing each country underscores the consequences of mass education for teachers; the more rapidly education expanded, and the more strictly each government controlled their educational systems, the more swiftly teachers' became professionalized and professionally, as well as politically, restricted. This chapter then continues with three separate sections. Each section focuses on demographic shifts in teachers, and their experiences of these crucial decades in one former Mandate, pre and post independence. These sections demonstrate on a more individual level how educational policies changed who became teachers and defined the boundaries of teaching as a profession. Teachers became a specific, specialized cadre of civil servants rather than a pool of potential governors and ministers. The final sections explore how teachers dealt with increasingly rigid conditions of employment and the reduction in their ability to protest their employers.

The School and the State: Educational Funding and Expansion in the 1940s and 1950s

In order to argue that teachers' status changed due to the advent of mass education, it is first necessary to trace when and how government schooling expanded to reach a majority rather than a select minority of the population. From the beginning of British control of the region up through the 1950s, educational facilities and funding increased. Overall, with greater independence came greater investment in government schooling, increasing the quantity and to a lesser extent improving the quality of education.[1] Each government employed more educational personnel, enrolled more students, and opened more schools at all levels both in urban and rural areas. For teachers, more funding for education did not mean a better salary, less crowded classrooms, or greater bargaining power with the governments that employed them. Instead, greater amounts of funding devoted to schooling prioritized increasing the number of students, and therefore, within a few years, the number of individuals qualified to teach. The greater number of educated individuals reduced teachers' leverage over their employers; if they engaged in politics or lacked qualifications they could no longer count on retaining their posts.

The charts below examine educational funding in Iraq, Transjordan/Jordan and Palestine from the beginning of the Mandate through 1960-1, 1945-6 in Palestine as that is the last year

[1] The Iraqi dinar, (used from 1931 in Iraq), the Palestine Pound (which was used in Transjordan until 1950) and the Jordanian dinar were all pegged to the British pound sterling through at least 1959, allowing a direct comparison between the three areas in any given year. Although Iraq actually used the rupee as its currency from the beginning of British occupation through 1931, later reports converted the rupee to the Dinar.

statistics are available. [2]The first two charts illustrate the changing overall educational budgets in Iraq, Transjordan/Jordan and Palestine, the third chart shows the percentage of each country's budget devoted to schooling.

[2] All of the charts in this section are based on the following sources. Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta lim Jordan, *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi 1953-1954 - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`lim* (`Amman: Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim., 1954); Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta lim Jordan, *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi 1955-1956 - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`lim* (`Amman: Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim., 1956); Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta lim Jordan, *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi 1956-1957 - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`lim* (`Amman: Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim., 1957); Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta lim Jordan, *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi 1958-1959 - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`Lim* (`Amman: Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim., 1959)., Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi. *Education in Arab Countries of the near East : Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon*. (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949). Ministry of Education Iraq, Wizarat al-Ma'arif, *Ministry of Education: Educaitonal Statistics, Annual Report 1960-61. Taqrir Al-Sanawi, Al-Ihsa Al-Tarbawi* (Baghdad: Ministry of Education., 1961);, Ministry of Education Iraq, Wizarat al-Ma'arif Iraq, *Annual Report [on] Educational Statistics 1946-1947 Taqrir Al-Sanawi, Al-Ihsa Al-Tarbawi,* (Baghdad: Ministry of Education., 1947); Ahmad Yousef Al-Tall, *Education in Jordan : Being a Survey of the Political, Economic and Social Conditions Affecting the Development of the System of Education in Jordan 1921-1977* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1979). Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Scholastic Year 1927-1928* (Jerusalem, 1929); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1928-1929* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1930); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the School Year 1931-1932* (Jerusalem, 1933); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the School Year 1932-1933* (Jerusalem, 1934); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the School Year 1933-1934* (Jerusalem, 1935); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1945-46* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1946); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Year 1923* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1923); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Year 1924* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1924); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Scholastic Year 1925-1926* (Jerusalem, 1927); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Scholastic Year 1929-1930* (Jerusalem, 1931); Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Scholastic Year 1930-1931* (Jerusalem, 1932). Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 20* (Geneva: Unesco ; International Bureau of Education, 1959); Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 21* (Geneva: Unesco ; International Bureau of Education, 1960); Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 23* (Geneva: Unesco ; International Bureau of Education, 1962).

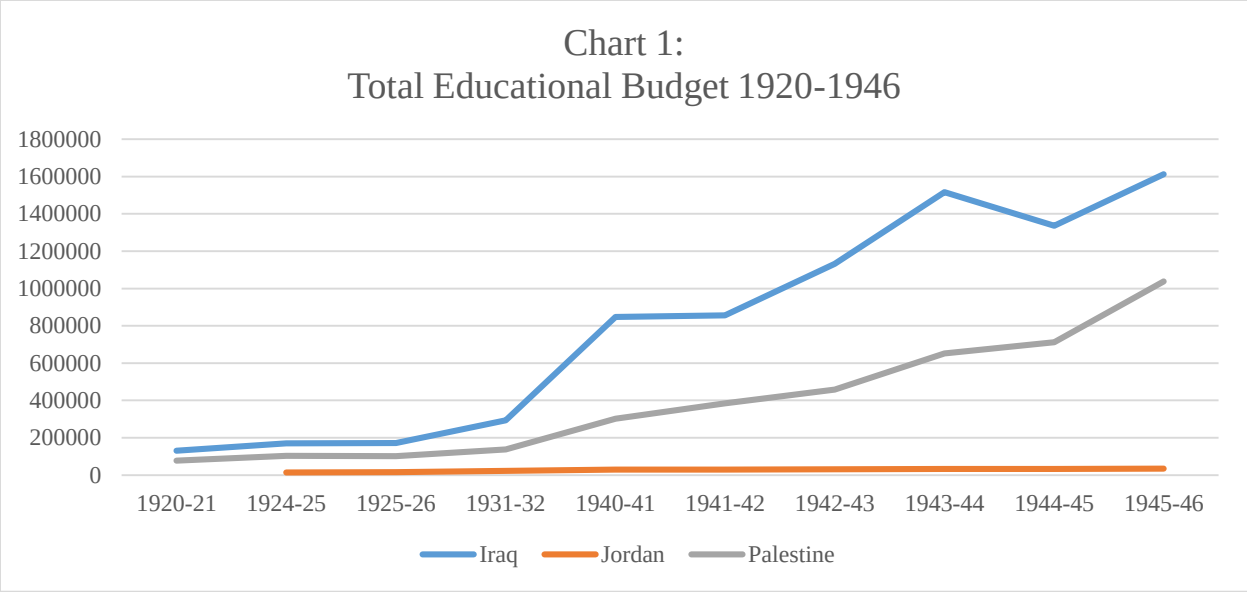


Chart 1:
Total Educational Budget 1920-1946
1800000
1600000
1400000
1200000
1000000
800000
600000
400000
200000
0
1920-21
1924-25
1925-26
1931-32
1940-41
1941-42
1942-43
1943-44
1944-45
1945-46
Iraq
Jordan
Palestine

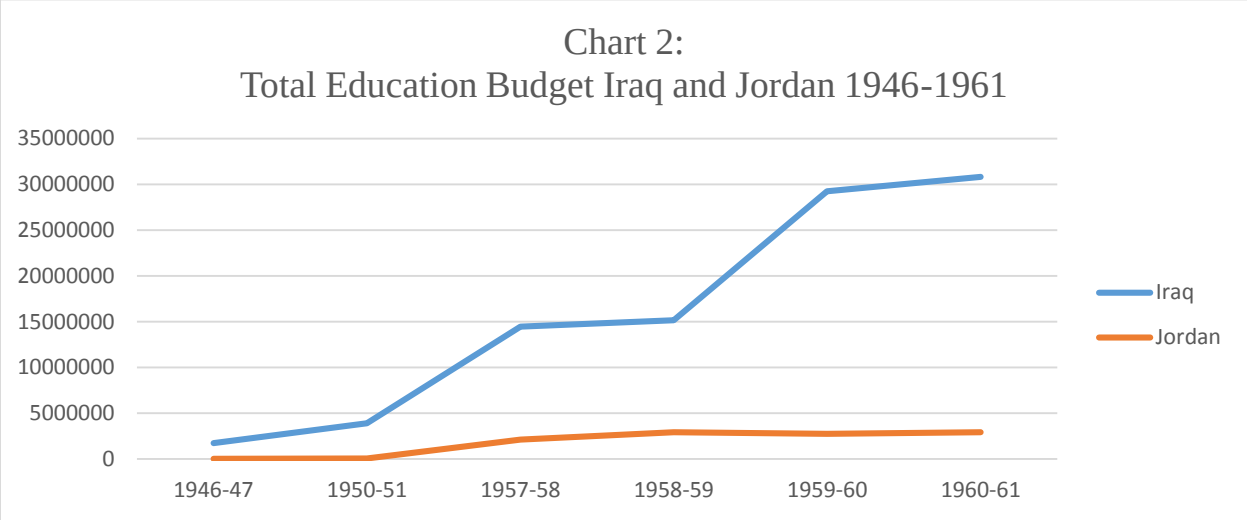
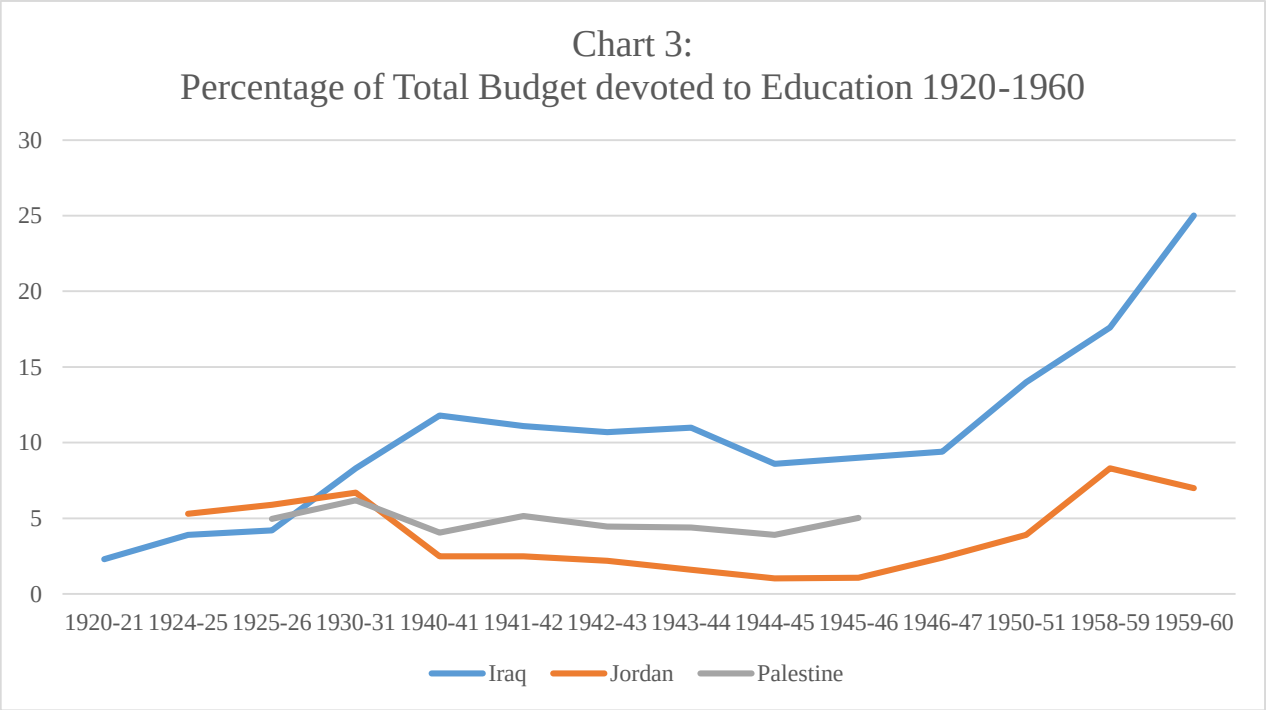


Chart 2:
Total Education Budget Iraq and Jordan 1946-1961
35000000
30000000
25000000
20000000
15000000
10000000
5000000
0
1946-47
1950-51
1957-58
1958-59
1959-60
1960-61
Iraq
Jordan



The percentage of each government's budget given to education, if not necessarily the total amount, was inversely proportional to two factors: firstly, political disruptions that required government funding to restore stability and secondly British control due to colonial policies of restricting schooling. More funding was devoted to education during interludes of greater independence, particularly when these periods coincided with government attempts to consolidate sovereignty. For teachers in all three areas, increased funding ironically often meant increased scrutiny, overcrowded classrooms and fewer guarantees of continued government employment.

In Iraq, the percentage and absolute amount of funding devoted to schooling moved together, as more independence concurrently meant greater control over oil profits and, therefore, added revenue. However, as more funding was devoted to schooling, teachers as well as students faced stringent disciplinary measures, particularly arrests. The huge increase in the amount of funding available for education during the 1950s was due in part to revenue from oil profits after a 1952 agreement that granted the Iraqi government a greater share of the now skyrocketing profits in the wake of World War II.[3] While there are many factors driving the increase in Iraq's actual budgets other than the level of British involvement, the post-Mandate Iraqi government did decide to spend a significantly greater percent of those budgets on schooling. The highest percentage of the overall Iraqi budget earmarked for education before the 1950s occurred in 1938-39, immediately prior to the Anglo-Iraqi war and subsequent British crackdown on Iraq's education system and its teachers.[4] Iraq's eventually astronomical budgetary provision for education during

[3] Joel Mokyr, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).154
[4] Ministry of Education Iraq, Wizarat al-Ma'arif Iraq, *Annual Report [on] Educational Statistics 1946-1947 Taqrir Al-Sanawi, Al-Ihsa Al-Tarbawi*, 2. As demonstrated in the last chapter, non-Iraqi teachers were fired, a British inspector was brought in, and several educational leaders were demoted.

the 1950s, which rose to 25% by 1959-60, coincided with a rise in mass protests due to political and economic disruptions, and concurrently arrests of protesters, who included teachers.[5] In 1956, facing protests, the government closed schools, particularly at the college level. Sixty professors and two deans were arrested.[6] Iraq's republican regime that came to power during July 1958 and overthrew the British-backed Hashemite monarchy, prioritized schooling. This regime viewed education as a means of pleasing and uniting large swathes of its population, inculcating patriotism into young and often recalcitrant students and their parents, precluding discontent and protests against the new government, while improving the country's global standing. A few months after the revolution, Major General 'Abd al-Karim Qasem proclaimed, "our aim will be to raise the prestige of the nation, to raise the prestige of the people, to raise the standard of education which is the basis (of everything)."[7] The educational budget clearly reflected Qasem's assertions. Qasem's rise to power also coincided with waves of arrests, including arrests of teachers. [8]

Although the absolute funding for schooling in Palestine increased throughout the Mandate period, the percentage of the overall budget of the Government of Palestine devoted to education remained constant due to strict British control. [9] The effort to maintain a steady percentage of funding for schooling was a matter of British policy: despite fluctuations in the amount of revenue generated by the Mandate, education and other social projects were sidelined in favor of those that would maintain security or result in opportunities for British companies. [10]By 1945-46, the last year statistics are available, government spending on schooling had increased approximately 1230% since the beginning of the Mandate. Even adjusting for inflation, by 1945 the government spent almost 13 times the amount it had devoted to schooling in 1920. [11] However, the 1940s also included an adjustment for the increased costs of living. The government of Palestine did not use all of the funding included in the educational budget for increasing educational facilities; much of it went to salaries for educational personnel.

Government officials in the Mandate for Palestine claimed that the paucity of funds, in terms of percentage of the total budget spent on education, was due to the requirements of security and administration. Yet, the Mandate government actually had a significant surplus of revenue

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[5] The initial numbers for education in Iraq are skewed low because of the 1920-1 revolt that shunted funds from schooling to security for that year. Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 20*. 184, Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 23*.186., Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 21*., 219

[6] Tareq Y. Ismael, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Iraq* (Cambridge: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008).67

[7] 'Abd al-Karim Qasem, "Speech by Major General 'Abd Al-Karim Qasim, Iraqi Prime Minister and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. Delivered at the Congress of Arab Lawyers," in *The Arab States and the Arab League; a Documentary Record*, ed. Muhammad .Khalil, League of Arab States(Beirut, 1962: Khayats, November 26, 1958).36

[8] Marion Sluglett and Peter Farouk-Sluglett, *Iraq since 1958 : From Revolution to Dictatorship* (London: Tauris, 1990).70-1. His replacement by the Ba'ath regime similarly coincided with arrests, particularly of teachers deemed to have communist leanings or affiliations. Heather Lehr Wagner, *Iraq* (New York: Chelsea House, 2009).58

[9] Matthews et al. 222. Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the School Year 1936-1937* (Jerusalem, 1937).5, Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1939-1940* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1940).2

[10] Jacob Norris. *Land of Progress : Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). 12-13

[11] MeasuringWorth, "Measuring Worth: Relative Values - Uk £" http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php (accessed September 1, 2014 2014).

from 1932-6 and again from 1939-1942. [12] This restriction on educational funding, independent of actual financial constraints was part of the British policy of limiting education for fear of an educated unemployed. Regardless, government education expanded rapidly if insufficiently, particularly during the last five years of the Mandate. The pace of increases in the educational budget of Palestine during the 1940s was greater than that of the 1920s or 1930s, which led to concurrent increases in the number of students experiencing education and teachers employed by the Government. These increases were part of a shift towards more professional and available education, despite colonial restrictions.

The percentage of the budget devoted to schooling in Transjordan radically decreased during the 1930s and 1940s, indicating British priorities. Budgetary growth during this period directly served British rather than local interests; additional funds went to support the Arab Legion (and King Abdullah) as Britain's ally in the region. [13] Thus, there was no proportional increase in funding for education, and the percentage of the budget devoted to schooling declined. With independence, education expanded dramatically due in part to Jordan's annexation of the West Bank. [14] However, the percentage of Jordan's budget devoted to education did not exceed colonial levels until the mid-1950s. [15] Conflicting pressures, including political upheavals in the 1950s, meant, on the one hand, Jordan's government sought to increase education to boost popularity and consolidate control. On the other hand, martial law, a new influx of Palestinian refugees, and an economic downturn with the formation of Israel sidelined education, and other development projects. [16]

For all three governments, the main priority for educational funding was increasing the number of students enrolled in government schools, as opposed to educational facilities, leading to increasingly crowded classrooms, and deteriorating conditions for teachers. Chart 4 illustrates the increasing number of students from 1931-1946, while chart 5 shows the number of schools, and chart 6 the ratio of students to schools in each country.

[12] Judith L. Wolf, "Selected Aspects in the Development of Public Education in Palestine 1920-1946" (Boston College, 1981).138

[13] Al-Tall. 65

[14] Embassy of Iraq Office of the Cultural Attaché, *Education in Iraq* (Washington: Office of the Cultural Attaché, Embassy of Iraq, 1957).2

[15] Al-Tall. 65,169. The percentage of the budget devoted to education would not reach this level again during the 1970s. For comparison, Belgium's educational budget during the 1950s increased from 8.4% in 1945 to 14.8%, in 1958-9, 23% in Belorusia in 1958-9, 12% in Denmark, Iran spent 18%, and Turkey, 11%.Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 21*. 86, 110, 157, 238, 418

[16] For a description of how foreign aid and Jordan's political situation affected government priorities see Lawrence Tal, "Britain and the Jordan Crisis of 1958," *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 1 (1995). 51. Teachers, particularly in the UNRWA camps could face arrests based on hearsay and personal rivalries. Avi Plascov, *The Palestinian Refugees in Jordan 1948-1957* (London; Totowa, N.J.: F. Cass, 1981). 142-3
Eugene L. Rogan and Tariq Tell, *Village, Steppe and State : The Social Origins of Modern Jordan* (London; New York: British Academic Press, 1994).189

