

trusting dialogue with the teacher combines them with distrust of himself, hence to the activities in which he is engaged and in some cases – fear of the teacher. These children are usually closed, vulnerable or conversely indifferent, impervious to the instructions of the teacher, inert. In conversation with the teacher they discover a forced meekness, humility, desire to adapt over the time [cit. 2, p. 8-9].

Detection range of displaying school neuroses is wide enough that is a difficulty in distinguishing clear criteria for their diagnosis. However, our observations and practical experience have allowed to formulate features of school neurosis, in which elementary teachers can diagnose them for early prevention. Among the features of neurosis we highlight the following: the child does not respond to their own name, although hear that its appeal; the child is distracted, does not meet the requirements of the task at the first time; the child forgets the necessary school supplies at home, hides notebooks from parents; is restless – jumps from the seat; tries to make classmates to laugh, encouraging everyone's attention; often changes «pose» («rump»); scratches, rubbing its forehead, head, arms; is afraid to answer at the board; during oral answers in class or during a story about how things in school, its voice changes (becomes hoarse, shrill or even «disappear»); crying, trying to do the job, which it can not afford; refuses to go to school; is countersunk hinders breathing; hand tremor; difficulty breathing, intermittent inhalation and exhalation; chewing nails, hair wound on his finger, plucks any clothing or items; shuffles its feet under the desk during class; becomes angry, throws a pen or other items; beating messes its own and other people's things.

Observations show that if we pay attention to students with symptoms of neurotic reactions in time, increase resistance of adaptive threshold, probably it may stop the psychogenic identity formation. Therefore, comprehensive measures that include early diagnosis of the child, consideration of individual characteristics and features, permanent work with teachers and parents in the school system of psychological services, are extremely necessary for the prevention and correction of «school neurosis».

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"WESTERNIZATION" OF EGYPT: PROBLEMS OF MODERN EGYPTIAN EDUCATION

Abstract: *In this article, the relation between the Westernization experience and the radical Islamists reaction in Egypt is examined. It is argued that it is necessary to focus on the historical imagination of Westernization to understand the Egyptian reaction as manifested in Islamist religious educational discourse. The historical imagination appears to be based on a traumatic experience which was triggered by a traumatic event, namely British colonialism. The religious educational discourse in Egypt, an opportune case to observe radical Islamist response to the trauma experience, is found to be a mediating structure between the*

historical experience and the Islamist reaction. The study indicates that emic categories and societal emotions play a significant role in this mediation.

Key words: Cultural Trauma, Radical Islamism, Religious Education, Westernization, Colonialism, Egypt.

The rise of radical Islamist education in various parts of the Islamic world is often presented as simply a reaction to the impact and experience of Westernization by a wide range of researchers including proponents of political Islam.

The view that there is a straightforward causal link between the experiences of Westernization and the religious reaction is frequently borrowed by other scholars studying the phenomenon. Since the nature of the interaction between Westernization and Islamist reaction, and the mediating structures, agencies, and discourses are thought to be evident, they rarely receive the critical scrutiny they deserve. This article, therefore, aims to problematize the linkage between Westernization and political Islam's challenge through education by pointing to the various ways in which mediating structures, agencies, and discourses have been influential in constituting the Islamist "reaction" [2]. We specifically examine a range of radical Islamistemic categories that play a crucial role in this mediation through the constitutive role they play in shaping the practice, discourse, and agency of radical Islamists in general. Our goal is to demonstrate that the linkage between Westernization and Islamist reaction is not straightforward, and therefore, cannot be taken for granted. In the imagination of Egyptian radical Islamists, the experience of Westernization is associated with the event of British colonialism and the subsequent developments. Islamist reaction to Westernization, however, does not solely target colonialism but also the post-colonial state. According to Keddie, the reason behind this is the fact that "postcolonial states often interfere with all aspects of life more than did colonizers, who were wary about interfering with personal and family arrangements." This, however, does not result in a singular discursive attack of the radical Islamists on the post-colonial state. On the contrary, the post-colonial state is seen as a pawn and manifestation of (neo)colonial domination. Although we agree with Keddie that radical Islamist reaction poses a significant challenge to the post-colonial state, we argue that the scope of radical Islamist imagination and discourse transcends the confines of post-colonial state and encompasses colonialism and the experience of Westernization. In this article, we conceptualize the historical experience of Westernization in Egypt as a "cultural trauma" [1].

He argues that "cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks on their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways." Hence, Alexander considers these remarks on group consciousness and memories conducive to the emergence of particular modes of collectivity, belonging, and political action either at present or in the future. Trauma is created in the imagination through the mediating role of traumatization. While Alexander's approach is based on the dual structure of a traumatizing event and the subsequent imagination, we introduce a tripartite framework based on event, the process of experience, and historical imagination. In our case, we take colonization as the event and the Westernization process of Egypt from the nineteenth century onwards as a traumatic experience in the minds of the radical Islamists. As similar to the trauma of the Holocaust, as discussed by Alexander, the traumatic experience of Westernization is perceived by the radicals "as a fundamental threat to their sense of who they are, where they came from, and where they want to go" [3].