Chart 4:
Pupils in Iraq, Jordan and Palestine 1930-1960

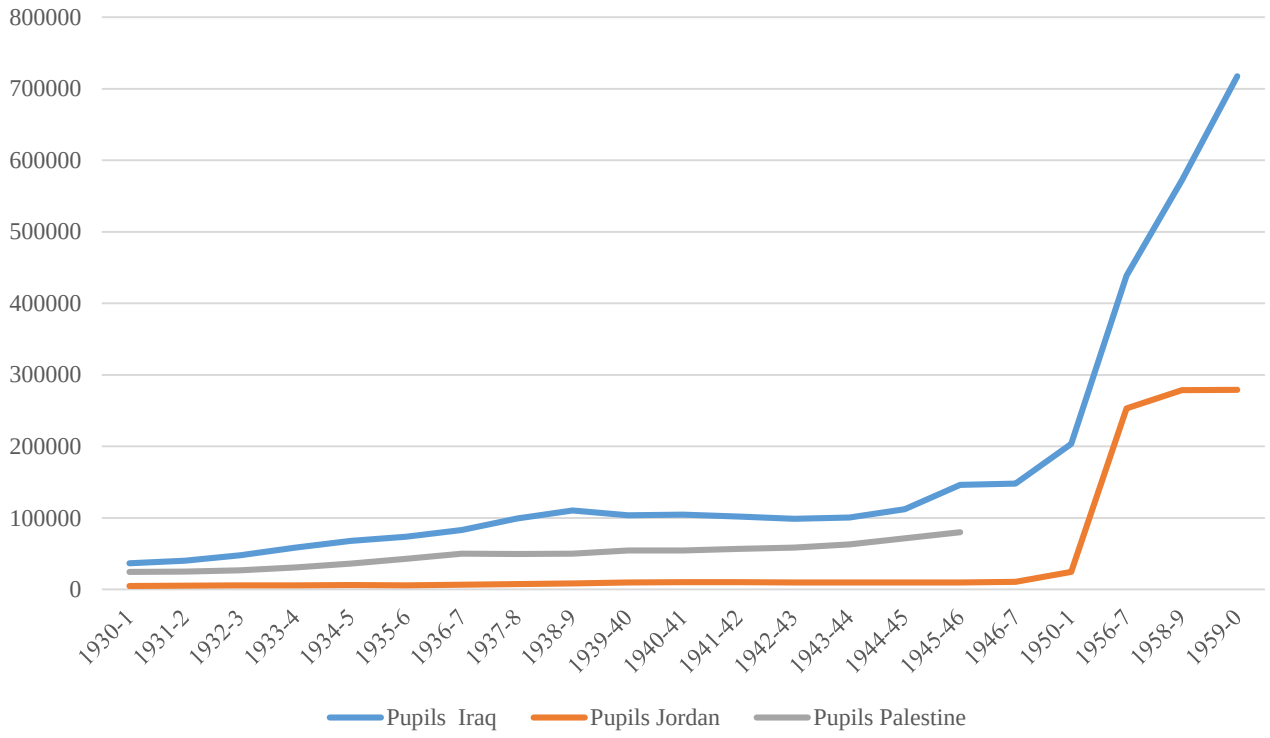
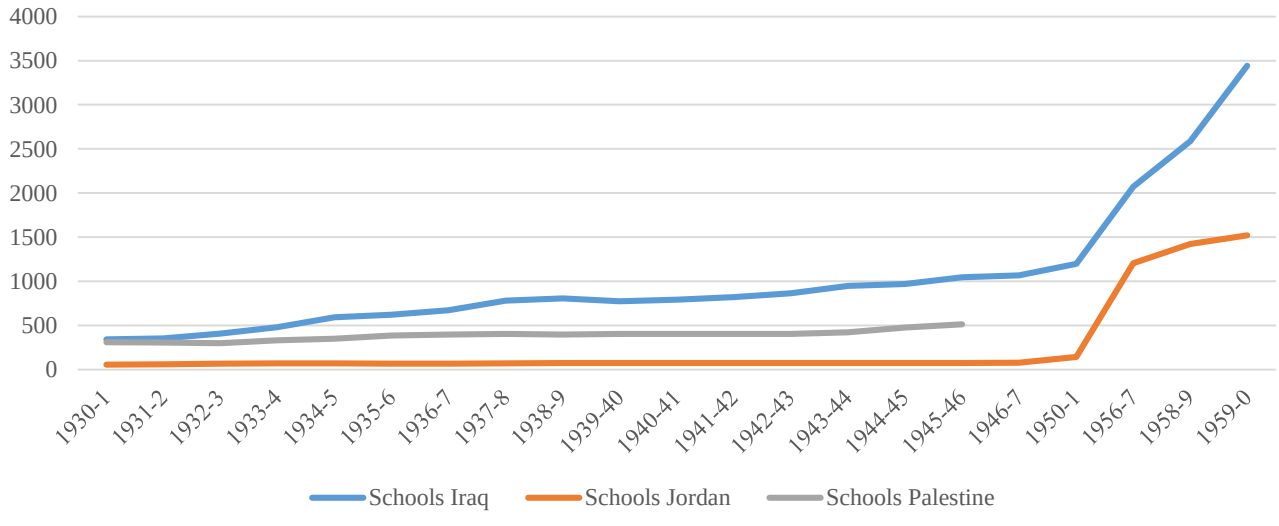
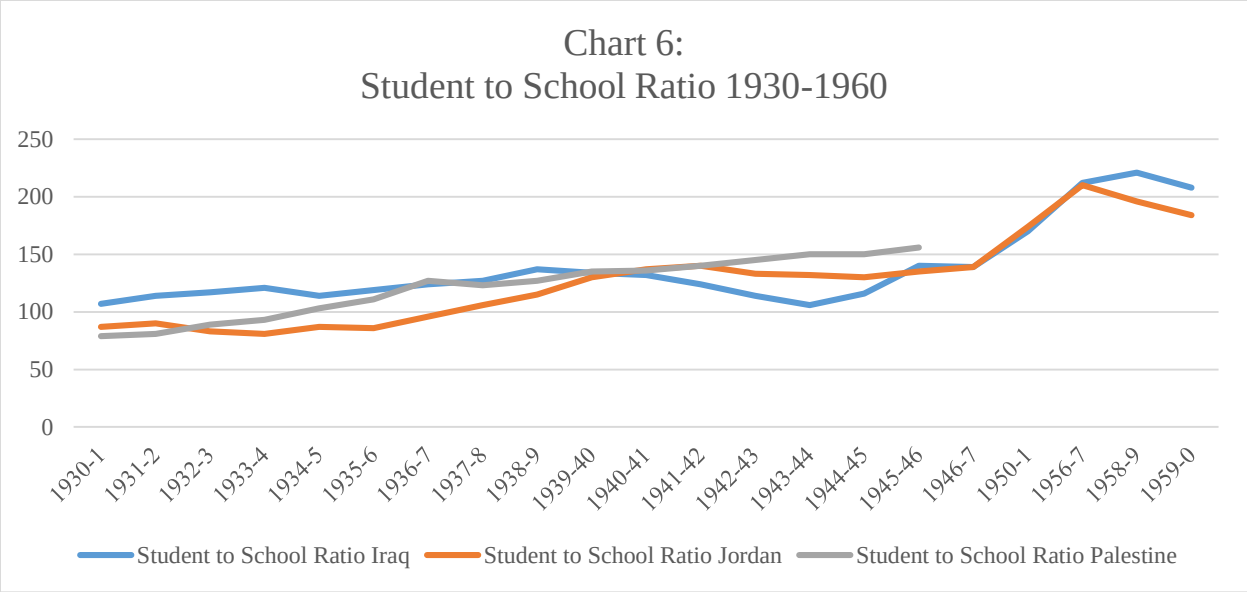


Chart 5:
Government Schools Iraq, Jordan and Palestine 1930-1960

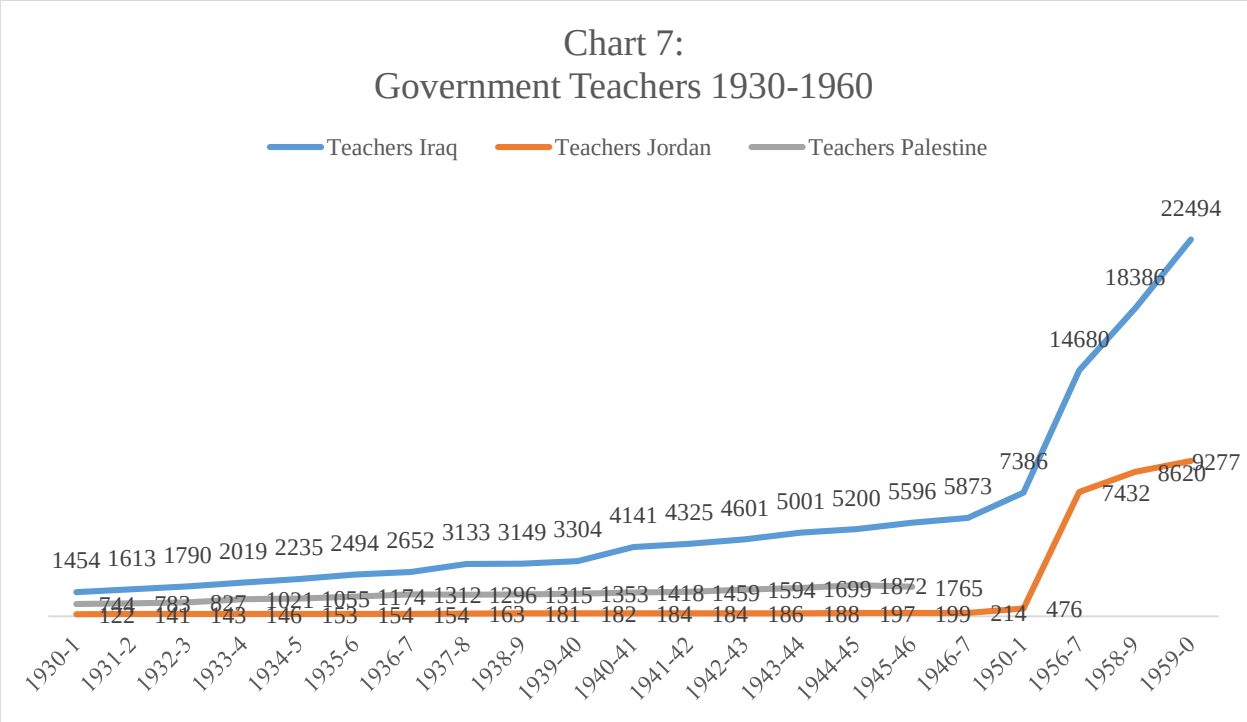


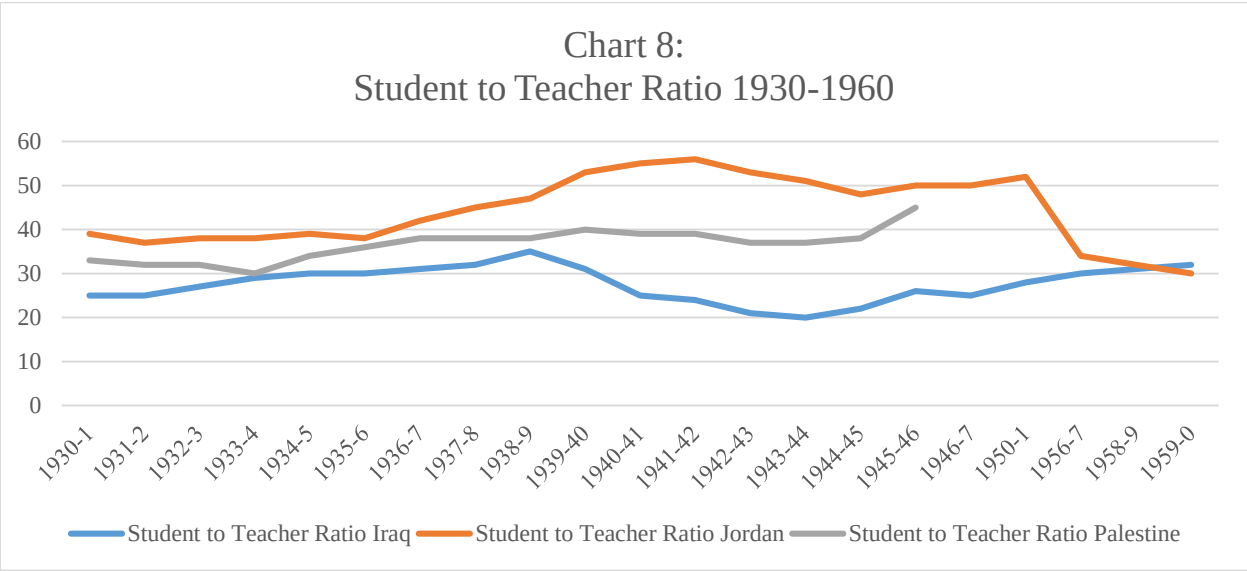


More schools and more numerous pupils had disparate effects on teachers' working conditions and their ability to bargain with the government. More pupils in each school meant overcrowded classrooms that were difficult to manage. Between the 1930s and 1940s, in Palestine and Transjordan, schools became more crowded as the number of students admitted rose, and the number of schools built stagnated. The Government of Palestine promoted a scheme to increase education in 1933, but shelved the plan due to the outbreak of the revolt. Although this scheme was reinstated during 1937-38, it was suspended again until 1941.[17] Therefore, the number of schools in Palestine stagnated from 1936-1942. Part of this stagnation was also due to the revolt, as British soldiers took over existing school buildings and prevented new ones from being built.[18] After the revolt, Palestine suffered from a shortage of building materials that limited the number of new schools that could be constructed. Despite the scant number of schools built during this period, particularly in Palestine and Transjordan, the number of students crowding these schools increased consistently. Only in Iraq did the 1940s mark an increase in schools without a comparable increase in students, in part because the government began renting houses, in both urban and rural areas to accommodate students. [19]

Chart 7 shows the changing number of teachers in each country and chart 8 the changing ratio of students to teachers. Drastic increases in the number of teachers, particularly relative to students and schools, indicate reduced individual bargaining power with the regime. On the other hand, when students increased at a greater rate than teachers did, teachers were more in demand, less replaceable, and enjoyed freer working conditions.

[17] Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1945-46*.6
[18] Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Education in Palestine: General Survey 1936-1946* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1946).6, Humphrey Ernest Bowman, " Diary October 1936-June 1937, October 11, 1936," Humphrey Bowman Collection, Box 4 B, GB165-0034, Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford, UK. Hearafter MECA.
[19] Matthews et. al. 152-153





The number of teachers employed by each government increased at radically different rates. In Iraq, despite the lack of expansion in terms of schools and pupils during 1939-1941, the number of teachers continued to increase exponentially. Iraq also had relatively few students per teacher, particularly by the 1940s. In Transjordan and Palestine, the number of teachers employed in the government schools increased at a very slow rate, especially in Transjordan before independence. This meant that through the 1940s, teachers could move in and out of educational service easily, presuming they could always find a ready job as a teacher. For example, Adib Wahbeh held a variety of posts, ranging from teacher to Consul in Egypt and Palestine, to Director of Education and Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Transjordan from the 1920s through his retirement in 1944; this was despite having to flee the country in 1923 in order to escape arrest,

and being fired in 1935. [20] The slow increase in the number of teachers employed by the government of Transjordan belies the somewhat larger number of individuals, who moved in and out of government service, like Adib Wahbeh. For example, although there were only up to approximately 200 teachers employed in Transjordan by the government at any given time, over 600 individuals began their careers as teachers before the end of the Mandate. [21]

In Palestine, educational growth took place without comparable increases in the number of teachers employed; the number of students per teacher grew from approximately 30 to 40, up to 45 by the end of the Mandate. This indicates Palestinian teachers did not lose their intermediary status with the government throughout the Mandate period. For example, Anwar Hadid, a young Palestinian with excellent qualifications, having graduated from the Arab College of Jerusalem and having passed the difficult Matriculation exam with distinction, retained his post as a teacher for 10 years despite applying for transfer to every other government department in the Mandate. In response to one of his petitions to be transferred to work as a translator, the District Inspector of Education himself argued that this teacher "could not be spared." [22]Moreover, when Hadid requested a promotion in 1944, he received it. Although his desire for more rapid promotion led to his continued petitions for transfer, the government's attempts to retain his services as a teacher, and the lack of any reprimand despite the volume of petitions received, demonstrate that teachers were still scarce. [23] Even teachers who were less qualified received similar treatment. Muhammad Dawas Khattab, who had only completed two years of secondary school, began his career as a "supernumerary" or unclassified teacher. He wrote numerous complaints to the department of health regarding the spread of infectious diseases in villages, traded in grain while working as a teacher (which was forbidden), garnered several complaints himself for beating his students (also forbidden) and was eventually promoted to classified teacher in 1947. [24]

During the 1950s and early 1960s, the situation of schooling in both Iraq and Jordan began to converge. [25] The1950 annexation of the West Bank in Jordan led to a drastic increase in the number of pupils, teachers, and schools incorporated into the Jordanian government system while the government struggled to keep up with its increasing population; the total population of Jordan grew from 400,000 in 1948 to 1,353,000 by 1951. [26] In Iraq, there was also a steep increase in

[20] He was born in 1892 in Salt, Jordan, studied and taught at Ottoman government schools in Jerusalem, and briefly in the 1920s in Baghdad, worked as the Director General of Education, teacher, and principal of the secondary school in his hometown of Salt. Hazaa el Barari, "Adib Wahbeh.. Min Fursān Al-Harakah Al-Waṭanīyah " *al-Rai*, (August 6, 2012). He was actually one of the 8 teachers who were fired at least once before the end of the Mandate, of which 4 were rehired, and reached retirement. Qism al-Arshīf, Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Ta'līm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah,, (Amman, Jordan: Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Ta'līm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah, 2013). (The Human Resources Department, Archive Section, the Ministry of Education of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.) Hearafter, HRD. Employee Record Number 0000524. The other teachers who were fired were Jamil al-Jarrah, HRD Employee Record Number 000026, Saleh al-Maghrabi, Employee Record Number 0000347, Jamil Ibrahim Samawi, Employee Record Number 0000408 Khalil Sabah al-Zariqat, Employee Record Number 0000370, 'Aisa Ismail al-Qatatasheh, Employee Record Number 0000121, and Wasfi al-Tall, Employee Record Number 0000544.
[21] HRD. 646 individuals began their service before 1947.
[22] Director of Education to DIE Galilee, "Subject: Anwar Eff. Hadid, Teacher at Tiberias Boys' School." December 27, 1945. ISA "Anwar Hadid " 1033 1 M
[23] ISA "Anwar Hadid" 1033 1 M
[24] ISA "Muhammad Dawwas Khattab" 1032 5 M
[25] Doris G. Adams, "Current Population Trends in Iraq," *Middle East Journal* 10, no. 2 (1956).160
[26] Charles Philip Issawi and Carlos Dabezies, "Population Movements and Population Pressure in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1951). 385, Al-Tall.128,

educational facilities and personnel during the 1950s, due to oil revenue. Oil profits did not lead to development projects that benefitted the vast majority of Iraqis, as funds were channeled towards irrigation projects that benefitted large landowners. Yet, 30% of the new funds went directly to the Iraqi government's budget, which meant more funding for schooling. [27] The ratio of students to teachers in Iraq and Jordan equalized by 1960. [28]

In the 1950s, in contrast to Iraqi and Jordanian citizens, Palestinian children, teachers and former teachers were scattered. They studied in refugee camps under martial law, and at times in the schools of the countries in which they found themselves. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency, or the UNRWA, set up schools to serve Palestinian refugees as part of a broader project to make refugees "self supporting."[29] While there were only 62 UNRWA schools, employing 652 teachers and serving 33,000 students in 1950-1, they increased to 390 schools, 3,764 teachers and 128,501 students by 1960-1. Teachers in UNRWA schools, particularly at the beginning of the 1950s dealt with overcrowded classrooms; the ratio of students to teachers began at 51, decreasing to 34 by 1960 while the average number of students in a school decreased from 532 to 329 over the same period.[30]

In Israel proper, Palestinians, or Arab Israelis as they were now called, studied in Arab schools that were underfunded and understaffed compared to their Jewish counterparts. Arab Israeli teachers faced a particularly difficult paradox, as they were technically employed by the Israeli Ministry of Education, possessing the same status as Jewish Israeli employees. On the other hand, as Arabs, they were subjected to a different set of laws than their Jewish peers. There were 49 of these Arab Israeli schools in 1949, employing 250 teachers and serving 10,000 pupils. By 1952, there were 105 schools, employing 752 teachers, with 26,374 students, serving a population of approximately 175,000, and leaving approximately 9,000 school-age Arab girls without education. [31] By 1959 there were 233 schools, serving 46,080 students and employing approximately 1,340 teachers. [32] This means the ratio of students to teachers decreased from 50 to 34. In contrast, in Jewish schools, there were approximately 21 students per teacher, particularly during the 1950s. [33]

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[27] Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq* (Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002).138-9, Samira Haj, *The Making of Iraq, 1900-1963 Capital, Power, and Ideology* (Albany, N. Y: State University of New York, 1997).74-75, Bernard Reich, *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa : A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).470-2

[28] After 1960 Jordan still was defined as experiencing a teacher shortage, whereas Iraq faced an "abundance" of primary school teachers, without a concurrent increase in secondary school teachers, particularly teachers of English, Math or Physics. Unesco International Bureau of Education *International Yearbook of Education 26, 1964* (Geneva: Unesco ; International Bureau of Education, 1964). XLV

[29]Relief Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near east United Nations, *Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.*, (Paris, 1957). 1

[30] Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 12*, 1950 (Geneva: Unesco ; International Bureau of Education, 1950).29-35, Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 23*., 29-35.

[31]J. L. Ben-Or, "Arab Education in Israel," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 27, no. 8 (April, 1954). 380

[32] Majid Al-Haj, *Education, Empowerment, and Control : The Case of Arabs in Israel* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1995).87, 155

[33] Ibid. 161. Between 1951 and 1963, the number of students per teacher in the Hebrew Language schools remained 21.2. Yoram Ben-Porath. "Market, Government, and Israel's Muted Baby Boom." *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series* No. 1569, (1985). 32. This ratio was incredibly low: for example, in Sweden in 1959

Living and Working: Teachers' Salaries in the 1940s and 1950s

Although, as described above, funding for schooling increased, teachers did not reap the benefits in terms of improved work conditions. Moreover, teachers actually began to receive less money for their work. Teachers' salaries in Iraq, and in Israel for Palestinians, decreased in real value from the late 1940s through the end of the 1950s, downgrading their social and economic status. In contrast, Jordan's teachers' salaries did not depreciate until 1966.

In the Mandate for Palestine, teachers frequently received modest salaries. However, at least in villages, salaries were sufficient for "a good life."[34] Salaries in Palestine theoretically depended on teachers' qualifications, experience, and the passing of exams.[35] Supernumerary teachers officially received five to eight pounds per month by the 1940s. Before this, they could receive as little as two pounds per month. Villagers often paid all or part of the salaries of these teachers, who generally came from the village and had completed a few years of secondary school, without achieving a secondary school certificate.[36] All teachers during World War II, received an allowance to compensate for the high cost of living, depending on their number of dependents, and salary. Classified teachers at the lowest level had completed secondary school, and received eight to 16 pounds per month. In order to advance beyond certain salary levels within this salary bracket, teachers had to pass the lower certificate exam. The salary level at which teachers were barred from increasing their pay depended on their qualifications and whether they had graduated from teacher training institutions. Most teachers employed during the last years of the Mandate received between eight and sixteen pounds per month. To advance beyond 16 pounds per month, teachers had to take a more advanced exam. The next salary bracket also required teachers to hold a university degree in order to receive more than 280 pounds per year. If they held a university degree, passed the higher teachers exam, they could be paid up to 500 pounds per year.[37]

After 1948, Palestinian teachers, particularly those in refugee camps, suffered severely reduced circumstances. Their situation marks a unique case. The Jordanian and Iraqi governments' interest in educating their citizens paradoxically depreciated teachers' social and economic status. For Palestinian teachers a lack of state interest in schooling, and a lack of a state overall had even more detrimental results. Teachers faced not only a loss of property and wartime considerations, but also a new lack of citizenship; the government that had paid their salaries no longer existed. UNRWA noted that in the immediate aftermath of the war, teachers either worked as volunteers or were paid less than cleaners were. By 1950, their pay was raised to a maximum to 45$ for

there were 32 students per teacher at the primary level, 26 at the "infant" level. Unesco International Bureau of Education. *International Yearbook of Education 20*. (Geneva: Unesco ; International Bureau of Education, 1959.) 387

[34] Interview with Ibrahim Othman, April 16, 2012.

[35] Khalil al-Sakakini complained that the government's standards were not objective, as a "spy" who al-Sakakini thought was a corrupt alcoholic was promoted, presumably when al-Sakakini himself was not. The spy is likely to have been Hussein Ruhi, former spy, who was promoted to Grade K in 1932, while al-Sakakini ranked below him. Government of Palestine, *Civil Service List, (Staff List of the Government of Palestine) 1934* (Jerusalem, 1934). Letter to Sari, January 1932 quoted in Kamal Moed, "Educator in the Service of the Homeland: Khalil Al-Sakakini's Conflicted Identities," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 59 (2014). 78

[36] Matthews.223, see for example ISA"Ahmad Assad Suboh" 1044 8 M, ISA "Sadeq Abd el Majid Sadeq" 1045 17 M, ISA "Khaled Shukry al Wadi", 1029 10 M, Ylana N. Miller, "From Village to Nation : Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920-1948" (University of California Berkeley, 1979).330.

[37] In order to reach 600 pounds per year, teachers had to advance to being inspector or assistant inspector, in addition to fulfilling all previous qualifications. District inspectors, and the principal of the Arab College, could receive up to 800 pounds. Matthews. 224-5.

headmasters, approximately 15 pounds per month, 37$ for teachers, or approximately 13.2 pounds per month.[38] The maximum most teachers received during the Mandate period, as described above, was 16 pounds per month plus allowances during the 1940s. In contrast, a headmaster during the Mandate period, even during the 1920s, would have received at least 20 pounds per month. [39]A Jordanian teacher at a comparable level would have received a salary ranging from six to 12 pounds.[40] Arab Israeli teachers also wrestled with a reduced salary. They were paid half the amount of their Jewish counterparts until 1952, when teachers' protests led to raises in their salary, making their salaries equivalent to those of Jewish teachers. [41]

In Jordan, teachers' salaries and status generally did not depreciate until the late 1960s, although salaries, like during the Mandate period, were not always paid at regular intervals. [42] The government paid teachers as civil servants until 1950. The civil servant salary scale was divided into a system of four classes and ten grades, with ten being the lowest grade. [43] Salaries ranged from five or less pounds per month for supernumerary teachers, six to eight pounds per month for classified teachers, and up to 58-64 pounds for higher officials.[44] Out of 215 teachers whose service ended before the end of the Mandate, and whose rank is included in data provided by the Ministry of Education, only 7% achieved a rank greater than seven. This means they would receive a salary of 25 pounds per month or less. The lack of teachers in higher grades was in part due to a lack of qualifications; any teacher who completed two years of college would be immediately appointed at the grade nine level, three years of college meant an appointment at grade eight and achieving a BA meant grade seven. Over 50% of the total only reached grade 10 (the lowest grade); a maximum salary of eight pounds per month. [45]

During the 1950s, due to readjustments in territory and population, teachers' salaries, and the relationship between teachers' academic qualifications and rank were less clear cut, although generally comparable to the civil servants scale before 1950, until the 1960s. [46] Many teachers were paid by local communities rather than by the government, although teachers might not be paid at all regardless of whether the government or local individuals paid their salaries. A 1950

[38] *Assistance to Palestine Refugees, Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the near East* (Paris, September 28 1951). MeasuringWorth.
[39] ISA "Qustandi Quanaze" 1016 12 M.
[40]Al-Tall. 68
[41] Al-Haj. 162
[42] In 1966 a civil service regulation required that teachers have the same qualifications, and enjoy the same conditions as all other civil servants. The salary scale for teachers did increase, however these increases did not compensate for increased cost of living. Moreover, the procedure for recruiting teachers resulted in an increase in nepotism, and also the appointment of an abundance of teachers, precluding promotion because of a lack of room in upper ranks. Al-Tall.207-212
[43] Ibid.67
[44] Qism al-Arshīf. Matthews.301
[45] The total number of teachers who served before this date is 381. HRD.
[46] In Ahmad al-Tall's work on education in Jordan, a discussion of rules for teachers' salaries between 1950 and 1966 is conspicuously absent. Al-Tall. 68, 207-209. However, in examining teachers' personnel files from the 1950s, the scale seems to hold; a teacher at the lowest grade, 10, received 6.6 dinars per month, adhering to the scale of 6-8 pounds per month for that grade. Ministry of Education, Human Resources Department, Personnel Files.(MOE)"'Abd al-Rahman Mansour Nasser", This teacher was also appointed "under probation". However, by 1964 it seemed the salary scales had increased; the teacher had been promoted to grade 8, while his monthly salary according to the scale would have been 13-16, it was now 33 dinars. Similarly, Saibha Musa al-Ma'ani, a female teacher appointed in 1959 at the 10th or lowest grade, had a salary of 11 dinars per month in addition to allowances. dated 11/5/1959. However, by 1961 it seems she too was earning 23 dinars per month. MOE "Saibha Musa al-Ma'ni"

letter from the principal of the secondary school in Kerak to the Minister of education complained that teachers' salaries had not been paid at all for the month of April, leaving those teachers confused and in a difficult situation. [47]

The phenomenon of supernumerary or unclassified teachers, paid by the villagers could lead to more irregularities. For example, in 1954, the principal of a village school near Irbid wrote to a local official noting that the villagers had not paid the salary of a supernumerary teacher at all. He urged the official, for the sake of educational progress, to send the district's tax collector to collect the required amount from the villagers. He also complained that the villagers had been warned on several occasions, and that they had, until now, done nothing they were ordered to do. The recalcitrant villagers not only had not paid their teacher, they also had not participated in required development projects including building toilets and digging wells.[48] Other villagers, rather than simply not paying teachers' salaries, called upon the government to do its share. In 1957 and 1959, people from the Hebron district wrote to the prime minister himself asking for funding for supernumerary teachers.[49] In 1959, a different village in the same region asserted that that due to certain issues that year, including a drought, they were unable to pay their taxes. The villagers requested financial help, including government support, to raise the salaries of that village's teachers and to pay all their salaries as the villagers could no longer afford to do so.[50] This confused situation was not remedied until 1966, with the implementation of a new civil service regulation. The regulation stipulated that teachers were again to have the same qualifications and salary scale as civil servants, including the matriculation certificate (a high school diploma) as a minimum qualification.[51]

Despite the confusion over teachers' salaries, who would pay them and how often they should be paid, more teachers who worked during the late 1940s and 1950s achieved higher ranks, in part because they tended to serve longer terms. Rather than using teaching as a stopgap employment measure on their way up through the bureaucracy, educators pursued careers solely in the educational service, indicating increasing professionalization of teaching. Out of the 194 teachers whose service began between the end of the Mandate in 1946 and 1959, and whose ranks were documented, approximately 75% achieved a rank of six or higher. Nearly all of these teachers served 20 years or more. Therefore, those who gained upper ranks all served into the 1970s and later. [52]

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[47] Letter from the principal of the school of Kerak, Mahmoud Saif al Din al-Irani to the minister of education/salaries. 5/19/1950, 127/2/19/22. National Library of Jordan Online Database (NLJ).

[48] Letter from the principal of the Samua' school, to the Qa'imaqam of Koura/Teachers salaries, 10/13/1954, 79/7/10/22, NLJ

[49] Letter from the prime minister to the Minister of Education, the Minister of Economics, and the Minister of Agriculture, 3/21/1957, document number 32/10/1/30, NLJ. The Prime Minister forwarded the petition he had received from a different village in Hebron demanding the opening of new markets to distribute vegetables and fruit, as well as the paying of supernumerary teachers' salaries (both male and female, who had been paid by the government. They also wanted government supervision of agriculture. Document 31/10/1/30, "a Petition from the Village of Halhoul, in Hebron to the Prime Minister" 3/ 11/ 1957. NLJ

[50] "Petition from the Mukhtars and the Elders of the village of Seir in the Hebron Liwa to the Prime Minister" 7/2/1959. 165/1/5/37 NLJ.

[51] In Ahmad al-Tall's work on education in Jordan, a discussion of rules for teachers' salaries between 1950 and 1966 is conspicuously absent. Al-Tall. 68, 207-209

[52] HRD. 55 teachers out of 194 reached a rank of 6 or higher.

Despite increasing professionalization of teaching, teachers remained scarce throughout this period. As late as 1964, UNESCO noted that in Jordan, there was an insufficient number of teachers to cater to Jordan's expanded educational system. [53] This shortage helped teachers maintain a comfortable social and economic status. Before 1966, village teachers in government schools could enjoy a social status equivalent to that of storekeepers and craftsmen, namely better than most farmers but below landowners and those who had held higher government posts. [54]

The Iraqi government had more resources at its disposal than that of Jordan. It therefore paid its teachers far more than the Jordanian government paid its teachers. However, wages did not keep up with the cost of living, and teachers' status in comparison to other civil service began to deteriorate with the advent of mass education. Iraqi teachers' salaries increased from the 1920s through the end of the 1950s. Despite these increases, teachers' salaries decreased in purchasing power relative to inflation. From 1931 through 1951, teachers' salaries equaled those of other civil servants with the same level of education; one insider's report claimed that secondary school teachers could receive the same salaries as governors. [55] However, by 1953, after the Teaching Service Law of 1951, teachers' salaries were no longer commensurate with those of similar qualifications in other branches of the civil service, although teachers' salaries were still technically on the same scale. [56] Moreover, civil servants' salaries had increased 125% since 1939 at lower levels, 25% at higher levels between 1939 and 1956. In contrast, the cost of living in Iraq increased by 400% during this period.[57] The depreciation in the real value of teachers' salaries had political as well as economic ramifications. In order to deal with their reduced economic circumstances, teachers began to take on extra lessons outside of class time, particularly to help well off students pass their exams.[58] Politically, teachers and other civil servants began to participate more and more in mass protests, particularly as part of the Iraqi Communist Party, as its calls for social justice resonated with the former middling class educators.[59]

In Iraq and Palestine, increasing funding for education coincided with an increase in the number of teachers, but a decrease in their status, as demonstrated by depreciation in teachers' salaries in real terms. In Jordan, the increase in the number of teachers in particular contributed to the professionalization of teaching. While educated individuals became more plentiful, teaching became a profession in and of itself rather than a stopgap measure between other, more prestigious government posts. Moreover, as discussed in the following section, as educational facilities at all levels grew, so did the number of teachers trained and the years of training they had completed.

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[53] Unesco International Bureau of Education. *International Yearbook of Education 26, 1964*. XLV

[54] A village teacher in 1960 could expect a salary between 180 to 300 Dinars per year. Abdulla M. Lutfiyya, *Baytin, a Jordanian Village; a Study of Social Institutions and Social Change in a Folk Community* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966). 32-33

[55] In Iraq, the salaries for government posts were revised in 1942. Teachers had been paid approximately 298 pounds per year before this revision. Abdul Hamid Kadhim, "A Plan for the Reconstruction of Teacher Education in Iraq" (1947).62,

[56]Hammoudi Abdul Majid, *Guides for the Improvement of Teacher Education in Iraq* (1953). 184, "The New Teaching Service Law of 1951," *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 2. January 11, 1953. 19. Law Library Microform Consortium (hearafter LLMC). Abida Samiuddin, *Administrative Development in the Arab World : A Case Study of Iraq* (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1985).42

[57] F.R.C. Bagley, "Iraq to-Day," *International Journal* Summer 1957.202

[58] Interview with Khalid al-Kishtaini, December 12, 2011.

[59] Orit Bashkin, *New Babylonians : A History of Jews in Modern Iraq* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).269.

This situation devalued teachers' educational credentials, as a high school education became the norm.

The Quality of Education: Secondary Schooling, Professionalization and Independence

As described in previous chapters, attaining literacy for the majority of the population without contributing to the rise of an academically over-educated unemployed characterized British policies during the Mandate period. Individuals possessing a secondary education could take their pick of government jobs. The situation began to change during the 1940s as education became more widespread, especially at higher levels. Teachers saw the value of their formerly rare qualifications degrade as more and more students gained higher education. In Iraq, once British control slackened, secondary education expanded rapidly. In contrast, Jordan's king and cabinet, like the British, feared increasing secondary school graduates could lead to calls for democratization and rebellion. In Israel, after 1948, Arab secondary education was restricted to a greater degree than elementary, paralleling British colonial policies without granting teachers the benefits they had enjoyed during the Mandate period.

The more independence Iraq gained from Britain, the more secondary schools its government built, indicating both British fears of an overeducated unemployed, but also how the Iraqi government, despite various upheavals in its composition and nature, consistently viewed education as key to Iraq's prestige and global standing. From 1931 on in Iraq, secondary schooling expanded at a higher rate than elementary schooling, although elementary education remained more widespread. From 1930-31 through 1940-41, the number of secondary schools increased by approximately 195%, while the number of primary schools increased by approximately 133%. Between 1940-41 and 1950-51, the number of secondary schools increased by nearly 70% while the number of primary schools increased by approximately 50%. Between 1950-51 and 1959-60, secondary education increased by approximately 197% while primary increased by 187%. [60]

The main criticisms of secondary education in Iraq stemmed from problems of quality rather than quantity, underscoring the government's commitment to education as a key state institution. Calls advocating greater availability of secondary education in the 1940s contrasted with complaints on the part of educationalists, both Iraqi and foreign, that the system of schooling beyond the elementary level promoted "recitation" rather than analytical thinking.[61] In the early 1940s, observers complained that the Iraqi system as a whole was too academic, without sufficient vocational schooling for Iraq's economy and society. Iraq's government sought to remedy this situation by founding 39 vocational schools by 1958-9.[62] More advanced institutions, including a university by 1956, meant better-qualified teachers, while simultaneously reducing the value of lower educational qualifications, as a secondary education no longer guaranteed government employment.[63]

[60] Office of the Cultural Attaché. 7, 12

[61] Muhammad Kamel al-Nahas, "Ṭarīqat al-Tadrīs fī al-Madāris al-Mutawassiṭah (The Method of Teaching in the Intermediate Schools)," *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* 9, no 2. (March 1945). 133-135, Dr. Khaled al-Hashimi, "Niẓām al-Tarbiyah Wa-al-Ta'līm fī al-'Irāq (The System of Education in Iraq)," *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* 10, no 3. (May 1946).129-131

[62] Ministry of Education, *Educational Statistics Annual Report 1960-61* (Baghdad: Republic of Iraq, 1961).64,

[63] Iraq ratifies university bill. (1956, Apr 01). *New York Times (1923-Current File)* Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/113497974?accountid=14496,

In Mandate Palestine, education at a secondary level gradually expanded during the 1940s, but the main shifts in post-elementary education had to do with its elitism rather than its growth. Palestine's lone college became even more selective in its tone, while the number of students attending the college remained steady between 85 and 93. [64] Overall, policies towards secondary education shifted due to political disturbances, government stringencies and changes in personnel. In 1936, Humphrey Bowman, who had headed education in Palestine since the beginning of the Mandate, retired and was replaced by his former deputy Jerome Farrell as Director of Education. While Bowman had concentrated his energies on expanding rural and elementary education, Farrell set his sights on Palestine's elite, defined through natural skill and frequently social status. Similarly, Ahmad Samih al-Khalidi, the principal of the Arab College, emphasized meritocracy and the creation of well-trained, talented elite.[65] In practice, a wartime budget restricted both Farrell's and al-Khalidi's hoped for changes in Palestine's educational policy. In 1939-1940, there were no funds set aside to expand Arab education.[66] However, where Farrell could affect change was at the Arab College. Farrell pushed through the teaching of Latin and Greek as well as Shakespeare in the College's curriculum, with the goal of training the select few who could benefit from a liberal education. [67] He argued, "the maximum percentage of those capable of a high standard of achievement… is very small . . . fixed by nature . . . and cannot be increased by education." [68] Therefore, he set out to find those who were capable and to educate them. The most advanced students would learn English, Arabic, theoretical and applied mathematics or the hallmarks of an English liberal education: philosophy, classical history, Greek and Latin.[69]

[64]Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1940-41* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1941)., 4, Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1941-42* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1942)., 4, Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1942-43* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1943)., 4, Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1943-44* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1944)., 4, Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1944-45* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1945)., 8, Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1945-46*., 6

[65] Interview with Tarif al-Khalidi, January 20, 2012.

[66] Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1939-1940*.1

[67] Rochelle Davis, "Commemorating Education: Recollections of the Arab College in Jerusalem, 1918-1948," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 23, no. 1-2 (2003).

[68] Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand : British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2000). 158

[69] Ibid. 195

Renowned scholar George Hourani, (older brother of Albert Hourani) teaching Latin at the Arab College of Jerusalem in the 1940s. [70]

The number of students receiving secondary education increased from 1,070 in 1939 to 1,585 in 1945, while the number of schools increased from 16 to 25. In contrast, the number of students at the Arab College remained consistently low. This policy of limiting admission to the college to the top students of the Mandate preserved graduates' elite and meritocratic status.[71] The vast majority of these graduates became teachers, who enjoyed increased job security and improved salaries based on their qualifications. The lucky few who reached the upper levels of specialization overwhelmingly found employment within the government bureaucracy, and later throughout the Arabic speaking world after the creation of the state of Israel.

In Israel, education at the secondary level and above lagged for Arab Israelis and continues to lag behind that of their Jewish counterparts due to the lower standard of Arab education, and the Israeli Government's priorities. As Israel's Jewish population was, and remains, better educated than its Arab population, despite the relative scarcity of Arab secondary school graduates, their credentials counted for little within Israeli society as a whole. Although the state expanded elementary education, due to laws that made this level compulsory for all citizens, secondary schooling did not expand at the same rate. In 1948, there was only one Arab secondary school, and by 1959, there were seven. In 1969, there were 35. [72] The Ministry of Education explicitly asserted that Arab secondary education was too expensive and that limited funds should be devoted only to

[70] Walid Khalidi. *Before Their Diaspora : A Photographic History of the Palestinians, 1876-1948*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984. 181. "Brushing up Their Latin.", Institute for Palestine Studies http://btd.palestine-studies.org/content/arab-college-1940s-2.
[71] Matthews et al. 229-230, Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1945-46*. 8
[72] Al-Haj.80

the elementary level. [73] As late as 2003, non-Jewish including Arab students made up less than 10% of undergraduates in Israel, even though they comprise over 20% of the total population.[74] At least one contemporary scholar cited nearly the same conflicts over educating Arabs with which the British had wrestled, namely, that providing education to Arabs raises the possibility of increasing their nationalism. On the other hand, by not educating Arabs and restricting them to poverty, deprivation could also lead to nationalist agitation.[75] Providing secondary education for Arabs was often debated as part of a "demographic danger" as their integration into government employment in particular had the potential to undermine the state's Jewish majority. [76] In the 1980s, when an Arab minister raised the issue of a lack of vocational and other high schools for Arabs, the Minister of Education blamed a lack of funds, while another, more radical minister stated that educating Arabs at all constituted a "danger to the existence of the state of Israel." He further argued that the government should endeavor to "'make their (the Arabs') lives miserable, to cut off funds. Let them go to an Arab country." [77] Therefore, although Arab Israelis with advanced degrees have remained relatively limited, this limitation has not resulted in the same bargaining power with the government, due in part to the nature of the Israeli state, and the educational attainments of the Israeli population as a whole.

In Jordan, as in Iraq, the increasing availability of secondary education gradually decreased its value as a means of leveraging the government, leading to an inflation of teachers' credentials relative to previous decades, and eventually severing the ties between government schooling and guarantees of a government job. However, the timeline for these changes in Jordan was much slower, perpetuating not only Mandate-era standards of education, but also the connections between government schooling and government employment until the 1960s. During the 1940s and 1950s, the Jordanian government focused its energies on increasing government schooling particularly at elementary and preparatory levels, although secondary education increased radically as well, in part to deal with the number of elementary school graduates. The number of students enrolled in secondary schools grew exponentially from 366 in 1945-6, to 1,524 in 1952-3, to 29,883 in 1958-9. [78] In 1946 there were four secondary schools with only one offering a complete

[73] Ibid.82-3

[74] Hillel Frisch, *Israel's Security and Its Arab Citizens* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).60. David Singer, and Lawrence Grossman, *American Jewish Yearbook 2003* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 2003).42. Interestingly, because Arab university graduates have trouble finding jobs that would correspond in status to those of their Jewish counterparts, many work in Arab high schools, meaning, at least in the 1980s that 68.5% of the staff of Arab schools had academic degrees, while only 64.1% of those in Jewish schools did. Nadim Rouhana, "The Political Transformation of the Palestinians in Israel: From Acquiescence to Challenge," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 18, no. 3 (1989).42

[75] Rouhana, "The Political Transformation of the Palestinians in Israel: From Acquiescence to Challenge."59

[76] Ibid.43

[77] Devorah Kalekin-Fishman, *Ideology, Policy, and Practice Education for Immigrants and Minorities in Israel Today* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2004).116

[78] Matthews et Al.308, Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim Jordan, "Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`lim 1956-7," (Amman: Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim 1957). 66 Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim Jordan, "Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`lim 1958-9," (Amman: Amman: Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim 1959). 247

secondary education. By 1954 there were 203 schools increasing to 256 by the 1957-8 school year. [79] The University of Jordan opened in 1962.[80]

The 10th graduating class and the Faculty of the Secondary School in al-Salt, 1941. [81]

In order to combat the potential unemployment of secondary school graduates, particularly as college and university opportunities were limited, the government of Jordan generated new positions in the civil service and government bureaucracy, sought to open vocational schools, and to restrict the number of secondary school graduates overall. [82] This means that the devaluation of secondary school degrees happened much later in Jordan than in Iraq. Until the late 1950s, the Government was actually able to provide jobs for all secondary school graduates in the country. [83] By 1960, the problem of expectations of a government job was even more entrenched as over 5,000 secondary school graduates were recorded as waiting for government employment, while

[79] Unesco, *World Survey of Education. 3, 3* (Paris: Unesco, 1961).758
[80] Aieman Ahmad al-Omari, "Total Quality Management in Public and Private Jordanian Universities: A Comparative Study," in *Towards an Arab Higher Education Space : International Challenges and Societal Responsibilities* ed. Bechir Lamine(Beirut: Unesco, Regional Bureau for Education in the Arab states, 2010).
[81] Taken at the Textbook Museum, al-Salt, Jordan. March 20, 2012.
[82] Jordan had five vocational schools by 1959. Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim Jordan "Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-al-Ta`lim 1958-9."225
[83] Al-Tall. 139, 106

another 5,000 were due to graduate that same year. These 10,000 individuals competed for only 500 openings in the civil service. [84] When the number of graduates began to exceed available government posts, the state took measures to reduce the number of secondary school pupils, and increase the number of available slots in the civil service. By 1960, these measures included suggestions to dismiss married women and officials who were due to retire, although these changes did not materialize. [85] The government of Jordan did impose restrictions on those who were admitted to secondary school (based on places available and students' academic record) and added two special examinations, one at the end of the primary level and another at the intermediate level to reduce admission to the intermediate stage by 25%. [86] The increase in number of graduates beyond the capacity of the government to employ them decreased the connection between government schooling and government employment, as these individuals had to find work either in the private sector or outside of Jordan. For teachers, a glut of educated individuals meant their ability to negotiate for a better status without being replaced was drastically reduced. Moreover, increasingly qualified students, meant teachers found their own qualifications devaluated, both by their states and by their societies.

Examinations: Exclusion and Standardization

Government examinations frequently played a defining role in the lives of Iraq's, Palestine's and Transjordan/Jordan's schoolchildren, teachers, and officials. Once or twice a year, hundreds to thousands of children had their scholastic futures decided during a few intense hours. Teachers frequently took, administered, and were judged by government examinations. The implementation of exams contributed to the prestige of students and teachers who passed, the standardization of teachers' qualifications, and the codification of teaching as a profession. Government examinations constituted a shared experience which caused not only competition to see who could gain the best marks, but also camaraderie, and at times nationalist sentiment as individuals from throughout each government's jurisdiction took the same exams. On the other hand, exams reduced teachers' ability to teach above and beyond the prescribed syllabus. The difficulty of these exams granted teachers little room to add their own materials within an overly crowded curriculum.

The purpose, content and impact of government-sponsored exams differed widely across the three Mandates, reflecting and shaping teachers' scope for autonomy. However, in all three countries, examinations became ever more pervasive, as governments viewed testing as a means of both controlling and improving government sponsored schooling. In addition, in Iraq and Jordan, the outcome of these exams for teachers converged by reducing teachers' ability to teach beyond the curriculum, devaluing their credentials, and defining teachers' profession as one geared towards promoting success on examinations to the exclusion of anything else. In Palestine, exams were geared towards codifying an intellectual elite. In Transjordan and Jordan, they served both

[84] ha-Yisreelit Hevrah ha-Mizrahit, "Middle East Record Volume 1," (1960).326
[85] The government actually did transfer married women to less desirable posts, and many resigned due to logistical and familial difficulties. Ibid.326. Interestingly enough, despite the lack of places in the civil service, there was also a concurrent shortage of qualified teachers. Unesco. *World Survey of Education. 3*, 756
[86] Al-Tall. 106

to unify students and to exclude as many as possible from higher levels of education, while in Iraq their main purpose was to impart national affiliation.