The Muhammad Ali period, which predates British Colonialism, is considered by Egyptians to be the beginning of westernizing reforms in Egypt. Radical Islamists, therefore, perceive Muhammad Ali period to be apart of the traumatizing experience of Westernization. Interestingly, in the Egyptian case, the traumatic experience happens to predate the actual traumatizing event, i.e. British colonization. The ambiguous status of the pre-event experience and the ambivalence of Islamist radicals in Egypt deserve a thorough research and problematization on their own and are beyond the scope of this study.

We argue that the radical Islamists were particularly traumatized by the post-1882 Westernization experience. We are specifically interested in examining the ways in which radical Islamists selectively remember, present, and represent this traumatic experience. We follow Alexander's constructivist position that highlights the crucial role of a traumatizing event that creates a fragmented imagination.

The four emic categories we present in this article were identified to be dominant ones within the religious educational discourse of radical Islamists who were interviewed during a three-month field research between April and July 2005 in Cairo, Egypt. These categories are Western cultural invasion (al ghazo al thakafy al gharby), moral decadence (al en hetat al akhlaqy), ignorance of divine guidance (jahiliyya) and cultural schizophrenia (al shezofrenia al thaqafeya). We specifically prefer to focus on the triad of meanings, motives, and moods since the cultural construction of radical Islamists' trauma process

extends from a traumatizing event that has had a disturbing effect on this triad. In order to study the triad of meanings, motives, and moods, we employ an eclectic perspective that is inspired by Alexander and Geertz. On the one hand, Geertz highlights the link between religious practices and moods and motives by arguing that anthropological study of religion has two dimensions: "an analysis of the system of meanings embodied in the symbols" and "the relating of these systems to socio-structural and psychological processes." It is true that these four types of emotions do not exhaust the range of emotions that radical Islamists feel. It is also true that the emotions that radical Islamists experience are not solely negative ones towards the West. During his rule (1956-1970), Gamal Abdul Nasser overthrew the monarchy which had been complicit under British colonial rule, drove out the last British troops from Egypt, launched modernization and developmental (land and industrial) reforms on the one hand.

These acts of Nasser are eventually taken by the radical Islamists as the hallmarks of an anti-Islamic secularization and Westernization process. In this historical imagination, the Nasser period is represented not as an era of national independence and non-alignment, but as the continuation of anti-Islamic, colonial, and alien hegemony. After Nasser, Anwar al-Sadat and Husnu Mubarak are considered to be the pawns of colonial Western powers. Sadat's open-door policies (1970-1981), peace process with Israel at Camp David in 1978-1979, and Mubarak's economic liberalization policies (1981-) are claimed to have allied Egypt with the West, and turned the country into a servant of neo-colonial Western hegemony. According to this traumatic experience, the colonial conditions still continue to exist in the post-colonial era in Egypt. We think that Egyptian radical Islamists depict the continuation of colonialism as a never-ending threat. We deal with this perceived constant threat in terms of the sense of being threatened in connection with the Westernization experience of Egypt. Radical Islamist discourse on education highlights education and culture as the backbone of the Egyptian Muslim society, and asserts them as one of the primary targets of the never-ending "colonial" threat. Suleiman Abd Rabou Muhammad, for example, argues that although the Egyptian public schools incorporate religious education, they are "non-productive, and... can not constitute a strong defensive line that would protect children from deviation and non-Islamic behaviors." This inevitably leads to, what is depicted in the radical Islamist discourse, an Egyptian society that is ignorant, religiously deviant, morally decadent, and in lack of a coherent identity. This is the context in which the idea that the Egyptian society should be more Islamic becomes a strong and popular public discourse. Most of our interviewees claim that the Egyptian educational system should be more Islamic. Contemporary radical Islamist discourse perceives Westernization process as an invasion of the Muslim world, i.e. an attack to the integrity of ummah, because it brought about the domination of Western culture which is seen as inimical to Islam by the radicals [5].

In this way, one of our interviewees, a pioneer Islamist and a professor at Cairo University commented that the Egyptian educational system "has been invaded by Western thought, values, and methodologies." During our conversation, she was eager to emphasize her strong reaction to Western culture, its educational concepts, and methods. She said that: "We want an educational system which is peculiar to Islam, but the current Egyptian educational system is under the influence of anti-Islamic and Western methods and ideas. We should do away with this Western educational system and establish a Muslim paradigm to create a genuine educational system which is convenient to Islamic principles." One of the prominent Islamist intellectuals, Abdel-Haleem Mahmud, similarly asks the following question: "Does the West (Europe and America) want to keep exporting these sins to the Muslim world, especially to Egypt, which is considered as its heart?"

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