In Iraq, government sponsored exams began during the first years of British control in an attempt to improve standards but also to prevent too many students from gaining secondary credentials. [87] However, under the careful eye of Sati al-Husri, exams shifted to function as a means of centralizing education and unifying schoolchildren's studies, experience, and it was hoped, indoctrination in al-Husri's view of nationalism. [88] In 1936, Iraq's conscription law was amended such that students were required not only to be enrolled in a school to be exempt from conscription, but also to pass the government's examinations. This meant that even private schools began to teach for the examinations in order to attract sufficient students. [89] By the 1940s, nearly all of Iraq's schoolchildren could expect to take at least one, at most three, government exams. Teachers were therefore compelled to teach exclusively for the exam as the government judged educators on how well their students could regurgitate the exams' material, either during inspections or on the exams themselves.

Iraq's exams were crammed full of subject matter students worked hard to memorize, and teachers worked hard to prepare. Exams normally encompassed all of the materials students were to have learned throughout primary, intermediate, or secondary education. In the 1940s, the primary school exam included Arabic, English, Social Studies, Mathematics, Elementary Science and Hygiene. Intermediate examinations required students to demonstrate proficiency in Arabic, English, Social Studies, Mathematics, Biology, Hygiene, Physics and Chemistry. The secondary school exam required seven papers, one in English, and one in Arabic. The remaining five papers addressed subject matter in Social Studies, Mathematics or Sciences, with four of the papers written in two of the same subjects. Students had to score at least 50 points in each subject to pass, and average 60 overall. Regulations permitted students only two to three hours to answer six or seven exam questions. [90] Those who passed these exams remembered their difficulty, particularly due to the sheer amount of subject matter students had to master, as well as their pride in having succeeded in passing. [91]

In complaints from educationalists, both foreign and domestic, government exams at the primary, intermediate and secondary level in Iraq reached the status of a fetish. [92] Moreover, the failure rate was extremely high, enhancing the prestige of the lucky few who passed. In 1937, 21% of pupils failed the primary exam, 29% failed at the intermediate level, and 19% failed at the secondary level. As late as 1955, 40% of primary students failed, 49% of intermediate and 52% of secondary failed. The lowest failure rate was 1958, when the government passed all students, giving a bonus of 10 marks to every student who sat for the intermediate exam in celebration of

[87] "Irak Report on the State of Education for the Year 1922-23," S T 34/15. BL. 22-23

[88] Reeva S. Simon, "The Imposition of Nationalism on a Non-Nation State: The Case of Iraq During the Interwar Period, 1921-1941," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. James P. Jankowski and Israel Gershoni(New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). 95, 101

[89] Dorothy Van Ess, "The American Mission School for Boys, Basrah Iraq", 1953, File 33, SL.

[90] Matthews et. al.135-7

[91] Interview with B.S. London, January 22, 2013.

[92] "Extract from Colonel Malherbe's Report on British Council Activities in Iran, Iraq and Syria Enclosed in a Letter from Professor T.S.R. Bosse, to M. Blake Esq, the British Council, London, 24 January 1945," BW 39/4., the National Archives, Kew. Hearafter NA. Mohammed Hussain Yasin, "Education for All Iraqi Youth : Reorganization of Secondary Education in Iraq" (Teachers College, Columbia University 1947)., 63 Hammoudi Abdul Majid, "Guides for the Improvement of Teacher Education in Iraq" (Teachers College, Columbia, 1953)., 34-35

the revolution and the founding of the Iraqi republic.[93] These bonuses added to local support of the revolution, although mainly on the part of schoolchildren.[94]

The nearly universal experience of studying, and taking exams in Iraq forged a bond among primary school aged children. One former student and satirical author, Khalid al-Kishtaini, recalled a "wonderful atmosphere" before exams, as he and his peers crammed away for two to three months before the exams took place. Students flooded Baghdad's cafes, taking breaks from their study only to listen to the news on the radio, while drinking tea and ordering snacks. Parents were equally tense, hoping their children would succeed during exam season. One Iraqi, in his memoirs, recalled a colloquial saying, "*nshoof skham al-wutch"* meaning essentially, we see the soot on his face, generally said by older relatives when they had "grave doubts about a young family member passing school examinations" as this scenario would result in a loss of face, disgracing the entire family. [95] al-Kishtaini also claimed a total lack of cheating, despite the fact that students "tried and tried" to learn the exam questions beforehand. [96] Another former student recalled that hundreds of students in enormous rooms took the 11th grade exam. He noted that it was a traumatic experience for these teenagers (including himself) and agreed that there was no way students could cheat due to the eagle eyes of the proctors. [97] Two Iraqi Jews, now living in Israel complained that they were discriminated against during school and primary government exams because they were Jewish. [98] However, graders were technically required to avoid looking at students' names. In addition, the 11th year exams, taken by all Iraqi students, were much fairer according to one of these students who noted that he would cry if he got a low score (and still, decades later, recalled his exact scores on several exams.)[99]

Exams allowed for little creativity, and certainly little anti-imperial or political activity. Yet, standardization also offered a new ground for protest on the part of students rather than their teachers. The need to teach strictly for the examination logically would push teachers to curb their political activities in favor of adhering to the syllabus, and preparing their students to pass. For some students on the other hand, the exams represented a place where they could attempt to critique their governments, although the consequences were severe. Sassoon Somekh, an Iraqi-Jewish, later Israeli intellectual, risked punishment by writing an overly political (specifically an overtly anti-imperial), exam essay in 1949. The essay required an overview of Iraq's history during the interwar period. Somekh wrote, "Iraq never really became independent, rather it was a colony which despite outward signs of statehood, was in effect ruled by the British. And now, I added, another type of bondage was taking shape: this consisted of the influence of American imperialism."[100] The jibe at American influence clearly pegged Somekh as possessing Communist leanings. He knew that his essay could actually get him imprisoned. Moreover, as a Jewish student, at a Jewish private school during the late 1940s, he was in a precarious position. Rising anti-Semitism in Iraq was linked to Iraq's defeat in the 1948 war that resulted in the establishment of the state of Israel. However, he was lucky. Muhammad Naji al-Kishtaini, a poet and educator since

[93] Bassam Yousif, *Human Development in Iraq : 1950-1990* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012).1968-9
[94] "Internal Political Situation in Iraq, Fortnightly Report from Baghdad 24th October-5th November, 6 November 1958." FO 371/133072. NA. 12
[95] Victor Sasson, *Memoirs of a Baghdad Childhood* (Bloomington, IN.: Iuniverse Inc, 2011).96.
[96] Interview with Khalid al-Kishtaini, December 12, 2011
[97] Interview with Zvi Yehuda, July 24, 2012
[98] Anonymous interview, August 12, 2012, Interview with Zvi Yehuda, July 24, 2012
[99] Anonymous interview, August 12, 2012
[100] Sasson Somekh, *Baghdad, Yesterday : The Making of an Arab Jew* (Jerusalem: Ibis Editions, 2007).78

1918, and the lead official examining the essay commended Somekh's writing, and shook his hand.[101] Somekh's principal warned him that he should refrain from writing such opinionated essays in the future, for the sake of not only Somekh's safety but also that of the school.[102] Although Somekh used the examination as a place to criticize his government, and argue about geopolitics, he put himself and his school in danger in the process. Students' tendency to revolt against their

In Palestine, exams either conferred professional credentials or defined an educated elite. There were two teachers exams for achieving lower and higher certificates, each consisting of two parts: one a theoretical written test and the other a practical examination. The government of Palestine barred teachers at particular pay grades, despite their academic qualifications, if they did not pass these exams. The lower teachers exam was rumored to be quite easy; however, the higher teachers exam was more of an achievement. The higher teachers exam, "al-ʻAlaa," enabled students to skip a year or more at the American University of Cairo.[103] The Palestine Board of Higher Studies, which was responsible for these exams, also offered the "Intermediate Examination" which, coupled with two years of additional study, certified a BA or BSc.[104]

The Matriculation Exam or "al-Matrik" a secondary-school leaving exam, was considered so academically rigorous that it allowed those who passed to gain automatic admission to the sophomore class at the American University of Beirut.[105] The examination consisted of six papers. The first three included either Arabic, Hebrew or English, Elementary Mathematics, and History. Students could then choose to write a paper in an additional language, including not only the three official languages of the Mandate but also Armenian (classical and modern), French, German, Classical and/or Modern Greek, Italian or Latin. Students wrote on "Sciences" which included General Physics, Botany, Additional Mathematics, Mechanics and Hydrostatics, Heat, Light and Sound, Electricity and Magnetism, Chemistry, Geography, Archaeology and Domestic Sciences (for female candidates.) Students were also required to complete one additional paper either in another language or another topic in the sciences, and they could add optional subjects (Religious Knowledge, Physiology, and Hygiene) to gain certification, although these would not be counted towards their passing grade.[106]

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[101] Naji al-Kishtaini was one of the earliest principals in Iraq. Abd al-Razzaq Hilali, *Tarikh Al-Ta`lim Fi Al-`Iraq Fi `Ahd Al-Ihtilal Al-Baritani, 1914-1921* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʻat al-Maʻārif, 1975).418. In 1946, al-Kishtaini was an official in the secondary schools cadre. *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 45. November 10, 1946. CO 813/22. NA, He also seems to have written poetry, such as Muḥammad Nājī al-Qishṭaynī. *Min 'Uyūn al-Shi'r: Mukhtārāt*. (Baghdad: Dār al-Jumhūrīyah, 1968). See also Farīq al-ʻamal Muʻjam al-Bābaṭīn,, "Muḥammad Nājī Al-Qishṭaynī, Muʻjam Al-Bābaṭ īn Li-Shuʻarā' Al-ʻarabīyah fī Al-Qarnayn Al-Tāsiʻ ʻashar wa-al-ʻishrīn ", Mu'assasat Jā'izat ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Saʻūd al-Bābaṭīn lil-Ibdāʻ al-Shiʻrī. http://www.almoajam.org/poet_details.php?id=6927 (accessed April 11, 2015 2015).

[102] Somekh.80

[103] Interview with Ibrahim Othman, April 16, 2012

[104] Government of Palestine Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report for the Year 1925* (Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, 1925).14

[105] Interview with Anis al-Qasem, April 15, 2012. *Al Kulliyah* 13, No 3. (January 1927) 75

[106] John Harte, "Contesting the Past in Mandate Palestine History Teaching for Palestinian Arabs under British Rule, 1917-1948" (School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), 2009).107. Exam questions seem geared towards creating philosophers, lawyers and experts; For example, in the 1930 matriculation examination, students completing the English language component of the exam would have expounded on one of the following prompts; "A university is not a birth-place of poets or of immortal authors, of founders of schools, leaders of colonies or conquerors of nations." Or "The virtue of prosperity is temperance, the virtue of adversity is fortitude" or "Which is better for Palestine, agriculture or industry?"In the 1928 exams students wrote on "How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds

This exam represented a rare achievement for Arab-Palestinian youngsters; results were published in the government gazette, and families of students who passed would sing "for days."[107] In part, this exam was such a mark of distinction because of the colonial emphasis on elementary rather than secondary education. Until 1940, there were only two full secondary government schools in Palestine, the level necessary to pass the matriculation exam, and by 1947 there were only four.[108] By 1945-46, 191 candidates took the exam in Arabic and of these, 90 passed.[109] Female graduates of the two government secondary schools (only one, the Women's Teacher Training College offered a complete course) did not take the matriculation exam until the 1941-2 school year. Instead, graduates of the Women's Teaching College would take a "diploma examination" that would grant them a better salary when they began teaching.[110] The rationale behind the decision to have female as well as male graduates of government schools sit for the matriculation exam is not explained. However, it would seem to be due to a combination of local demand for better educated girls, and the decision to make teaching, for women as well as men, more professional.

Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, later a prominent Palestinian intellectual, took the last matriculation exam administered by the government of Palestine. This exam was held in March of 1948 rather than the usual July, forcing him and his friends to redouble their efforts to study despite the fighting that was raging around them. Arab Palestinian students had no idea how radically their situation was going to change with the 1948 war. They did not know that they would become stateless in a period and region that witnessed the growing importance of the nation-state. Therefore, they and their parents, as they had throughout the Mandate period, believed that their "future" depended on passing the examination. Despite the fact that the "roof had been blown off" of the school in which the exam was held, and that funeral processions, even those of close relatives of students taking the exam occurred simultaneously, students managed to concentrate. Abu-Lughod would learn that he passed the matriculation exam over the radio, from the new Israeli department of Education; he was then a refugee in Nablus. He told a friend of his, then a refugee in Beirut, that he too had passed. In hindsight, Abu-Lughod noted, "It was such a thrill—we passed! But there we were, refugees with no future."[111] Ibrahim Abu-Lughod's success on the exam would act as merely a

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makes ill deeds done" or "The legal profession" or "Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man and writing an exact man." [106] In history, students could choose from a range of topics, including the history of Palestine (from the death of Herod the great to the Umayyads), the formation of the British Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries, "the rise and downfall of Athens as a sea power" and the relationship between the Jews of Andalus and Palestine. Ibid. John Harte's dissertation also addresses the question of Arab history in the exam, and the rather disproportionate amount of effort Palestine's government officials, particularly Farell put in this exam, which such a tiny number of Palestine's inhabitants would take.

[107] Interview with Anis al-Qasem, April 15, 2012.

[108] The schools were, the Rashidiya school, and the Arab College of Jerusalem. Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1944-45*. 9. One alum insisted that by 1947 there were at least seven government schools that could prepare students for the matriculation exam. Interview with Ibrahim Othman, April 16, 2012

[109]Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1944-45*. 14

[110] Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1940-41*.4 Graduates of non-government institutions, such as the Jerusalem Girls College and the Schmidt college for girls, also prepared students for either the Oxford or Cambridge matriculation exams, or the Palestine matriculation. Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its "New" Women : The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).76

[111] Ibrahim Abu-Lughod quoted in Ahmad H. Sa'di and Lila Abu-Lughod, *Nakba : Palestine, 1948, and the Claims of Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).86-87

harbinger of his future academic trajectory. The government that would have employed him based on his excellence on the "Matrik" no longer existed.

In contrast, in Transjordan and Jordan, the purpose of public exams differed from those of Iraq and Palestine. However, the consequences of a unified national exam eventually converged with the exam culture of Iraq. In Transjordan and Jordan, government exams were explicitly designed to reduce the number of students graduating from secondary schools, and therefore to limit prospective candidates for government jobs. Students had to pay a fee, and to gain the approval of their teachers and principal to sit for the exam.[112] Secondary school exams were implemented in 1934-5, a good ten years before those of primary schools, making it far easier for students to achieve a primary education than a secondary one. This exam essentially granted a government post to the scant few students who passed and the chance at a college or university education. Typically only 20-55% of the students who attempted the exam passed, although this number began to rise from the mid-1950s. In part, the numbers rose as many students dropped out of school before taking the exam. Seventy-five percent of students who attempted the exam passed the exam in 1954, (meaning the government had to contend with some 800 secondary school graduates). However, there were 14,568 students enrolled in secondary schools that year, but only 1,316 in the fourth secondary year (the first year students were eligible to take the exam) and only 745 in the fifth secondary year, indicating many students dropped out before taking the exam. Moreover, only 1,138 out of a possible 2061 candidates from government schools even attempted the exam. The percentage of passing students ranged from 52% to 83.8% from 1957 through 1977.[113]

Passing government examinations became an even more important requirement for advancement by 1945. As Transjordanian and Jordanian exams became more widespread, they garnered similar criticism as did those in Iraq, namely they precluded teachers from being creative, and even constituted a "constant cause of neurotic worry (for both students and teachers), besides being detrimental to character due to incentive to cheat."[114] The grading policy was complicated, and many students would do little work until the few months before the exam when they would start memorizing.[115] Before 1945, students had been able to graduate from primary schools based on internal criteria; between 1945 and 1952, students, like their peers in Iraq, had to take a public exam, offered once a year, which would enable them to enter secondary school. This exam also required students pay a fee of two pounds. The exams covered the latter half of primary school, including all schools subjects; Arabic, English, Geometry and Arithmetic, History, Science and Geography.[116] The exam bequeathed on those who passed the "Transjordan certificate of primary examination" and entitled its bearer to admission to government secondary schools. The first year the exam was required, there were 357 students who were eligible to take the exam, however only

[112] "Letter from the principal of the secondary school of Kerak, Muhammad Saif al-Din al-Irani" May 26, 1952, NLJ, 6/14/18/22

[113] Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim Jordan, *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi 1953-1954 - Wizarat al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`lim*.4, 10, Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim Jordan, " *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi 1957-1958 - Wizarat al-Tarbiyah Wa-al-Ta`lim*.," (1958), 69-70. Interestingly, only only 8 percent passed the Arabic language section of the exam, while 81% passed the English language portion, and 81% passed in 1957, Al-Tall.228,

[114] Al-Tall.59-64

[115] Ibid. 229-230

[116] Additionally, Muslim children would take religion, non-Muslim boys would substitute agriculture for Muslim religion, Muslim girls would take domestic science and child care instead of regular science, and non-Muslim girls would substitute nursing for Muslim religion. Ibid.62

266 attempted the exam due to its difficulty. Of these, 144 passed, or around 54%. The names of those who had passed were published proudly in the official gazette.[117] During the early 1950s, although the number of students taking the exam increased, the percentage that passed remained low.[118] From 1952-4 the government changed the number of years students spent in elementary school (from five to six) and introduced a new, easier exam entitled "the Admission Examination" which nearly 85% of students passed.[119] However, during the 1959-60 school year, the government introduced another new examination, the "Preparatory Certificate Examination" which again dropped the pass rate. [120] That first year 4,986 students took part in the exam, of which 2,937 or 58.9% passed. [121]

The ever more pervasive nature of government examinations also marked a transition from negotiations and nepotism being the main means of promotion towards professionalization. While this meant improved standards of schooling, it also helped define teachers as a specialized set of civil servants, rather than potential ministers. The transition period also resulted in some dissonance in terms of qualifications and requirements. Some teachers, who had already been working for several years, found themselves in a position where their qualifications were no longer sufficient. For example, three teachers at the secondary school of Kerak petitioned the principal who in turn petitioned the local inspector of education in order to allow these teachers take the secondary school exam, as they had been students at the school but had not been able to pass.[122] Despite the fact that these teachers were teaching at a secondary level, in the 1950s, they technically had less than a secondary education. Teachers did take measures to improve their qualifications; two out of the three remained in the ministry of education until the 1980s, although only one of these two seems to have actually completed secondary school. [123]

Most teachers opted to take a specialized government exam geared specifically towards codifying teachers' qualifications; the teachers' lower certificate, which consisted, as the Palestinian exams had, of two parts, theoretical and practical. Some teachers seemed to be unclear on what was actually contained in the exam. For example, a teacher who had attended school in

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[117] *Al-Jarida al-Rasmiyya* No. 813, August 18, 1945. NLJ. 391,392

[118] 307 passed the exam in 1951-2 as opposed to 622 in 1953-4. Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim Jordan, *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi 1953-1954 - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`Lim*. 31

[119] Al-Tall.228

[120]"Niẓām Imtiḥān al-Shahādāt al-I'dādīyah al-'Āmmah Raqm 64 li-Sanat 1959 (Regulation Number 64 for the Year 1959, the Regulation for the Preparatory Certificate General Exam)," *Jarida al-Rasmiyya* No. 1465, January 2, 1960. NLJ. 21-23

[121] Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim Jordan "Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-al-Ta`lim 1958-9." 31-32. Interestingly, formerly Palestinian areas had far and away the largest number of students passing the exam, namely Nablus, Hebron and Jerusalem, which was tied with the Balqa region of Jordan, followed by other areas of the country.

[122] "Letter from the principal of the secondary school of Kerak, Mahmoud Saif al-Din al-Irani to the Inspector for the liwas of Kerak and Ma'an, subject: Certifying Written Materials" May 28, 1952. NLJ, 2/14/18/22, 3/14/18/22.

[123] Musa Khalil al-Zariqat, one of the three teachers, had less than a secondary education as of 1951, when he was appointed to Kerak. He served until August of 1982, and achieved a fourth rank. He was born in 1931. HRD, Employee Record Number 0001429. Shalash Ishaqat and Salbi al-Shibaleh apparently left the school five months later to go to Baghdad to study, not showing up for the fall semester of 1952. "Letter from the principal of the secondary school of Kerak to the Inspector of Education of the liwas of Kerak and Ma'an" October 7, 1952. NLJ, 43/8/15/22. Shalash Ishaqat stayed in Baghdad for four years, from October 1942 through November 1956 before returning to work as a teacher in the capital and becoming a principal of a primary school before retiring in 1981 with a rank of four. HRD Employee Record Number 0001452. The third teacher, Sami al-Shamalieh was born in 1931 and was only a teacher from Novemebr of 1951 through September of 1952 when he also left his work. He left at the lowest rank: 10. HRD, Employee Record Number 0001414.

Haifa before the end of the Mandate wrote to the Minister of Education requesting an explanation as to which subjects were on the exam, and which he might be exempted based on his previous experience, and if he could be considered as being in possession of a secondary school certificate.[124] In 1958-9, 299 teachers took the exam, of which 260 passed, indicating it was not particularly difficult.[125]

Examinations were not the only tool used to judge teachers' performance and to determine their level of professionalization. Inspectors' reports also played a key role in regulating teachers' activities, professional, and at times their personal life. As the format of these reports, their content, and the qualifications of the inspectors themselves became standardized, they redefined the profession of teacher, reducing its flexibility and prestige.

The Personal and the Public: Inspections in the 1940s and 1950s

Inspections featured prominently in educational policy from the first years of British control through the 1950s and beyond. During these visits, government inspectors would arrive, generally unannounced, unless the teacher or principal subject to inspection was lucky enough to enjoy close personal relations with the inspector. Inspectors would watch the teacher in action, rate their performance, and observe the dress, comportment, cleanliness, and health of the students. Their reports would appear, in the case of Palestine and Jordan and presumably in Iraq as well, in teachers' personnel files. [126] Adverse reports could cause teachers' transfers, or occasionally dismissals, based on observed interactions between teachers and principals, or teachers and students. In Palestine and Transjordan/Jordan, a poor inspector's report could also lead to the withholding of teachers' yearly incremental increase in salary. During the early years of Mandatory control in Palestine and Transjordan, inspectors' reports were more diverse, less formulaic, and infinitely more personal. The inspectors' qualifications varied, and their ties to teachers, families, villages, and at times politics, were strongly in evidence. [127] In Iraq, local newspapers complained that early inspections were arbitrary, religiously biased, and did not improve standards of education. [128] These initial complaints, although it is unclear whether they were on the part of the British or the locals, also included a lack of frequency of inspection. [129]

During the 1940s and the 1950s, the procedure of inspections became standardized, streamlined, and tightly controlled. Inspectors possessed advanced qualifications, and nearly all had worked as teachers. For these individuals, and for the teachers they judged, inspection functioned not only as a key regulatory mechanism of the educational system, but also as a way of defining and restricting the profession of teaching as a whole. Inspectors enforced adherence to the syllabus, modern pedagogical methods, and sought to weed out those teachers that they deemed "not of the type to be retained in the service."[130] The inspectors, their qualifications, and their relative power within the educational bureaucracy differed across Iraq, Palestine, and Jordan. The

[124] "Letter from Kamel Sharif Jarrar to the Minister of Education" March 21, 1955, NLJ 194/1/18/22.
[125] Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta`lim Jordan *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-al-Ta`lim 1958-9*. 33
[126] Teachers' personnel files for Iraqi teachers are unavailable.
[127] Tibawi, 31.
[128] "Press Supplement, Intelligence Report, December 1, 1921," IOR/R/20/A/1237, BL.
[129] "Memorandum No 13919/107/1, May 8 1920." IOR/ L/PS10/816, BL. 9
[130] See references in ISA files, for example "Sadi Muhammad Shihadeh" ISA 1019 15 M, "Abdullah Faraj Hunin" ISA 1016 10 M, "Ahmad Sha'ban 'Aidi" ISA 1014 2 M, "Abd el Ghani Sharaf" ISA 1016 11 M, etc.

trend towards standardization, however, characterizes the 1940s and 1950s throughout these three areas.

Iraq's inspectorate became increasingly specialized from the 1930s onward, prescribing an ever more circumscribed role for teachers. Iraq's inspectorate had been a site of contestation between British officials and their Iraqi counterparts during the Mandate period. By the mid-1930s and Iraq's nominal independence, this branch of the government bureaucracy was composed entirely of Iraqis. [131] By the early 1940s, the inspectoral branch of the Ministry of Education encompassed a variety of different inspectors. Administrative inspectors judged the bureaucratic functioning of the system of education. Female inspectors were responsible for girls schools. Provincial inspectors, based out of the educational offices in each province, inspected primary and secondary schools. Specialized inspectors dealt with particular subjects such as Arabic, English, and Mathematics.[132] The lead inspector was required to inspect all schools, to demonstrate modern methods of teaching, or at least to publish information on these methods, to inspect extra-curricular activities, school facilities, and to deal with "the general control of the conduct of students and staff."[133] He reviewed copies of all inspectors' reports, and summarized their findings in semiannual reports to the Director General, as well as an annual report to the Minister of Education. Inspectors' reports included commentary on the teacher, the school facilities, and both teachers' and students' behavior. Teachers were generally allowed to read the "substance" of inspectors' reports regarding their teaching.[134] While specialist inspectors reported to the chief inspector, general inspectors of elementary schools were linked to provincial leaders. [135]

The Iraqi inspectorate and the educational system garnered criticism due to their rigidity and stifling of educators' creativity, particularly from educated Iraqi and American observers.[136] These observers pigeonholed inspectors as cogs in a machine, whose main function was to act as human guarantors that teachers would teach the overcrowded syllabus in its entirety. [137] Critics argued that the combination of inspections and exams precluded critical thinking on the part of teachers and students alike, leading to rote memorization. They also highlighted the problematic,

[131] In 1932, there was a British Inspector General assigned to advise the Minister of Education, however he lacked any executive authority. Paul Monroe, Director of the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, *Government of Iraq, Report of the Educational Inquiry Commission* (Baghdad: Government Press, 1932).84 By 1935, this position was taken over by Fadil Jamali. *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 45. September 18, 1935. CO 813/9 NA. 447

[132] The Director General of education, the highest practical authority in the system, was still ranked below the minister, a political appointee.

[133] The head inspector's title changed from "Chief Inspector" to "Inspector General" during the 1930s and 1940s. He was technically responsible to the Director General, if he was called chief inspector, and to the Minister of Education if he was defined as an Inspector-General.

[134] Matthews et al.126-7

[135]Yasin. 50

[136] By the early 1950s, it seems that teachers' college graduates were simply reiterating the critiques of their predecessors. For example, Hammoudi Abdul Majid in 1953 cited Paul Monroe, Matta Akrawi and Fadil Jamali's earlier complaints about the system of inspection, namely that inspection was "too rigid" leading to "mechanical and highly formal teaching." Majid, *Guides for the Improvement of Teacher Education in Iraq*.14

[137] The syllabus was criticized repeatedly for being stuffed with too many facts, because of Sati al-Husri's desire to impart an Arab nationalism, while also making sure all students would learn sufficient amounts of other subjects. In later years more and more physical activity and hygiene was also added to the curriculum. See Reeva S. Simon, *Iraq between the Two World Wars : The Militarist Origins of Tyranny* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).74-78, 83-4, and also Matthews et al. 149-150

and often arbitrary, relationship between teacher and inspector, and the difficulty in creating a sufficiently precise, and presumably objective, metric for determining teachers' performance.

One of the earliest, and most public of such criticisms, the 1932 educational inquiry commission run by Professor Paul Monroe of Teachers College Columbia, argued that the Iraqi Ministry of Education's centralization led to "a very rigid form of inspection which prevents any variation from established forms. Hence, methods of instruction in the schoolroom tend to be mechanical and formal." [138] The commission further claimed that inspection itself "represses the teachers' initiative" undermining creativity. [139] Sati al-Husri, in a blistering response to the Monroe commission, and in defense of his own educational preferences (and track record), asserted that in fact there were too few inspectors, and too few inspections of schools, for there to be any rigidity in the system.[140] Although the number of inspectors did not significantly increase over the next decade, Matta Akrawi, a Teachers College and American University of Beirut alumnus wrote in his 1942 PhD dissertation, that "blame must be put for the rigid application of the course at the doors of the inspectors. These seem to have misunderstood the course of study just as much as the teachers, and have usually insisted on a strict application." Akrawi contended that the number of inspectors was irrelevant, rather fear of inspectors caused teachers to adhere blindly to the syllabus.[141] As early as the 1940s, rigid forms of inspection eroded teachers' creativity, even as their profession became more strictly defined.

Iraqi Teachers College Columbia graduates, like Matta Akrawi, articulated the difficulties inspectors' faced in trying to criticize teachers and to streamline the inspectoral process. They claimed that the way inspectors shaped the teaching profession was detrimental to Iraqi students, and indeed Iraqi society, because it fostered inflexibility, preventing teachers from teaching anything but the memorizing of facts. Muhammad Husain Yasin in his 1947 dissertation complained that due to "a lack of professional preparation" inspectors focused only on the subjects of the syllabus. Therefore, their judgment of teachers rested on whether or not they completed the syllabus in a timely fashion. He specifically noted that the inspectors met with teachers "not to advise and encourage them, but rather to urge them to complete teaching the set-out-to-be-learned courses of study by the end of the academic year." He did add that he thought the situation was improving.[142]

A few years later, another Teachers College graduate was more explicit in her criticisms. From Rose Khaddouri's perspective, inspectors ought to help teachers improve the state of their school, and their own professional lives. She argued that this was not the case in Iraq. Instead, "Inspection is carried out mainly to find out whether teachers are applying the courses of study recommended by the Ministry of Education, whether they will complete the courses at the end of the year, whether students are following the material in their textbooks, whether the class is controlled by the teacher and is perfectly quiet." She claimed that inspectors merely quizzed students, and if they responded incorrectly, inspectors would promptly inform the Ministry of

[138] Monroe.7
[139] Ibid.16
[140] Abu Khaldun Sati Husari, *Mudhakkirati Fi Al-`Iraq 1921-1941*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Bayrut: Dar al-Tali`ah, 1967). Matta Akrawi, "Curriculum Construction in the Public Primary Schools of Iraq in the Light of a Study of the Political, Economic, Social, Hygienic and Educational Conditions and Problems of the Country, with Some Reference to the Education of Teachers. A Preliminary Investigation" (1942). 206.
[141] Akrawi. 206
[142] Yasin.51

Education that the teaching was "inefficient. The teacher could then face warnings, and in the worst case, be transferred. Khaddouri argued that this procedure hindered communication between inspectors and schools, as any questions would "mean that the principal or the teacher was not efficient." She further complained that inspector's unannounced visits offered nothing positive, but merely "criticism and warnings..."[143]

In 1945, Daoud al-Qasir, a specialist inspector at the Iraqi Ministry of Education, wrote an idealized vision of what an Iraqi inspector's report should be.[144] This hypothetical report demonstrates what at least one educational official, supported by the Ministry of Education, thought would forge the best system of education for Iraq. al-Qasir's take on inspection focused on efficiency and impersonality rather than the more collaborative approach advocated by Teachers College alumni. In contrast to the reports of Palestine and Transjordan at this time, the hypothetical Iraqi report would be a standardized, fill-in-the-blanks form, leaving little space for personal observations. Instead, the inspector would answer a series of questions with a letter grade. These questions focused on the state of the school, the teacher, and the lessons with an eye towards hygiene and a modern efficiency. The questions included "Does the school had enough light, heat and ventilation? and "is the necessary school equipment in a suitable state of organization?" The inspector would grade the teacher on the degree to which he or she possessed a number of qualities including tact, self-discipline, determination, enthusiasm, kindness, and sense of justice. The teacher was also to take into account any disabled students, such as those hard of hearing or short of sight that might be in the classroom. The lessons were to take place at the appointed times, and students were to ask questions clearly, to be answered, and to complete the necessary work during class.[145] Only at the end did the report give the inspector an opportunity to phrase his observations in his own words, namely what were the best aspects of the school, and which aspects required the most improvement.

Although there is no indication that this report was ever used in Iraq, it serves to highlight inspectors' concerns, and their views of the ideal way to evaluate teachers. The Ministry of Education clearly supported the document's goals in some degree, as it published al-Qasir's report in the official teachers' journal. This fictional report demonstrates an intense desire for efficiency as well as objectivity; rather than completing a detailed, and personalized report for each teacher, the inspector just had to check off a few grades. The teacher became less of an individual, and more of a professional; the report clearly defined the teachers' attributes and actions and evaluated the teacher in the quickest manner possible. The physical aspect of the school was just as important as the conduct of the teacher, even though it was almost assuredly beyond the teacher's control.[146]

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[143] Rose Khaddouri, "Suggestions for the Improvement of Instruction in the Urban Primary Schools of Iraq" (1951).10-11

[144] He received his PhD from Columbia in Mathematics, on a scholarship from the Iraqi Government. He graduated with a BA from AUB in 1916. *Al Kulliyah* 15, No 1. (November 1928). 226. He was appointed inspector in 1944. *The Iraq Government Gazette* 45. (November 5, 1944). CO 813/9, NA.

[145]Doctor Daoud al Kasir, "Dalīl al-Mufattish fī Taqrīr Kifāyat al-Tadrīs (The Inspector's Guide for Teaching Efficiency)," *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* 9, No 2. (March 1945).79-82

[146] The desire for efficiency may also have been tied to the lack of inspectoral personnel compared to teachers . Oddly the ministry of education reports do not list the number of inspectors. In 1945 there were only 2 inspectors of English, for all levels of education. Selim Hakim, *A Critical Assessment of Teaching Materials Used in the First Two Years of English Teaching in Government Schools and in Primary Teacher Training Colleges in Iraq for the Training of Teachers of English : (Post-World War I to 1970)* (Institute of Education, University of London, 1984).

Inspectors' qualifications, like those of officials and teachers, had also shifted by the end of the 1950s. This process helped clearly define the profession of inspector as well as teacher, improving educational standards but also undercutting the value of a secondary school degree. In Iraq, July 7, 1958 a scant week before the revolution, the government promulgated a new law that defined the qualifications of the highest officials in the Ministry of Education, requiring an academic certification of their expertise, generally at a college level.[147] Even before the late 1950s, inspectors' credentials had begun to improve. [148] The 1958 law insisted that all inspectors have a diploma beyond the secondary level, as well as experience in education. [149] They were now required to report on the schools of their level in the country, to know the number of students and teachers in each school, how well the subjects were being taught, as well as to inspect the employees and supervise the other inspectors and teachers. The requirement that each inspector have a higher degree indicates that schooling had become more prevalent; there was now a large enough pool of educated individuals possessing advanced credentials. It also meant that a higher certificate was no longer a guarantee of government employment; rather it was the bare minimum necessary to gain a higher post.

This 1958 inspectoral law also defined how inspectors were to inspect, evaluate and improve teachers' performance. As in al-Qasir's idealized report, inspectors focused on the physical condition of the school, its hygiene, and that of its students rather than on individual teachers. The law required inspectors to evaluate the curriculum, to examine and to raise the levels of teacher knowledge and pedagogy. The law focused on the problems of teachers working in villages and rural areas and required inspectors to devise strategies to overcome these problems, to look at the availability and suitability of school buildings, to examine nutrition in primary schools, to advance the fight against illiteracy and fundamental education, including other topics. Inspectors had to collaborate to with each other and to report frequently to their superiors to improve the educational situation of Iraq. Inspectors also needed to make sure teachers were well

[147] Even before the 1950s, many inspectors shared similar qualifications, usually a degree from either a teachers' college in Iraq or from the American University of Beirut. See for example, Ibrahim Ismail, *The Iraq Government Gazette* No. 49 (December 3,1939) CO 813/12. NA. Similarly, Hasan Jawad had graduated from AUB. Khalil Salem another inspector also had a BA. *Al-Kulliyah* 28, No 5. (May 1953). 31

[148] Although it is difficult to determine the qualifications of inspectors in early years, two of the first set of inspectors were demoted to teachers within ten years of their initial appointment, indicating they were no longer the best prepared for the job. These inspectors were Sa'id Effendi Fahim, who was appointed the educational inspector in Baghdad in 1922, but by 1934 was a teacher on the secondary cadre, and then transferred to be inspector of educational missions in London. *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 19. (October 15, 1922). CO 813/1. NA. 11. *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 2. (January 14, 1934). CO 813/8. NA. 1. Similarly, Jirjis Effendi Sarah who had been an inspector in 1922 as well was demoted to a teacher, and then promoted to a teacher on the secondary cadre in 1944. *The Iraq Government Gazette* No 19. (October 15, 1922). CO 813/1. NA. 11. *The Iraq Government Gazette* No. 42 (October 15, 1934). CO 813/19. NA. 1.

[149] The inspector general, the highest ranked inspector, was now to have a diploma, expertise in education (at least ten years of educational work) and would supervise the process of inspection throughout the country. There were also secondary and primary divisions of inspection, each headed by an individual who possessed a higher certificate as well as experience in schooling. Specialist inspectors were required to hold higher certificates in the subjects they inspected, although they waived the educational and professional requirements for already appointed inspectors. Specialist inspectors after 1958 were also meant to have worked in education, either as teachers or administrators for at least ten years, or to have graduated from a Teachers College, with more than ten years work in education.

distributed and promoted according to requirements. [150] For teachers, inspectors often represented their main interaction with the authority of the educational bureaucracy. Connecting the teacher with the state of the school (rather than focusing on individual performance) helped redefine teaching as a profession. Instead of creating a better teacher, these reports sought to fashion a better school. The teacher became a cog in the Iraqi educational machine rather than the standard-bearer of Iraqi advancement. He or she would improve educational standards but would not to inspire or go beyond the curriculum.

Similarly, in Palestine during the 1940s, inspectors' reports began to connect teachers' performance to the academic situation of the school, emphasizing their professional connection to education rather than their individual achievements. These reports began to define teachers' as part of a profession, rather than exploring their motivations. Inspectors had always evaluated teachers in Palestine on their character and their performance; for example, inspectors would comment on how well teachers presented class material, how organized their notes were, and how much use they made of the blackboard.[151] In the 1940s, reports expanded to encompass how the school functioned as a whole. These evaluations focused on the "academic state" of the school, evaluating all teachers and all subjects in the same document, urging each teacher to work for the greater good of the school rather than to improve himself or his own qualifications. Out of 402 files of teachers who taught in the 1940s, 104 or approximately 26% had adverse reports on the state of the school, urging teachers and principals to "raise the academic standard" of the school and often the health and cleanliness of its students as well.

The changing ways inspectors reported on teachers lagged behind the more standardized reports on the state of the school that inspectors' would write during the 1940s. This indicates that although the inspectorate began to shift, and to become more professional, the relationship between inspectors and teachers remained one of almost intensely personal surveillance. The leading historian on the educational system in Mandate Palestine claimed that at the beginning of the Mandate period, only one of the four district inspectors had a college degree, whereas by the end of the period, 75% did. [152] Reports throughout the Mandate period often commented on teachers' imagined motivations. [153] These personal connections did not frequently extend to students, as Humphrey Bowman noted in his description of the photograph below:

[150] The Iraq Legal Database, "Niẓām Wizārat Al-Maʿārif. 7,7, 1958. ", The United Nations Development Programme. http://www.iraqld.iq/LoadLawBook.aspx?SP=FREE&SC=120120016618718&Year=1958&PageNum=1. (accessed April 13, 2015).
[151] ISA "Khalaf Sabbagh" 1017 10 M, ISA "Ahmad Subhi Khalifa" 1016 14 M, ISA "Gertrude Nassar" 1012 18 M, ISA "Hilda Nassar" 1010 67 M
[152] Tibawi, 31
[153] See ISA "Ahmad Khalifa" 1020 11 M, Inspectors report march 15, 1922, which notes that "everyone speaks highly" of the teacher, who "does not want to move from Safed" and is a "good example of a young, conscientious Muslim.

"The Inspector of Education and the school kids. How many of our Inspectors develop such genuine companionship?!..." Suhmata, 1932. [154]

In terms of the relationship between teachers and inspectors, there was much more interest, and even competition. For example, in a 1930 report, the inspector argued that one teacher, a Muhammad eff. Subh was "not quite truthful" as he interfered with other teachers, but that he seemed fairly qualified for the teachers' lower certificate exam, although the inspector noted that he could not "understand why" the teacher had not yet attempted the exam. [155] In the early 1930s, the Inspector of Education warned Ibrahim Snobar, then a teacher in Ramleh, that Snobar was now known to the British and was being followed.[156] It seems unlikely that the overtaxed system of education would be tracing this teacher's movements because he gained a promotion within a few years; however, the inspector's warning was given in a personal meeting and interaction, rather than in a professional context. Reports in the 1940s are overall more sedate, although they still contain demonstrate a strong degree of surveillance. For example, an inspectors report in July of 1944 notes that the head teachers' comments on his employee Muhammad Fandi Hammoud should be ignored because the head teacher "holds a grudge". [157]

In Transjordan/Jordan, even more so than in Palestine and Iraq, inspectors' reports became more regular but also more cursory from the 1920s through the 1950s. At least on paper, the scant number of inspectors bore a tremendous amount of responsibility for the functioning of the educational system as a whole. Yet, the overwhelming volume of tasks inspectors were meant to perform contributed towards a standardized method of evaluating teachers and schools. In 1925, Jordan's Government gazette published an overview of the educational system. The position of inspector required reports on numerous topics relating to education, educators, and the system as a whole. Bi-annually, the inspector had to analyze the entire system with an eye to its laws, regulations and syllabus and supervise all of the schools while focusing particularly on health,

[154] Humphrey Bowman. *Suhmata:- The Inspector of Education and the school kids. How many of our Inspectors develop such genuine companionship?!...* MECA. Humphrey Bowman Collection, GB165-0034, Alb3-076, 1932. Suhmata was a village located in Northern Palestine.
[155] February 5, 1930, inspectors report, ISA "Muhammad Assad Subh Nazareth "1014 5 M,
[156]Ibrahim Mahmud Snobar, *Tadhakkurat Ibrahim Snobar*, ed. Ali Jarbawi and Lubná Abd al-Hadi (Bir Zayt: Markaz Dirasat wa-Tawthiq al-Mujtama` al-Filastini, Jami`at Bir Zayt, 1992).16
[157] Inspectors' Report, July 22 1944. "Mahmud Fandi Hammoud" ISA 1040 2 M

discipline, and the competence of each principal and teacher. In addition to inspecting government schools, inspectors had to inspect each private school and to give a bi-annual report regarding new schools. In each report, the inspector had to include the number of inhabitants of each town or village and the number of students who would attend a school near them.

In 1931, Transjordan redefined the work of its inspectors, creating a hierarchy between first and second ranked inspectors. The first inspector was responsible for secondary schools and monitoring the progress of the following subjects: the Arabic language and its literature, religion, history, and geography and the textbooks assigned to for these subjects. The first inspector also oversaw exams, the reports made by principals on their teachers and made sure that the schedule of classes as well as syllabi was adhered to rigorously. The second inspector inspected all schools in the country, public and private, focusing on their academic progress, employees, teachers, and how well they followed educational laws, rules, and regulations. The lesser-ranked inspector was responsible for English and the more technical subjects. Interestingly, it seemed that the regulation of Arabic, History and Geography were more concerning to the government and therefore required an individual with a higher pay grade.[158] By 1945, there were only three top-ranked inspectors.[159]

Inspectors seem to have been overwhelmed by their work, resulting in a lack of time to evaluate students and teachers. In contrast to Palestine, inspectors' reports during the 1940s in Transjordan and Jordan generally consist of lists, the names of students in different classes and their results in particular subjects.[160] Rather than a unique and personalized commentary on each teacher and school, there are only numbers. In longer reports from the 1950s, inspectors focused on the conditions of the school, students, their health, and the building, rather than the teacher.[161] Even in teachers' personnel files, inspectors' reports are a few words at most. By 1953-4, the government appointed more inspectors at an assistant level, in order to deal with the increasing number of schools and pupils.[162] Yet their duties seem to have increased as well; for example, the inspector of education of the district of 'Ajlun spent a good portion of the 1953 and 1954 school years writing letters to leaders of different villages regarding building constructions, or to goad them to create school gardens.[163]

If inspectors raised enough criticisms, issues having to do with students and teachers might eventually reach the top ranks of the bureaucracy. In 1940, the Minister of Education and later six-time prime minister of Jordan, Samer al-Rifai, wrote to the principals and teachers of Jordan, both male and female, regarding adverse inspectors' reports. Al-Rifai complained that some students

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[158] Imārat Sharq al-Urdun, "Waẓā'if Mufattishī Al-Ma'ārif," *al-Jaridah al-rasmiyah*, no. 379 (February 16, 1933). 50-51

[159]They would evaluate both government and non-government schools in their respective districts, as well as two subjects in the secondary schools. Inspectors were required to confirm that schools, students and teachers adhered to education laws and regulations. They also, like their counterparts in Iraq and Palestine, composed reports on teachers and principals; they could recommend that a teacher be appointed, promoted, disciplined or transferred. Matthews et al. 299-300

[160] "Report on the Teacher Yehia al-Shara" (December 21, 1941). Jordan Kerak School Collection, 16/52/8/22. NLJ. "Report" June 13, 1930. 11/21/8/22. NLJ

[161] "Letter from the Inspector of Education of the 'Ajlun district to the Minister of Education. subject: Inspecting the School of Samua' in Ajlun." (November 22, 1950). 12/7/10/22. NLJ.

[162] Jordan, *Al-Taqrir Al-Sanawi 1953-1954 - Wizarat Al-Tarbiyah Wa-Al-Ta`Lim*. 1

[163] In 1953 and 1954, there are at least 20 letters having to do with school gardens in villages. 8/8/22. NLJ. See also "Letter from the Inspector of Education of the 'Ajlun district to the Director of the Mufaraq region. Subject: the Building of the Rahab school." (January 14, 1953), 78/6/10/22. NLJ.

were moving their bodies in "mechanical ways" when they recited their lesson. He specified that students were putting their pencils in their mouths, they whispered the answers to each other, they immediately looked to the teacher when the inspector asked them a question, and some of them not only raised their hands but also waggled their index fingers, even calling out "I know! I speak!"[164] al-Rifai then turned his attention to teachers, noting that many of them taught their students a secret code in order to give the correct answer during an inspector's visit. For example, the teacher would fiddle with his clothes, or nod his head, and then the student would realize that the answer was incorrect. Other teachers were less crafty, simply offering up information to help students along. Al-Rifai castigated teachers for emphasizing memorization, particularly before inspectors' visits, which meant the students might have no idea how to apply grammatical or mathematical rules, but they would have memorized enough formulas and sentences to be able to appear proficient. After al-Rifai's public admonishment of educators, there were no similar critiques. However, inspectors' reports continued in the formulaic way of simply noting the percentage of students who answered questions correctly in particular subjects.

Al-Rifai's discussion of inspectors' reports illustrates the shifting nature of not only who teachers were but also who the government expected them to be during the 1940s and 1950s. As the educational systems gradually became more standardized, educators found the profession of teacher to be a more clearly delineated and limited one. As demonstrated in Jordan in particular, the process towards professionalization was by no means linear. The final three sections will examine educators from each country. These sections argue that teachers' changing demographics and experiences created a new professional cadre. However, this cadre possessed more limited social and political opportunities than its predecessor.

Palestinian Teachers: Portable capital and political repression

Palestinian teachers' situation had begun to improve during the 1940s. After 1948, they faced a totally altered set of circumstances; Palestinian students, teachers, and intellectuals have seldom been analyzed within the more common narratives surrounding Palestinians after 1948. Older narratives concentrated on victimization and after 1967, guerilla resistance. However, immediately after 1948, educated individuals suffered less material deprivations than uneducated Palestinians, generally escaped refugee camps, better integrated themselves into their host societies and were less inclined to participate directly in armed resistance.[165] Scholarship students, teachers and professors still suffered from uncertainty in terms of their employment, lack of citizenship, and their inability to return home to their families that remained in Israel. They also played a key role in the literary and cultural reconfigurations of what it meant to be Palestinian both before and after 1948. These Palestinians could write and organize from the diaspora, in a variety of political and social movements, even as they experienced the consequences of occupation and statelessness across national borders.

Between 1940 and 1948, Palestine's government teachers constituted a new generation of educators. Teachers in the 1940s were more plentiful, younger, and possessed consistent qualifications. Approximately 60% of teachers who taught from 1940-1948, whose files are available, had completed secondary school regardless of whether they were from urban or rural

[164] "Letter from the Minister of Education, Samer al-Rifa'i to the principals of the schools. Subject: the students in the schools." (May 8, 1940.) Miscellaneous Hamad School, Smakieh.7/37/8/22. NLJ.
[165] Emile A. Nakhleh, "The Anatomy of Violence: Theoretical Reflections on Palestinian Resistance," *Middle East Journal* 25, no. 2 (1971). 190

origins. In the 1920s, nearly all secondary school graduates were from urban areas. [166] By the 1940s, villagers impatient with the government's unwillingness to provide sufficient educational facilities and personnel, began to seek out and pay the salaries of local, educated individuals who the government then inspected and regulated as "unclassified teachers." By the 1940s, 72% of teachers hired, were unclassified; villagers paid 38% of the total. [167]

After their defeat, the relatively few Palestinians located in the new state of Israel, suddenly found themselves no longer part of the Arab world. Approximately 160,000 individuals, a scant 11% of the total Palestinian population and 14% of the total Israeli population remained in Israel. These Arab Israelis were subjected to new laws and new definitions of citizenship that sought to minimize the number of non-Jews existing within Israel's borders. [168] The relationship between the different administrative bodies responsible for Arab education was a fraught one, throughout the 1950s. The military government, the Education Ministry's Arab Section, as well as the somewhat powerless Council on Arab Education all had jurisdiction over Arab schooling. [169] The leaders of all of these organizations were Jewish.

Within Israel, and in UNRWA schools throughout the Arab World, wary governments viewed teachers as the potential fifth column of Palestinians, who were viewed as a fifth column in general. In Israel, government agencies monitored teachers' speech and behavior both within and outside the classroom. Any nationalist activity was quickly controlled. Teachers faced a harder position than they had in earlier years, as they were technically part of a state that did not allow for their participation as citizens. They could teach and be paid, but they were subjected to a different set of laws than Jewish Israelis. Moreover, hope of advancement through the civil service to higher posts was dashed with the creation of a Jewish state and government. Teachers' situations and those of their students were precarious; their citizenship was either nonexistent or undefined.

After 1948, beyond Israel's borders, a type of symbiosis was forged for Palestinians; education allowed those without property or other capital to find work. Governments in the Arab world, other than Jordan, prohibited Palestinians from holding immovable property, meaning education was nearly the only path of advancement. [170] Educated Palestinians generally fared better than their uneducated countrymen after 1948, particularly the limited few with advanced credentials, partly because of a continued shortage of educated personnel particularly in Jordan and the newly rich Kuwait. On the other hand, many of these educated individuals came from better financial situations that had allowed them to gain an education in the first place. Their

[166] Miller.328
[167] Ibid. 330

[168] Steven Neil Rousso-Schindler, "Israeli and Palestinian National Narratives: National and Individual Constructions, Social Suffering Narratives, and Everyday Performances." **(**University of Southern California, 2007).62 Gad G. Gilbar, *Population Dilemmas in the Middle East : Essays in Political Demography and Economy* (London: F. Cass, 1997).25 Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (Lishkah ha-merkazit li-statistikah), *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, 64, (2013).,Shira Robinson, *Citizen Strangers : Palestinians and the Birth of Israel's Liberal Settler State* (Palo Alto: Standford UnivPress, 2013). G. Forman and A. Kedar, "From Arab Land to `Israel Lands': The Legal Dispossession of the Palestinians Displaced by Israel in the Wake of 1948," *Environment and planning. D, Society & space.* 22, no. 6 (2004).
[169] Al-Haj.64, Muhammad Amara and Abd el-Rahman Mar`i, *Language Education Policy : The Arab Minority in Israel* (Dordrecht; London: Springer, 2011).27
[170] Philip Mattar, *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians* (New York: Facts on File, 2000)., 138-9,

finances also granted their families the resources to flee the fighting in Palestine when the war broke out. [171]

By 1949, the Palestinian population outside Israel lived mostly in Arab countries, as Palestinians often had family ties to these areas and they were geographically closer. There were 100,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon, 75,000 in Syria, 70,000 in Jordan proper (although the newly annexed West Bank included 720,000 Palestinians), 4,000 in Iraq, 7,000 in Egypt, and 280,000 in the Egyptian-controlled Gaza strip. Jordan was the only state which granted full citizenship to Palestinians. Palestinians in both Gaza and Egypt proper were prohibited from working or gaining citizenship; however, Palestinians who were wealthy and had lived in Egypt before 1948 could gain rights as citizens. [172] In Lebanon, refugees were permitted residency, but few were allowed citizenship, a requirement for access to work permits, health care, and higher education.[173] In Syria, by the early 1950s, Palestinians could work, including working in the civil service. Syria's larger size, and lower unemployment meant it had a greater capacity to absorb refugees; peasants could find employment in agriculture, while educated Palestinians could again work as teachers.[174] In 1953, Iraq allowed Palestinians civil rights, meaning they could work without legal discrimination, but they could not vote.[175]

Mandate Palestine's teachers and former teachers who now found themselves abroad (particularly those at the upper levels of the civil service) experienced an easier but still more complicated reality than Palestine's peasants. On a practical level, they had to gain a livelihood in other countries, often a difficult task, and to try to gain citizenship, which was at times an impossible task. On an existential level, being a Palestinian meant something fundamentally different after 1948. These individuals grappled with statelessness, diaspora, and the need to determine how one's future career would relate to Palestinian nationalism and the now inescapable Palestinian cause.

Rank and file Palestinian teachers taught generations of students abroad, although the level of political engagement they preached varied depending on the individual and the political situation of the country or countries in which they found refuge. Some could not accept or deal with the defeat. For example, Ahmed Samih Khalidi, the former head of the Arab College of Jerusalem, survived only a few years after the Palestinian defeat. His oldest son recalled that his father "was crushed…you could see him dwindle after '48….because everything that he had built and lived for had come crashing about his ears…" [176]

Other Palestinian intellectuals wrestled with the disjuncture between their nationality, their citizenship or lack thereof, and their locale, on a public stage. For example, the career and writings of Abdul Latif Tibawi, a Palestinian intellectual whose work and writings on education in Mandate

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[171] Nabil A. Badran, "The Means of Survival: Education and the Palestinian Community, 1948-1967," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 9, no. 4 (1980). 51

[172] Mattar.53-4, 141

[173] Are Knudsen, "Widening the Protection Gap: The Politics of Citizenship for Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon, 1948-2008," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 22, no. 1 (2009). 4-5

[174] Laurie A. Brand, "Palestinians in Syria : The Politics of Integration," *Middle East journal.* No. 424, (1988). 623-4

[175] Ghada Hashem Talhami, *Palestinian Refugees : Pawns to Political Actors* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003).83

[176] Walid Khalidi. Thames Television Palestine Series Collection. Gb165-0282. Box 1, File 24. (1978) Middle East Centre Archive, St. Antony's College, Oxford. Hereafter MECA. 53

Palestine have become one of historians' main sources for information on this period, illustrate reconfigurations of Palestinian identity for elites abroad. His story shows how well qualified educators could occupy an economically comfortable, but spiritually and politically more difficult place in their adopted societies.

Tibawi, born into a landowning family in Palestine, was educated initially at a village Kuttab. After completing secondary school, he matriculated at the Arab College of Jerusalem at the tender age of 12. [177] He became first a teacher of history in Ramleh, then a personal assistant to the Director of Education, Humphrey Bowman, with the rank of assistant inspector. He became a district inspector in 1936. [178] He acted as a senior examiner in Arabic and history and in 1941 became the chief education officer for the largest educational division in Palestine. [179]

Tibawi's point of view both during and after the British Mandate was fundamentally elitist; he shared many values with those of the British officials with whom Tibawi worked. He was extremely aware of the evolution of both the British colonial system of education and the British perception of its successes and failures. Yet, he agreed with the overall premise that an over-educated unemployed was a greater danger to Palestinian society than an under-educated population. In his evaluation of British Mandate policy regarding education, he asserted "Experience gained in India and Egypt opened the eyes of educational administrators to the futility and dangers, in an underdeveloped country, of a purely academic education which produced more the clerk type than the farmer or artisan.**"** [180] Tibawi accurately classed himself as part of the educational administration. Although he had benefitted from a purely academic education, he preferred that education to remain limited to those he felt were worthy of it.

Tibawi's fear of the production of too many educated individuals resonated particularly well with his own financial situation. To maintain a high standard of living, several Palestinian landowners in the early 1930s found it more profitable to evict peasants from their land and then to sell off portions to the Zionists, after having obtained special permission from the British authorities. Tibawi was authorized by the British administration, through an Arab district officer, to evict his tenants after he declared he needed to "maintain a higher standard of living than did the tenants and that he should not be expected to suffer merely to provide a tenant with a means of living."[181] Even as a Palestinian citizen, Tibawi had had an interest in reinforcing the divide between peasants and a more educated, bureaucratic and, in Tibawi's case, landowning class in order to preserve his own position.[182]

After the end of the Palestinian Mandate, Tibawi had to contend with what his identity as an elite Palestinian abroad meant and to what degree he could be part of the British society he had

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[177] Riadh El-Droubie Mahmud Akhal, "A Biography," in *Arabic and Islamic Garland : Historical, Educational and Literary Papers Presented to Abdul-Latif Tibawi*, ed. Riadh El-Droubie(London: Islamic Cultural Centre, 1977). 11.
[178] *The Palestine Government Gazette* July 30, 1936.
[179] Mahmud Akhal. 13, 15. , *The Palestine Government Gazette* 615. (February 6, 1941). CO 742/13. NA.
[180] A. L. Tibawi, "Primary Education and Social Change in Underdeveloped Areas. (Some of the Lessons of Mandatory Palestine)," *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale de l'Education* 4, no. 4 (1958). 507.
[181] Kenneth W. Stein, "Rural Change and Peasant Destitution: Contributing Causes to the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-1939," in *Peasants and Politics in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Farhad KameziI and John Waterbury(Miami: Florida International University Press, 1991).
[182]Abdul Latif Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine; a Study of Three Decades of British Administration* (London: Luzac, 1956). 205.

admired. Tibawi gained his PhD, and worked at the University of London Education Institute; as he had been studying abroad on scholarship during 1948, he was granted refugee status in the United Kingdom.[183]

Tarif al-Khalidi, a professor of history at the American University of Beirut met Tibawi on several occasions. Jerome Farrell, the former Director of Education in Mandate Palestine also tutored al-Khalidi. Farrell remembered to al-Khalidi that Tibawi had wrestled with how to define himself as an academic in England, noting that he had written to Farrell for advice as to whether he should call himself Abdul or Latif, which Farrell laughed off as "what a stupid request…His name is Abdul Latif." Tibawi was uncertain even of his own name in a British context. Yet, al-Khalidi remembered Tibawi as affecting an incredibly British manner, prim and proper, and that his goal in life was to assimilate, and become a "kind of English gentleman." [184]Tibawi's English life also included marriage to an English Jewess.

Despite his career as a British academic, as he grew older, Tibawi became more and more "embittered" by the continued statelessness of Palestinians, as well as his own allegiance to the British who he had begun to blame wholeheartedly for their support of the Jews and the Palestinian defeat. In Tibawi's analyses of English-Speaking orientalists, he presented his own difficulties reconciling his academic discipline with its prejudice against Islam in particular, which he noted academics and pundits often connected to Arab nationalism.[185] He defended "cultivated and learned Muslims" asserting that Western academics either lauded Muslims as "liberals" if they behaved as Westerners expected them to, or alternatively, derided Muslim intellectuals as "reactionaries" when they did not behave as expected. [186] He also notes that academics of Middle Eastern descent, like himself, struggled "to reconcile academic freedom with the prejudices of certain vested interests. Two of them have bitterly complained, in conversation with the writer, of subtle pressures and even victimization…" [187]

Tibawi's will stipulated awarding a trust for postgraduate study for Palestinians at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. His daughter, Raya Tibawi, was permitted to view all applications.[188] Tibawi's legacy therefore included a combination of support for Palestinians but also for the English education that had allowed him to escape the fate of the majority of his countrymen. His story demonstrates the conflicting pressures facing even successful former Palestinian educators abroad: a suddenly transnational national identity misaligned with hard-won citizenship and prestige.

While Tibawi was one of a very few Palestinians who had a successful career in England, in Jordan, Palestinians' ability to gain citizenship coupled with their greater educational credentials, and bureaucratic experience in comparison to non-Palestinian Jordanians, allowed them to gain posts in the civil service. Yet, the incorporation of educated individuals, who were Jordanian, Palestinian or sometimes in-between, into the government bureaucracy had the effect

[183] "Obituary Dr. Tibawi," *The Islamic Quarterly* XXV/1-2, (1981).
[184] Interview with Tarif al-Khalidi, January 20, 2012.
[185] Abdul Latif Tibawi, *English-Speaking Orientalists : A Critique of Their Approach to Islam and Arab Nationalism* (Geneva: Islamic Centre, 1965).13
[186] Ibid.44
[187] Ibid.65
[188]"Tibawi Trust Award", University of London (School of Oriental and African Studies) https://www.soas.ac.uk/registry/scholarships/tibawi-trust-award.html (accessed April 13, 2015).

of undermining radical political changes. With some disruptions that resulted in crackdowns on educated individuals, Mandate-era politics of incorporation, dependence on foreign aid, and a lack of democratic norms continue into the present day.

Jordanian Teachers and the Perpetuation of Mandate-era Politics

In the 1940s and 1950s, the demographics of teachers in Jordan began to change. Most teachers who taught during these years received their education during the Mandate period. A greater proportion served only one term, rather than moving in and out of educational service, indicating that teaching became more of a profession. [189] Teachers also tended to serve longer terms in the 1940s than in the 1920s: the average length of service for teachers who taught during the 1920s was 11 years, while during the 1940s it increased to 17. Moreover, over half of teachers who served during the 1920s served for two years or less, indicating that teaching was often a stop-gap measure rather than a career. They also tended to resign their posts more frequently; 40% of teachers who began work during the 1920s resigned their posts in the end whereas 30% of teachers who began work in the 1940s did.

Teachers' qualifications improved during this period, although the rank they achieved could be irrelevant to the level of education they had completed. After 1940, 88% of teachers whose degrees were documented had at least a secondary education compared to 75% before 1940. There have been very few studies correlating qualifications with teachers' or government officials' ranks. These figures are not well publicized because during the 1950s, as one ex-minister of education noted, "such a system would reveal that many teachers in the higher salary grades are not as qualified as some of their colleagues in the lower grades, enjoying their rank by virtue of political preferment."[190] In Jordan, some of those who achieved the top ranks in the government bureaucracy had only a high school diploma.[191] From the beginning of the Mandate to the early 1940s, five out of the six individuals who held the highest rank had some college education. However, only one out of the eight who held the second highest rank possessed a college degree, while many of those who held the fourth highest rank shared similar qualifications, if not superior, to those at the second level. [192]

Before the end of the 1940s, educators in Jordan used teaching as a stepping stone to the highest ranks of political office. This meant that many government ministers in Jordan had been former teachers. Their experiences in education had taught them their own importance to the government and also the limits of their capacity and desire to change the way that government worked. For example, Suleiman al-Nabulsi, who taught in Transjordan during the 1930s, eventually worked his way up to Prime Minister. Nabulsi, a 1933 graduate of the American University of Beirut, moved in and out of government favor and government service throughout his life. His career demonstrates the power and autonomy an educated individual could command, the incorporation of a nationalist into government service, and how that incorporation could preclude radical change in governance overall.

[189] All of the following statistics are based on HRD files.
[190] A. Douglas Rugh, "Issues and Trends in Arab Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education* 7, no. 4 (1956).322
[191] Jamil Rashid al-Madfai, Employee Record Number 0000725. HRD. 'Abd al-Karim al-Za'd Ismail al-Rabab, Employe Record Number 0000622. HRD. 'Abdullah Salem al-Madadheh, Employee Record Number 0000615. HRD.
[192] HRD.

Nabulsi's students remembered his nationalism and anti-imperialism, although they noted that it was somewhat nebulous, and by no means anti-government. For example, his student, another prime minister, Haza' al-Majali recalled how Nabulsi inspired students in Kerak, and indeed the town as a whole, to demonstrate against the Balfour declaration. al-Majali mentions that few who joined the protest understood the implications of the Balfour Declaration. According to Majali, while Nabulsi was yelling, in English "Down with the Balfour declaration," the surrounding crowd was shouting "Down with the Balcony!... Down with the one who is upstairs!" as well as "Down with Krikor." Kirkor was actually a local shoemaker that was participating in the demonstration, who in turn yelled "Balfour! O group of Balfour" presumably in an effort to make sure he was not attacked. [193]

Abdul Karim al-Ghariabeh, a former member of the Jordanian senate who attended a government school during the Mandate period, also noted the continuation of this culture of protests, without specific goals, into the 1940s. His recollections express how teachers could promote or at least accept "nationalist" actions, but that they had little effect either on teachers' welfare or on government policies. al-Ghariabeh asserted, "We used to demonstrate and strike and so on about things outside of Jordan. We refuse Balfour Declaration, we refuse Zionism, we refuse the British and the French and the Italians of course." He went on to note that as a child he was firmly anti-imperialist, believing himself to be a Syrian, from *Bilad al-Sham* (greater Syria), singing "*anti Suriya, ya biladi*" (loosely, Syria you are my country) every day.[194] For Gharibeh, demonstrating against imperialism was a part of daily life, but these demonstrations were not really designed to do very much against the Jordanian regime. A Jordanian university professor who also went to school during the Mandate period problematized the idea of nationalist teachers still further. He recalled how, as there were no political parties when he attended school in Kerak under al-Nabulsi, each teacher's nationalism "would manifest in his attention to the reforms of the conduct of the students in both his knowledge and his style."[195] Nationalism in these cases was not primarily based on territory or necessarily political representation; rather nationalism signified knowledge and the ability to command respect from students. Moreover, teachers used that nationalism as a way to improve their students' conduct, not as a means of rebellion.

After his resignation from the Department of Education in 1934, Nabulsi worked as a bank official. He was briefly exiled to the Transjordanian town of Shobeck in 1945 for his protests of that government's giving a mining concession to a Jewish company. The Transjordanian government asserted that this six month exile was because Nabulsi distributed leaflets, sought to "mislead public opinion," and continued despite continued warnings to "broadcast false advertisements in order to promote an unfair and harmful view of Arab interests and Transjordan's reputation."[196] However, almost immediately after this internal exile, from 1946-7, Nabulsi served as Minister of Finance and Economics before again being arrested for opposing Jordan's 1948 treaty with Great Britain.[197] He would go on to serve as foreign minister, ambassador, and Prime

[193] Elie Kedourie, *Arabic Political Memoirs and Other Studies* (London: Cass, 1974). 185
[194] Interviews with Abdul Karim al Gharibeh, April 17 and 18, 2012.
[195] Jami`at Mutah, Lajnat Ihya al-Turath, *Madrasat Al-Karak Al-Thanawiyah : Rihlat Al-Miat `Am* ([Karak]: Jami`at Mutah, Lajnat Ihya al-Turath, 1994).69
[196] "Transjordan", September 9 1945-September 19, 1945. Haifa Municipal Archives (HMA) 15/67, 1-384
[197] Ibid., Betty S. Anderson, *Nationalist Voices in Jordan : The Street and the State* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005). 164

Minister from 1956-7, again foreign minister, put under house arrest, then appointed to the Senate in 1963 and again in 1967.[198]

Nabulsi has been cited as a key figure in Jordan's "liberal experiment," a period of freer elections which took place during the mid-1950s. Historians and political scientists portray 1956 as a watershed in Jordanian political history: the brief culmination of five years of political freedoms under the rule of King Hussein. This period was cut short by the swift defeat of democratic initiatives due to internal conflicts over Jordan's participation in the Baghdad Pact, the role of the monarchy and its dependence on foreign funding paid by the US according to the Eisenhower doctrine. Yet, Nabulsi's career and his political stance spanned this period, indicating political continuity from the end of the Mandate era through the end of the 1960s.

Sulayman al-Nabulsi is the most famous example of a nationalist teacher incorporated into the upper levels of the government bureaucracy. However, his story is by no means unique. Six out of the 17 prime ministers who served in Jordan from 1946-1972 had worked as teachers.[199] Other prominent examples of teachers who became ministers include Abdullah al-Rimawi, a Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, as well as Abdul Qader al-Saleh, Minister of Agriculture.[200]

In Jordan, teachers' incorporation into government service, even at its highest levels, meant they often did not support overthrowing the status quo. Rather they worked to improve the government from within. Moreover, as the population of educated individuals increased, fewer and fewer teachers advanced to upper ranks. Instead, teaching became more professionalized and restricted.

Iraqi Teachers: Mass Education, Professionalization and Mass Protest

By the late 1950s and into the 1960s, teachers in Iraq found their freedom of speech curtailed as their standard of living diminished and their numbers swelled. At least through the late 1930s, as in Jordan, teaching served as a stepping stone to political office. Five prime ministers

[198] Robin Leonard Bidwell, *Dictionary of Modern Arab History : An a to Z of over 2000 Entries from 1798 to the Present Day* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998).292, Majlis al-A'yān al-Urdunī, "Dawlat Suleiman Al-Nabulsi", The Jordanian Senate: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan http://www.senate.jo/en/node/404 (accessed 3/20/3015 2015).

[199] Sulayman Al Nabulsi, Fawzi al Mulqi, Wasfi al-Tall, Abd al-Munim al-Rifai, Ahmad Touqan and Ahmad Lowzi.

[200] Dhuqan al-Hindawi was born in a village near Irbid in 1927, got his masters at the University of Maryland and his Bachelors of Sociology at Cairo University. He worked in the Jordanian government throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Interview with Ali Muhafazah, April 17, 2012. Majlis al-A'yān al-Urdunī, " Ma'ālī Al-Said Dhawqān Hindāwī", The Jordanian Senate: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan http://www.senate.jo/en/node/380 (accessed 3/20/3015 2015); Employee Record Number 0000683. HRD, ve-Afrikah Mekhon Shiloah le-heker ha-Mizrah ha-tikhon, *Middle East Contemporary Survey*, 10, (1986). Jordan, Wizarat al-Tarbiyah wa-al-Ta'lim (Ministry of Education), "Wuzarā Sābiqūn", Ministry of Education http://www.moe.gov.jo/MenuDetails.aspx?MenuID=87 (accessed April 13 2015).
Saif al-Din al-Kilani, a poet, was actually born in Yemen, passed the Palestine Matriculation exam in 1962, taught in Kirkuk for two years, and became the Minister of Reconstruction and Development in 1965, then ambassador to Morocco. Interview with Ali Muhafazah, April 17 2012. Naseer Hasan Aruri, *Jordan: A Study in Political Development (1921-1965)* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972).160. Abdullah al-Rimawi attended the Rashidiyya school in Jerusalem with such luminaries as the author Jabra Ibrahim Jabra. Jabra Ibrahim. *The First Well : A Bethlehem Boyhood*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995. 159, 161. Al-Saleh was born in 1907, worked as a teacher from 1928-1948, who resigned once briefly in 1948, then worked again until 1951 when he resigned his post as a teacher for good. Employee Record Number 0001501. HRD.

out of the 13 that served from the 1950s through 1963 had worked as teachers.[201] With increased numbers, however, teachers came together in an organized union, for the first time in Iraq's history; when their individual bargaining power began to fail, they started to work as a collective. The advent of military dictatorship, and intense crackdowns on political individuals clearly reduced teachers' ability to negotiate with the government at either an individual or collective level.

Although firing of teachers continued to be rare in the 1940s, by the 1950s it seems to have been a far more common occurrence. Reports from the Iraqi Ministry of Education do not always list how many teachers left the profession and why. However, in the 1946-47 school year, out of 172 teachers who left the educational profession, seven were fired while 83 resigned. Of these, only one secondary school teacher was fired, as opposed to 32 teachers at the secondary level who quit their posts. Therefore by a wide margin, the majority of teachers who left the service resigned.[202] In contrast, in the 1953-4 school year report, 158 teachers left the profession, of these 52 resigned and 59 were fired.[203] The change from a larger proportion of teachers being fired rather than leaving of their own accord indicated the changing nature of the profession;

The government also took measures to improve teachers' qualifications. However, the more teachers were qualified, the less valuable these qualifications became. In April 1940, the Iraqi government promulgated a new law requiring that no teacher would be appointed, even to teach primary school, unless they had graduated from a teachers college. However, the law also included the caveat that any secondary school graduate who possessed some teaching experience, and had not already failed a course in pedagogy, could be appointed if there was "urgent need." Similarly, at the intermediate or preparatory level, only teachers who had graduated from the Higher Teachers College were to be allowed to teach.[204]

In 1944, a group of male and female teachers from all levels of schooling in Iraq founded the Iraqi Teachers Association.[205] The goals of the organization indicate how teachers viewed themselves, the state of their profession, and their own relationship to the government. Judging by these goals, teaching was no longer prestigious or highly paid. The association advocated solidarity, improved standards of living, and better professional standards, closer academic and social ties between members and other academic associations. The group also vowed to raise the concerns of teachers, both male and female, to the government while defending their moral and material rights (presumably from that same government). They resolved to set up a fund to take care of members and their families who were in need of assistance, indicating that the government's pension plan was insufficient for many teachers, and their families' needs. [206]

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[201] Mustafa Mahmud el-Umari, who was a teacher from 1919 to 1921 was a prime minister in 1952, Fadil Jamali, Ahmad Mukhtar Baban who worked at the law faculty in Baghdad, and was the prime minister in 1958, Tahir Yahya who worked as a teacher from 1932-3 and graduated from teachers college was prime minister in 1963, and Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr who worked from 1932-38 was the prime minister in 1963 and again in 1968.

[202] Iraq. *Annual report [on] educational statistics 1946-1947 Taqrir al-sanawi, al-ihsa al-tarbawi.* 110

[203] Wizarat al-Ma'arif Iraq, *Annual Report on Educational Statistics 1953-54 Taqrir Al-Sanawi, Al-Ihsa Al-Tarbawi*, (Baghdad: Ministry of Education., 1954).135

[204]"General Education Law No. 57 for 1940." *The Iraq Government Gazette* January 18, 1942. CO 813/17. NA.

[205]Hassan al-Dajili, "Jam'īyat al-Mu'allimīn, (the Teachers' Association)." *al-Mu`allim al-jadid* 8, no. 3 (May, 1944). 271-272 After having achieved a legal quorum they elected the officials of the committee. Its members included many teachers from all ranks, including Teachers' College Graduate Rose Khaddouri among others.

[206] The club was meant to assist members or their families when they are in need of assistance. Anyone working in matters of education, whether they were teachers or those affiliated with the ministry of education, and they just had to request from the secretariat of the committee, with their name, residence and title, and they would have to pay 750

In terms of teaching as a profession, the organization thought that it required improvement. It sought to raise the level of "the profession of education and to spread general culture" by publishing a journal, and by giving lectures to the public. Moreover, the association's definition of profession of education encompassed societal improvements as well; it vowed to help train teachers to eradicate illiteracy and to disseminate health education among the masses of the people in towns, villages, and the countryside. There was also a teachers club located in Baghdad, and they intended to found clubs in other districts as well. The club was meant to be a place to communicate between educators and the ministry of education, indicating that teachers needed a collective front to bring their concerns to the ministry, whereas in earlier years they could simply write a petition.[207]

The Iraqi Government frequently targeted the Iraqi teachers' union, not just because of its general political activity, but mainly because many of its members were assumed (often correctly) to be Communist. In the 1960 teachers' union elections for the General Council, Communists won 453 of 500 seats.[208] Moreover, many teachers were increasingly involved in protests during the late 1940s and 1950s due to the decline in their material standing, and frustration with the government. However, this period of mass education and mass protest was short lived. During the Ba'th regime, the union would become a target for purges and a way of insuring total adherence to Ba'thist doctrine and policy.[209] For Iraqi teachers and students living under the Ba'th regime, autonomy, protest, and negotiation were a thing of the past. Most Iraqis who attended school from the 1960s onward could expect teachers to be arrested arbitrarily, transferred or even disappeared, a trend that escalated during Saddam Hussein's reign.

Conclusion:

By the end of the 1950s, teachers' previous role as intermediaries, and their privileged position vis-à-vis the governments they served, eroded. In this chapter, I have argued that teachers' position began to change as educational standards funding and number of educational facilities and personnel increased. Overall, standardization contributed to an absolute but unevenly distributed decline in teachers' social and material status across the region. Palestinians frequently faced repression, but some educators were able to flourish even as they wrestled with their new identity and status. In Iraq and Jordan, some former teachers gained high positions within the government bureaucracy, while more ordinary teachers saw their salaries and status depleted. However, Iraqi repression and a decrease in teachers' standard of living were far more extreme than that of teachers in Jordan.

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fils, if they were living in Baghdad or its environs. If they were living in Baghdad proper, it seems like they had to pay 3 times. Ibid., 272

[207] Ibid., 272. Basically anyone could be eligible for this association if they worked in educational matters, but they had to pay half a dinar for membership if they lived outside of Baghdad, or one dinar if they were teachers in the secondary schools in Baghdad and its environs. Teachers in the primary schools of Baghdad and its environs had to pay 750 fils with the knowledge that these dues might go up

[208] Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq : A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, Ba`Thists, and Free Officers* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004).934, Malik Mufti, *Sovereign Creations : Pan-Arabism and Political Order in Syria and Iraq* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).128,

[209] Similarly, Jordanian teachers did form a union but had to disband during the mid 1950s when they staged a strike. Rugh, "Issues and Trends in Arab Teacher Education."322

In Iraq, mass education coincided with mass protests, and teachers' unionization. As the status of teachers declined, they faced increased scrutiny, and by the Ba'th period, repression. Iraq, a more populous, richer, and earlier-independent country than Jordan, supported and controlled a more comprehensive educational system, devoting more funding to education in terms of percentage, absolute amount and amount per student. By the 1950s, enrollment in government schools at all levels had increased to the extent that schooling was no longer a limited and elite phenomenon. [210] This expansion undermined the autonomy teachers had enjoyed. The most dramatic increases, particularly in primary education, took place after the 1958 revolution, with full independence from British influence. [211]

In contrast, in Jordan, the move towards standardization and mass education took place on a more limited scale, and at a slower pace. [212] This limitation on the number of teachers and educated individuals, paved the way for social mobility through the 1940s, as individuals used their educational qualifications as a means of rising through the ranks of the government bureaucracy.

The amount of funding, educational institutions, students and teachers in Jordan changed radically not only due to the end of the Mandate but also because of the influx of Palestinians that accompanied the annexation of the West Bank. As the Palestinian population was disproportionately better educated than their Jordanian counterparts, they swelled the numbers of qualified personnel, while heightening expectations and demand for more and better education. During the 1950s and 60s, the Jordanian government expanded education drastically to cope with this larger population and sought to increase the number of government posts available to secondary school graduates. [213] Indeed, the limited number of individuals educated during the Mandate period meant that Jordan's Government in the 1950s was, to a surprising degree, composed of former teachers, both Jordanian and Palestinian. Many of these former educators were well known nationalists during the 1930s and 40s. Segments of the Jordanian government welcomed these individuals warmly, as their presence helped integrate Palestinians into Jordan, although others preferred local, and also tribal figures to gain ascendance. The incorporation of Palestinian and Jordanian rabble rousers from the 1930s and 1940s into the Jordanian government as trophy nationalists sugarcoated the Jordanian government's undemocratic character, as well as its overreliance on foreign support, with a pan-Arabist sheen.

During the end of the Mandate period, Palestine moved towards professionalization and standardization, but British control of funding meant teachers essentially retained their privileged position. From 1940-1948, education expanded at a more rapid rate than it had during the previous

[210] In 1957, when a census was taken, approximately 43% of Iraq's school-age population was enrolled in primary schools; 65% of boys and only 20% of girls. Unesco International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 1958*, vol. XX (Paris; Geneva: Unesco ; International Bureau of Education, 1958).185-186

[211] In the 1940-41 school year there were 90,794 students enrolled in primary school. Matthews et al.142. By 1950-1 there were approximately 200,000 students enrolled in primary school; by 1957-58 this number had increased to over 500,000. However, by 1960-61 this number increased to over 800,000 thousand students. Iraq.13. Illiteracy in 1957 was as high as 91.51% in rural areas, including 91.6% of women. 63.3% of urban Iraqis, and 72.4% of male Iraqis were also illiterate. Rakesh Kumar Ranjan and and Prakash C. Jain, "The Decline of Educaitonal System in Iraq," *Journal of Peace Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (January - June 2009).2

[212] From 1940-1946 the number of teachers barely increased, from 184-199, while the number of pupils actually decreased from 10,150-9,874. There were actually more teachers in private schools (251) than government schools. Matthews et. al. 306-307

[213] Al-Tall. 129-130

years of the Mandate. Despite steady increases in the amount of funding budgeted for education, the percentage of the total budget earmarked for schooling remained consistently low, due to colonial priorities. Over this period, teachers became a larger, and more homogenous group. Access to education, and concurrently the number of schools and government teachers, increased due to a combination of local initiative and government reforms. [214] However, the demand for teachers remained relatively high throughout the Mandate period.

The entire experience of being Palestinian fundamentally changed in 1948, limiting if not erasing the intermediary role teachers had enjoyed. Palestinians who remained in the new state of Israel faced martial law and an intense crackdown on teachers and schools in particular. Moreover, many of the teachers were under or even unqualified to teach as the majority of educated individuals had fled during the war. Even in the UNRWA schools, set up exclusively for Palestinian's benefit, teachers situations deteriorated; they were forced to choose between rations for their families and their work as teachers. In the diaspora, Palestinian educators used their diplomas, certificates, and experience as teachers to survive and frequently to thrive abroad. Many of these individuals enjoyed illustrious careers, studying and teaching while staffing and shaping education systems throughout the world.

For all three regions, the dissolution of the Mandates marked a transition towards more extensive, and more regulated education. For teachers, this transition ironically signified a reduction in their social and economic status, as well as a loss of their power to negotiate, and to some degree, to participate in the governments that employed them. While teaching still offered a measure of social mobility, it no longer meant a foot in the door to high politics. As the profession of teacher became more clearly and exclusively defined, so did the post Mandate governments themselves. In the conclusion, I will explore the political ramifications of these transitions for teachers, and the changing types of nationalism and political affiliations open to them. The flexible nature of educators' employment paralleled the more nebulous nature of nationalism. By the time teachers were locked into a more limited profession, the boundaries of the nation states that employed them and the concepts of nation and political affiliation had also crystallized.

[214] By the end of 1945 there were 1,765 teachers, including 260 supernumerary teachers. Of these only 518 had completed any type of teaching course. Government of Palestine, Department of Education, *Department of Education Annual Report 1945-46*. 6

Conclusion:

"My mum was very keen on our education... I used to explain to her that being a teacher wasn't the best deal at the time, and my mum said how could anyone be more important than a teacher, and I said no mum, of course you can (be more important than a teacher)." [1]

Nadia Hamadan was born in 1974 in Suq al-Shuyukh, in Southwest Iraq. Her father, born in the same region forty years earlier, worked as a teacher until he retired in 1986. He had been unable to complete his BA due to his communist leanings, and was briefly sentenced to two years imprisonment for political activities. Nevertheless, he maintained a post as a teacher and ran a small jewelry business on the side. [2] Nadia's maternal grandmother forced her mother to leave school in order to take care of her younger siblings and help with the housework, a decision Nadia's mother never forgot, particularly as one of her sisters became a teacher.

Nadia's views of teachers' role in society, and her own experience of schooling in Iraq during the 1980s and 1990s differed radically from that of her parents. Nadia's mother respected teaching as a means of social mobility while benefitting society as a whole. During our conversation, Nadia underscored the poor social status of teachers. She also described how her teachers never taught anything beyond the syllabus, that everyone was a member of the Ba'th party, and that school strikes and protests were "no longer possible" after the 1970s. Instead, political individuals were subjected to "kidnapping, disappearing, killing, torture…You wouldn't trust your kids, you wouldn't trust your neighbors, your family, anybody…" After 1987, anyone who did not sign up for Ba'th party membership would lose their jobs and were "most likely to disappear so they had no option." Professors at the University of Baghdad, from which Nadia graduated in 1995, taught from outdated materials while taking on other jobs to make a sufficient living, or fled the country due to sanctions or difficulties with the ruling regime. [3]

In this dissertation, I have argued that teachers were able to play an influential and very different role from the late 19th through the mid-20th century than they could in later years. Successive Ottoman, Mandate and post Mandate governments' need for educated personnel had outweighed either their ability or their desire to produce sufficient teachers to train other government employees. Meanwhile, parents had pinned their hopes on the steady paycheck and social mobility education, teaching, and government employment promised. Teachers were valued enough both by their employers and by the societies they served that they could bargain to better themselves professionally, while exploring the range of political ideologies coursing throughout the region. However, as the story of Nadia's family illustrates, this situation did not last. Nadia grew up in an era when the ruling regime used schooling nation-wide as a means of enforcing

[1] Interview with Nadia Hamadan, February 13 2013.

[2] Hamadan Gattan, Nadia's father, was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment for being part of a political party (which teachers, students and other civil servants were forbidden to do). His sentence was commuted in 1966. "Law No. 1 of 1960 for the Societies" *The Weekly Gazette of the Republic of Iraq* August 23, 1961. 671-672, "Republican Ordinance Issued by the Council of Ministers," *The Weekly Gazette of the Republic of Iraq* May 18, 1966. 13

[3] Denis J. Halliday, "The Impact of the UN Sanctions on the People of Iraq," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28, no. 2 (1999). 33 Nadia's family is currently scattered: she lives in London, having gained British citizenship "by chance and luck." Her parents were granted refugee status and now live in Helsinki, having had to flee first Iraq then Syria due to religious persecution. They are Mandaean, a small ethnoreligious minority.

conformity, discipline and adherence to the party line. Her teachers constituted a professionalized cadre of lower-ranking cadre of civil servants, subject to strict rules and regulations.

This dissertation has explored the impact of both meager and mass education on educators throughout the Middle East. It also points to a need for future research to analyze not only teachers, but also the growth of a transnational cadre of educated individuals from different strata in society, and those individuals' relationship to their governments. Teachers constituted a unique segment of the region's educated populations; they were able to exploit their limited numbers and local demand for schooling to protest, articulate broad notions of nationalism, and to climb the ladder of the government bureaucracy to its highest rungs. Government employed educators fought to modernize themselves and their countrymen, while wrestling with what it meant to be modern and to be educated. Their rare educations also separated them from the bulk of their countrymen, in terms of dress, speech, as well as ideas of religion and politics. For example, the below photograph, although taken and captioned by Humphrey Bowman, then Director of Education in Palestine, shows the teacher in the far left, clearly defined by his modern suit in contrast to the more traditional villagers who, according to Bowman, are amazed by the teacher's modern, agricultural expertise.

"The Mukhtar of the village marvelling at the secrets of a diseased twig, as explained by the teacher. 'Therefore it is not God who is responsible for this mishap!'"[4]

Educators, and their peers, were not only defined by their agricultural knowledge. They also explored notions of nationalism and identity that did not always align with the Mandate, and later national borders, which even today remain unfixed.

Because educators could speak their minds within and beyond the classroom, they changed the content of public education, thereby shaping the conceptions of students as well. Educators at times imparted anti-imperialism along with reading, writing and arithmetic. Singing songs, joining clubs, writing petitions, and marching characterized the school days of teachers and their students alike. Yet, these practices and the lack of equally desirable alternative employers bound both

[4] Humphrey Bowman. *Tyreh:- The Mukhtar of the village marvelling at the secrets of a diseased twig, as explained by the teacher. "Therefore it is not God who is responsible for this mishap!"* Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, UK. Humphrey Bowman Collection, GB165-0034, Alb3-023, 1932.

educators, their most promising pupils, and indeed educated individuals as a whole, tightly to their governments.

Government education meant a government job, and a government job allowed for anti-imperial or even anti-government protests. Therefore, individuals who had completed a relatively greater number of years in school did not seek their governments' overthrow. Teachers in particular simultaneously vocally opposed those governments' imperial nature. This situation rendered the institution of public education a pillar of the state, even as its employees, and often its graduates, were enshrined as nationalists in popular literature and later historical works. Tactics of bargaining and bet hedging also served those who climbed the ranks of the civil service. Resignations, brief punishments and reinstatements characterized educated individuals' interactions with their governments at nearly every level. While these individuals wrote fiery anti-imperial poems, they left the firing of guns to others. I do not argue that this incorporation of educated elites was the most important, or even one of the most important factors in the persistence of dictatorships, monarchies, and ethnically based democracies in the region. However, integrating educated individuals into government institutions had the effect of blunting their resistance to their states, regardless of these governments' colonial or dictatorial nature.

During the course of the 20th century, education became a right rather than a privilege on a global scale. The League of Nations' covenant had no provision for schooling. The Mandate charter for Palestine and Transjordan, as well as the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1922 merely noted that each community should not be prevented from educating its own. While "child welfare" was the responsibility of the international community, education was specifically defined as a national concern. [5]In contrast, Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration for Human Rights, promulgated in 1948, asserted that "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit…"[6] This document was a "program of principles" rather than a binding legal contract. [7] Yet, it demonstrates changing international standards of education, and access to schooling. By the late 1940s, at least in theory, education was meant to be available to all, and its acquisition was no longer to be the purview of a limited elite.

My dissertation has focused on how restricting schooling engendered a particular type of agency on the part of the privileged few who both received an education and taught in the government schools of the Mandates. I have traced how this group leveraged their scarcity, as both teachers and government ministers, shaping the young minds of the region within and beyond the classroom. Their favored status lasted until colonial restrictions on education lessened, and mass education eroded their capacity for bargaining with their governments.

With greater independence from British control, education became available to larger swaths of the population. As teachers became less rare, they gradually lost their ability to negotiate

[5] Gwilym Davies and Council for Education in World Citizenship, *Intellectual Co-Operation between the Two Wars* (London: Council for education in world citizenship, 1943). 12, Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 43, no. 2 (2007). 201, 206

[6] United Nations, "The United Nations and the Human Person : Universal Declaration of Human Rights", United Nations http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/ (2015).

[7] Josef L. Kunz "The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights." *The American Journal of International Law* 43, no. 2 (1949). 318

with the governments that employed them. Standardization of qualifications and conditions of employment professionalized teaching while profoundly limiting these teachers' extracurricular political and cultural activities. In the cases of Iraq and Jordan, the strengthening of ties between the nation state and its educational system actually weakened the links between that system and government employment, reflecting shifts in the practices of governance as well as education. As these regimes devoted more funding and attention to schooling, graduating from a public school could no longer guarantee a job within the bureaucracy. In addition, political upheavals changed the form and content of ideologies open to teachers, and the region's inhabitants overall.

Teachers had been at the forefront of national, intellectual and cultural movements across the region, frequently becoming high-ranking politicians as well. Their literary output reflected both anti-imperial political currents and their incorporation into the state. Palestinian author Jabra Ibrahim Jabra wrote that during his schooldays in the 1930s, his teachers were poets and moderns, inspiring their students against imperialism. [8] Jabra taught in Palestine during the 1940s alongside future government ministers and authors. [9] As a professor in Iraq after the Nakba, Jabra and his Iraqi colleagues would form the nucleus of the free verse movement in Iraqi poetry during the 1940s and early 1950s, rebelling against literary convention. [10] In Jordan, educators combined teaching with poetry, textbook authorship, and stints as government officials. [11] As Jabra noted, during this period, poets and writers had achieved "positions of power and distinction" within their governments, regardless of whether or not they supported their employers. Although Jabra is referring specifically to authors, his argument points to the key role of educated individuals, including teachers. He asserts, "Whether they were with or against authority, it did not basically matter… Those who did not become ministers enjoyed such eminence, political and otherwise, as no poet or prose writer could hope to achieve today." [12]

As their numbers swelled, and the political landscape shifted, teachers could not maintain their semi-elite intellectual and social status, or use teaching as a means of becoming politicians. During the 1970s, Iraq's educational system became one of the most renowned in the Arab World. The Ba'thist state prioritized mass education as a means of "political indoctrination" and "political,

[8] Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, "The Rebels, the Committed, and the Others", Three Continents Press, National Institute for Technology and Liberal Education. http://acc.teachmideast.org/texts.php?module_id=7&reading_id=203 (accessed March 11, 2015 2015).

[9] For example Ahmad Tuqan, Wasfi Anabtawi, and Mustafa Murad al-Dabbagh were all colleagues or teachers of Jabra Ibrahim Jabra, and all went on to become government ministers. Government of Palestine, *Staff List of the Government of Palestine as on the 1st August, 194*5,(Jerusalem: 1945)., Majlis al-Aʿyān al-Urdunī, "Maʿālī Al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṭūqān" http://www.senate.jo/node/336 (accessed March 11, 2015 2015)., "Anabtawi, Wasfi(1903-1984), " PASSIA http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/personalities/alpha_a.htm (accessed March 11, 2015 2015).
Idārat al-mawārid al-basharīyah. Qism al-Arshīf, Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Taʿlīm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah,, (Amman, Jordan: Wizārat at-Tarbiya wa-'t-Taʿlīm, al-Mamlakah al-Urdunīyah al-Hāshimīyah, 2013). (The Human Resources Department, Archive Section, the Ministry of Education of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Hearafter, HRD.) Employee Record Number 0001118. Yahyá Abd al-Rauf Jabr and Abd al-Hadi Jawabirah, *Mawsu`at `Ulama Filastin Wa-a`Yanuha* (Nablus: Jami`at al-Najah al-Wataniyah : Dairat al-Ma`arif al-Filastiniyah, 2010).7

[10] A.J. Allaq, "The Dialogue of Ink, Blood and Water - Higher Education in Iraq, Progress and Problems," in *Higher Education in the Gulf : Problems and Prospects*, ed. Ken E. Shaw(Exeter: Univ. of Exeter Press, 1997). 98

[11] For example Husni Fariz and Mustafa al-Tal were both teachers and poets. Husni Fariz wrote several textbooks used in Jordan from the 1950s through the 1980s such as Husni Fariz, *Tarikh Al-`Abbasiyun Wa-Al-Fatimiyun Lil-Saff Al-Khamis Al-Ibtidai* (Amman: Maktabat al-Istiqlal, 1952) and Husni Farîz, *Stories from the Arab World* (London: Longman, 1978).

[12] Jabra.

economic, and social progress."[13] A government campaign to eradicate illiteracy took on military overtones: technically, Iraqis who were illiterate, and refused to attend classes could be fined or even imprisoned. [14] This expensive and comprehensive campaign, subsidized by Iraq's oil, was quite successful in achieving its goals: literacy rates, particularly among Iraqi women drastically improved. [15]However, for educators the story was not so rosy; within one generation, Iraqi teachers went from being respected intellectuals, able to achieve the highest ranks of the civil service, to simply educators, to selling cigarettes before class to make ends meet. [16]

The case of government employed Jordanian teachers is less extreme than that of their Palestinian or Iraqi counterparts, particularly due to the withholding of civil servants' salaries in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as sanctions against Iraq in the 1980s and 1990s. [17] Yet, the stark contrast between the first half of the 20th century and the decades that followed is clear in all three cases. In Jordan, there was a push for universal primary education during the 1970s; approximately 20% of children aged 0-15 were enrolled in schools in 1960-1, but by 1976-77 that number jumped to nearly 74%. [18] As education became more prevalent, teachers in rural schools in particular complained of their low salaries and poor working conditions. [19] In the present day, the situation does not seem to have improved: Jordanian teachers went on strike in 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2014 calling for higher salaries, a union to represent their needs, better living conditions, the continuation of fuel subsidies, and an improved social status. The government eventually permitted teachers to form a union, but as late as 2014 government teachers complained that their salaries were well below the poverty line. [20] Similarly, in Israel, in 2013 over 15% of public school teachers, including both Jewish and Palestinian Israelis, made less than minimum wage. [21] This degradation in the status of schoolteachers happened even without the feminization of the profession as seen in other countries.

In addition to the decline in their economic and social status, political upheavals during the second part of the 20th century accompanied a new era for educators, intellectuals, and for the varieties of nationalism they preached and practiced. Poets and educators had frequently promoted an anti-imperial nationalism linked to an expansive and nebulous concept of nation, encompassing

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[13] Ba'thists sixth and eighth national congresses, quoted in Christopher J. Lucas. 1981. "Arab Illiteracy and the Mass Literacy Campaign in Iraq". Comparative Education Review. 25, no. 1. 78

[14] Ibid., 82

[15] By 1979, 80% of Iraq's women were literate. Tareq Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael. *Iraq in the Twenty-First Century : Regime Change and the Making of a Failed State*, 2015. 183

[16] Anthony Arnove and Ali Abunimah, *Iraq under Siege : The Deadly Impact of Sanctions and War* (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 2000)., 179

[17] The Israeli government uses the withholding of tax revenue from the Palestinian Authority as a punitive measure, which means government school teachers in both the West Bank and Gaza cannot depend on a regular salary. Moreover, in attempts to undermine Hamas' control of Gaza, the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority refused to pay salaries of teachers and other civil servants hired by that government beginning in 2007.

[18] Ahmad Yousef al-Tall. *Education in Jordan : Being a Survey of the Political, Economic and Social Conditions Affecting the Development of the System of Education in Jordan 1921-1977*. Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1979. 97

[19] Ibid., 132

[20] Khetam Malkawi, "Teachers to Continue Strike Despite Gov't Promises," *The Jordan Times* March 25, 2010., Ali al-Rawashdah, "Teachers in Jordan Continue Strike While Demanding Union Rights," *al-Shorfa* March 23, 2011., Laila Azzeh, "Teachers Extend Strike to Monday," *The Jordan Times* November 18, 2012., Omar Obeidat and Raed Omari, "Teachers' Strike Splits Educators as Students Seen Main Victims," *The Jordan Times* August 18, 2014.

[21] Lior Dattel, "15% of Israeli Teachers Still Earn Less Than Minimum Wage: Teaching Remains One of the Lowest Paid Professions in the Public Sector," *Haaretz* January 6, 2013.

Arabic speakers across the region. Jabra explicitly characterized the period during which educated individuals were incorporated into state service as one of a broad, inclusive, unpolished nationalism completely geared towards getting rid of imperial domination. He wrote, "The oppressor, in the person of a foreign ruler, was very much there, a tempting target. Very few writers would pause to think whether they were of the Right or the Left: the nation, (was) in an almost primordial innocence struggling against a visible and powerful alien ruler…"[22]However, by the late 1940s and 1950s, teachers had not only lost their bargaining power with their employers, but also faced a new political landscape that restricted their political freedom of expression. Hardening of national borders, despite attempts at Arab unity governments, reduced the fluid range of political affiliations formerly open to teachers, students and intellectuals alike. The degree and timing of a narrowed political sphere varied between Iraq, Israel and Jordan. Yet, across the region, broad anti-imperialism gave way to specific, organized political parties. With formal independence or occupation, and the waning of British influence, being a Communist, a Pan-Arabist, an Iraqi or a Palestinian signified something different, more concrete and nearly always with more consequences.

Iraq's succession of military dictatorships, after a brief honeymoon period during the regime of Abdul Karim al-Qasem, became increasingly harsh. Iraqis faced severe punishments for criticizing the government. [23] The definition of an Iraqi narrowed as Iraq's Jews experienced discrimination leading to mass emigrations during the 1950s. [24] In 1968, the Ba'thist state expelled Iraq's remaining Jewish citizens and thousands of Kurds. [25] The freedom of movement and employability educated Iraqis had enjoyed during the Mandate period gradually diminished. By the early 1980s, Iraqis were forbidden to travel outside the country except on government-sanctioned endeavors. [26] Communism in Iraq had shifted from vaguely leftist discussions of social change during the 1920s and 1930s to a well-organized political party during the mid-1940s. During the 1950s, the party faced severe crackdowns due to their role in anti-government protests. After a brief reprieve during al-Qasem's rule, the Ba'thist regime decimated communist and leftist groups. Teachers experienced drastic changes in their professional lives due to the changing political climate. For example, an Iraqi teacher, Dalal, who was in the teachers' union during the 1970s and a Communist, recalled

> When I said I was in the teachers' union, I was approached by a colleague who said all teachers are required to attend a speech directly coming from the Ba'th party every Thursday. All teachers should deliver the content of the speech to all their students even if they are not members of the Ba'th party. I refused and went to the head of the teachers' union. He said: 'I might be able to accept your refusal now, but within one year all teachers should be Ba'thi.'

The government clearly took an increasing interest in the activities and views of its teachers, but one that required a strict party affiliation and constant practicing of a particular notion of nationalism. Dalal had to flee Iraq within the year. [27]

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[22] Jabra.
[23] Brigadier General Qasem's regime offered a window of political freedoms in particular.
[24] Orit Bashkin, *New Babylonians : A History of Jews in Modern Iraq* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).191
[25] Kanan Makiya, *Republic of Fear : The Politics of Modern Iraq* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).100
[26] Bassam Yousif, *Human Development in Iraq : 1950-1990* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012).162
[27] Nadje Sadig al-Ali. *Iraqi Women: Untold Stories from 1948 to the Present*. London: Zed Books, 2008. 119

Like their communist and leftist counterparts, the pan-Arab dreamers of the American University of Beirut saw their ideals and indeed their jobs usurped by rigid ideologies and new political players across the Arab world, although the university itself remained a hub of protest and elite training through the present day. [28]Fadil Jamali, who had been Prime Minister of Iraq during the mid-1950s, and Minister of Foreign Affairs on the eve of the July 14 revolution found himself imprisoned, with his property seized after the overthrow of the monarchy. [29] In his 1962 political memoir, written from exile in Tunis, Jamali lambasted Jamal Abdul Nasser, the Egyptian military leader whose removal of the monarchy had inspired the 1958 coup in Iraq. Jamali condemned Nasser for egoism, "military logic" and being the biggest impediment to Arab Unity.[30] Jamali did not explicitly criticize the various military regimes that succeeded the monarchy. On the other hand, his complaints against Nasser point to both the political differences between pre republican Iraq and Nasser's Egypt, and also Jamali's dissatisfaction with the new faces of pan-Arab and territorial nationalisms. Jamali had been a staunch promoter of pan-Arabism. His memoir is rife with references to his sense of kinship with individuals from across the Arab world. Nasser's pan-Arabism, as opposed to Jamali's, meant nonalignment, social reform, the overthrow of Egypt's monarchy, and the (brief) unification of Arab governments. In Iraq, Ba'thist pan-Arabism, and the overthrow of Iraq's Hashemite monarchy meant a more restrictive, codified, and exclusive notion of being an Iraqi. Moreover, for Jamali, and many other former teachers who had gained ministerial positions under the monarchy, the codification of Ba'thist pan-Arabism, and rigid Iraqi citizenship, accompanied their ouster from power.

In Jordan, although foreign influence remained to a degree much greater than that experienced by Iraq, the perpetuation of Mandate era political strategies within the government did not mean the continuation of overlapping Jordanian and Pan-Arab ideologies that educators had espoused. Through the mid-1950s, government officials, from teachers through ministers, had articulated nebulous pan-Arab and anti-imperial nationalisms in speeches and in the classroom. With the rise of Nasser, the overthrow of the Egyptian and Iraqi monarchies, as well as the cold war, being pan-Arab meant opposing the Jordanian government. Nawwal Hashisho, a Jordanian scholarship student, was briefly fired after her first year as a teacher for what she described as her pan-Arab political views. [31] Hashisho graduated from the University of Baghdad in 1957 at the age of 20. In Iraq, she had mixed with students who belonged to the Communist and Ba'thist parties, of Arab and Kurdish origin. She remembered "this kind of resentment at the regime that was there…and they thought that this was not a just social order…" Although according to the Ministry of Education's records she was fired, Hashisho describes it as the first of two transfers to Tulkarem, in the West Bank. In her account of her first transfer, Hashisho stated it was

> "… known that I had a kind of what, belief in Arab unity and it was the time of Abdul Nasser, Jamal Abdul Nasser and those dreams of having one Arab country. So we were sort of believers in that line of thinking and maybe because I had that

[28] Betty S. Anderson, *The American University of Beirut : Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).,

[29] "3. Notification No. (1) of 1958," *The Weekly Gazette of the Republic of Iraq* January 14, 1959. 21, "Internal Political Situation in Iraq. Fornightly Report from Baghdad, 24th October to 5th November, 1958." November 6, 1958. FO 371/133072. Foreign Office Records, National Archives.

[30] Edmund Ghareeb and Beth Dougherty, *Historical Dictionary of Iraq* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004). 357, Muhammad Fadil Jamali, "Arab Struggle : Experience of Mohammed Fadil Jamali, 1943-1958," (1974). 344, 446, 564

[31] Interview with Nawwal Hashisho, April 23 2012, HRD, Employee Record Number 0009662.

> kind of it reflected on me… because Jordan is small and the schools were only a very small number of schools and we were all known to the minister, to all the people in the ministry. And so it was very easy for the minister to be told that this person is loyal or not loyal depending on what they think who is loyal and the meaning of loyalty, but this was something that was, it was a hot issue at that time, very hot issue. [32]

For Hashisho and her fellow students, Arab unity meant one Arab country, linked to respect for Nasser and the 1952 coup in Egypt. Jordan's Hashemite monarchy feared a similar takeover, therefore Hashisho's political leanings made her dangerous. Despite her transfer, and her political views, she was back on the Ministry's payroll within two years. In 1963, students at her school in Irbid participated in a series of protests, although she could not remember what precisely they were protesting. When Hashisho refused to give up the names of her students who had organized the riots, the government again sent her to Tulkarem. Hashisho recalled with pride that her headmistress in Tulkarem really respected her for having been enough of a rebel to incur a transfer. Yet, as in the Mandate period, the Jordanian government generally did not seek to fire qualified teachers, regardless of their political leanings. Hashisho worked for the Ministry of Education until her retirement in 1988 having achieved the highest rank in the civil service, a rare feat for Jordanian women. [33] Her story traces the changing spectrum of political ideologies in Jordan, but also the perpetuation of Mandate era tactics of administration.

For Palestinians across the Arab world, the codification of political ideologies meant Palestinian nationalism became emblematic of Arab nationalism, but also separate from it. Leaders of Arab countries tended to pay lip service to the Palestinian cause while denying Palestinians' citizenship. [34] The disjuncture between Palestinian nationality and citizenship, or more commonly lack thereof, rendered Palestinians particularly vulnerable to punishments for their political views. [35] Palestinians who had significant educational and bureaucratic experience, whose credentials could guarantee employment in the diaspora, could not count stability even in the most lenient cases.

For example, Ibrahim Snobar and Mustafa Murad al-Dabbagh, two Palestinian educators, found employment at high levels within the Jordanian bureaucracy after 1948. Yet, particularly for al-Dabbagh, politics at the upper echelons of the Jordanian government became more restrictive over time, eventually leading to his ouster from government service. Al-Dabbagh, born around the turn of the 20th century in Jaffa, worked as a teacher and inspector in Palestine from 1920 through the end of the Mandate. [36] From 1935 through 1948, al-Dabbagh was a district inspector, one of the highest posts available to Arab Palestinians in the Department of Education. [37]After 1948, he alternated between Lebanon and Syria, employed as either a government teacher or inspector before becoming the General Director of Education in the West Bank in 1950. In

[32] Interview with Nawwal Hashisho, April 23 2012
[33] HRD, Employee Record Number 0009662
[34] Edward W. Said, "Afterword : The Consequences of 1948 " in *The War for Palestine : Rewriting the History of 1948*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim(New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).209
[35] Lauren E. Banko, "The Invention of Citizenship in Palestine," in *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*, ed. Engin F. Isin and Peter Nyers(Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014).
[36]Government of Palestine., *Government of Palestine Civil Service List 1939 Revised to 1st Janury 1939,*(Jerusalem: 1939).
[37] Ibid.,

1953, he was promoted to assistant secretary of Jordanian education. [38] Similarly, Ibrahim Snobar, who was born in 1900, worked his way up through the Mandate bureaucracy to be an assistant inspector of education by the end of the Mandate. [39] After the war, the Jordanian government immediately employed Snobar as the assistant to the deputy Minister of Education, and as an inspector. [40]

While Snobar sought to impose order on the Jordanian educational system, al-Dabbagh advanced a more radical political program. In his memoirs, Snobar criticized the Jordanian Ministry of Education for its disorganization, and its lack of professionalism. During the early 1950s, Snobar fought within the department to streamline processes of promotion while negotiating personal animosities between different Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Education, including al-Dabbagh. [41] It got so bad that in 1957, under a new Minister of Education, Snobar learned that the government was planning to fire al-Dabbagh due to his "affiliation or inclination" to the Communist party. Snobar asserts that he helped spirit al-Dabbagh and his luggage to Beirut, thereby saving him from arrest. [42] Snobar describes an atmosphere in Jordan of suspicion towards Palestinians, and the late 1950s crackdown on ideologies within the government bureaucracy. Yet, both Snobar and al-Dabbagh managed to put their experience to political and educational use: Snobar became a senator in Jordan by 1962. [43] al-Dabbagh became the Director of Education in Qatar during the 1960s. [44]

More broadly, while teachers' culturally and socially privileged role did not outlast the advent of both mass education and relative independence from British influence, other aspects of Ottoman and Mandate era education remain. In Jordan, Iraq and Israel, an overwhelming emphasis on national examinations left over from the Mandate period characterize government education. In Iraq, despite political turmoil, national examinations functioned as both a tool of social mobility and a way of calling the government to task: criticisms of how many students in various provinces

[38] HRD Employee Record Number 0001118 .. Jabr and Jawabirah.7

[39] Government of Palestine, *Government of Palestine Civil Service List 1939 Revised to 1st Janury 1939*, Government of Palestine, *Staff List of the Government of Palestine as on the 1st Octoebr 1943,* (Jerusalem: 1943). Government of Palestine, *Staff List of the Government of Palestine as on the 1st August, 1945*.

[40] Ibrahim Mahmud Snobar, *Tadhakkurat Ibrahim Snobar*, ed. Ali Jarbawi and Lubná Abd al-Hadi (Bir Zayt: Markaz Dirasat wa-Tawthiq al-Mujtama` al-Filastini, Jami`at Bir Zayt, 1992). 38, Majlis al-A'yān al-Urdunī, "Al-Majālis Al-Sābiqah", The Jordanian Senate: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan http://www.senate.jo/content/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%82%D8%A9 (accessed 3/20/2015)., HRD, Employee Record Number 0001970

[41] Snobar.33

[42] Ibid.38. Other sources do not actually mention this impending arrest. Jabr and Jawabirah. 11-12

[43] Snobar.38, Majlis al-A'yān al-Urdunī, "Al-Majālis Al-Sābiqah", HRD, Employee Record Number 0001970

[44] Nadine Picaudou, "The Historiography of the 1948 Wars" http://www.massviolence.org/The-Historiography-of-the-1948-War (accessed March 20, 2015 2015). Jabr and Jawabirah. 11-12. Al-Dabbagh also was the author of a ten volume history of Palestine, which traced villages back to the pre-biblical era. His book became a staple of Palestinian nationalist histories, particularly "village histories" that relied upon his information to ground their own remembrances in British archaeological discoveries, and Mandate era statistics. Rochelle Davis, *Palestinian Village Histories : Geographies of the Displaced* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011). 69-70

passed the exam were linked to sectarian conflicts. [45] The Mandate-era importance of national examinations, and a culture of nationwide cramming for these exams continues.

In the present day, the *Tawjihi*, or secondary school leaving exam, defines whether or not Jordanian students can attend public universities, and what their majors can be. This exam is hugely important in the lives of most of Jordan's students. The entire country's rhythms are attuned to the exam cycle; parties and celebratory gunfire accompany its results. [46] Currently, the exam is more corrupt than it was during the 1950s and 1960s; certain places are reserved in universities for political favorites, meaning the exam is even more competitive. Wealthier students can opt to go to private universities, or actually pay more in tuition in order to take subjects of their choice, even if their *Tawjihi* scores were insufficient. Two of the professors I interviewed in Jordan in 2012 also claimed that the government's education system had gone downhill since the Mandate era, due to corruption, and a lack of elite selection. [47]

In Israel, despite radical ruptures in administration, territory and demographics since the Mandate period, countrywide examinations continue to act as gatekeepers at the doors of higher education. The Israeli counterpart to the *Tawjihi*, the *Bagrut* similarly defines students' futures, which majors they can choose, and whether they can attend secondary education at all. There have been new initiatives in the 21st century to try to make the exam less geared towards rote memorization, leading to such headlines as "New: Bagrut to require thinking."[48] Moreover, the Israeli system's segregation into Arabic and Hebrew language schools parallels that of the Mandate for Palestine, and indeed Ottoman-era divisions based on language and religion. [49]

Across all three areas, relics from the Mandate system of education endure, despite the remapping and upheavals of the region. The legacies of individual educators are also prominent, particularly those who achieved fame in politics, literature, education, or all three. Government schooling offered an avenue of social mobility that helped forge a region-wide middle class that bridged the boundaries between state and society. [50]However, today, being a government-employed educator means something very different than it had before the advent of mass education in the region. Educators, a specific type of indigenous elite, had been able to turn state institutions to their own ends within imperial, colonial and national contexts. Yet, their ability to do so was contingent upon their scarcity, and in part the lack of professionalization of educators as a group. As mass schooling defined their profession and swelled their ranks, it also limited their upward mobility; one could become a higher- ranked teacher, but not a prime minister. This dissertation has explored a peculiarly unrestricted yet unprofessional moment in the history of government-employed teachers, and their unique relationship to their states and their societies. The stories of these teachers and administrators underscore the importance of local civil servants to the functioning of imperial, colonial and independent governments. Their rebellions from within the

[45] Dirk Adriaensens, "Iraq: Massive Fraud and Corruption in Higher Education," *Brussells Tribunal* 14 September 2009., Translator Sami-Joe Abboud Adnan Abu Zeed, "Bogus University Graduates Clog Iraqi Job Market," *al-monitor* February 24, 2015.
[46] Fida J. Adely, *Gendered Paradoxes : Educating Jordanian Women in Nation, Faith, and Progress* (2012).37-38.
[47] Interview with Ali Muhafaza, April 17, 2012. Interview with Anis al-Qasem, April 15, 2012.
[48] Or Kashti, "New: Bagrut to Require Thinking," *Haaretz* June 4, 2008.
[49] Shlomo Swirski. *Politics and Education in Israel Comparisons with the United States*. New York :; Florence :: Garland Publishing, Incorporated ; Taylor & Francis Group Distributor, 1999. 118.
[50] Keith David Watenpaugh. *Being Modern in the Middle East : Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006.

government bureaucracy demonstrates how government education as an institution can simultaneously shore up and impair the authority of its state.

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