Teaching Journalism In A Changing Islamic Nation

This paper describes the structure of the government, education system and media in one of the most technologically-advanced Islamic nations, the United Arab Emirates. It outlines the huge growth in technology and media there, and discusses UAE news values relative to Western news values in the context of issues of freedom of expression. This paper questions whether it is possible to apply Western notions to the practice or the teaching of journalism in this country.

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The UAE is a relatively young country. The seven emirates or kingdoms that constitute the UAE became a nation in December 1971 after gaining independence from the United Kingdom. The UAE occupies about 83,000 sq km – roughly four-fifths the size of Tasmania. Most of the population of about 2.4 million live in the cities, which have the same name as the individual emirates, because 97 per cent of the country is desert. The UAE is consequently forced to import most of its needs. Included in this population of 2.4 million are about 1.6 million from the Indian subcontinent (about 63 per cent) and another half a million Arabs from neighboring Gulf nations (about 20 per cent). Some commentators suggest that Emiratis or nationals represent less than 15 per cent of the population. It is difficult to know because these statistics are classified as a "state secret". Nevertheless, a tiny core of nationals hold almost all the power and money (Badran 2001).

An *emir* is a ruler of an extended family group. The UAE is based on the notion of a united group of Arab leaders and their families. Initially the country was intended to contain neighbouring Oman, Bahrain, Qatar and Yemen but differences of opinion meant that they did not join the seven emirates that became the UAE. All these nations are members of the League of Arab States, often called the Arab League. The UAE's Federal Supreme Council, made up of the rulers of the seven emirates,

elects the country's president and vice president from among its members to serve for a five-year term, which is renewable. To put it into an Australian context, it is the equivalent to the heads of the nation's seven most powerful and prestigious families choosing the country's ruler from among their ranks.

Shaikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, ruler of Abu Dhabi, has been president since independence on 2 December 1971. Nationals revere him. His image appears everywhere – on posters and buildings, beside highways, even as screensavers and on the cases of students' laptops. The ruler of Dubai, Shaikh Maktoum bin Rashid Al Maktoum, has been deputy president and prime minister since 1990. He replaced his father, who died after holding the position since independence. The UAE's president appoints the prime minister and deputy prime minister. The Federal Supreme Council is the highest constitutional authority in the country. It establishes general policies and sanctions federal legislation. The rulers of Abu Dhabi and Dubai – the two richest and most powerful emirates – also have effective veto power in this council. They are the de facto power brokers in the country. The president also appoints a Council of Ministers or Cabinet. These men come from the major families. The names of the six families who make up the Federal Supreme Council (two brothers rule neighbouring emirates) – Nahyan, Maktoum, Mu'alla, Qasimi, Nuaimi and Sharqi – appear 14 times in the list of 21 cabinet ministers (UAE Yearbook 2001: 76-77). They control all of the important institutions in the country, such as the banks and media. The Federal Supreme Council also appoints a 40-seat Federal National Council. This latter council reviews legislation, but cannot change or veto it. For a Westerner, it seems very different to the Westminster or Congressional systems.

Education In the UAE

The UAE conducts a census every decade. The most recent, in 1995, classified almost 80 per cent of the population older than 15 as literate. This literacy level is a vast improvement on a generation earlier, when perhaps 50 per cent could read and write. The country's president, Shaikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahayan, after whom Zayed University is named, has instigated heavy investment in tertiary education since the mid 1990s. The University of Sharjah opened in 1997, along with separate Higher Colleges of Technology for women and men in each of the seven emirates. Zayed University opened in 1998. The budget for Zayed University in 2001 was $A110 million for just over 2,000 students. While the need to duplicate services on two campuses does increase costs, a simplistic process of dividing the budget by the number of students shows a figure of about $A50,000 per student,

compared with about $A2,000 per full-time student at my former university in Australia.

The university system aims to prepare nationals for the information technology environment. Only Emiratis are allowed to attend federally-funded universities. Tuition and textbooks are free. Unfortunately, much of the high school education in the UAE does not prepare many students for the IT age. Much learning is conducted by rote. Students sit in rows and memorise long passages from selected books (Williams 1998: 81). Teaching at the primary and high school levels is not respected as a profession. Teachers' salaries are low and schools report difficulties in recruiting good people. A beginning primary teacher typically earns about $A16,500 a year, rising to $A46,000 for a head teacher. This should be read against an environment in which standards of living have risen sharply in the past decade. Incomes vary hugely. Maids and construction works earn $A4,000 to $A5,000 a year, though employers provide accommodation. Most journalists come from India and Pakistan and start on about $A23,500 a year.

However, salaries for Western-educated expatriate professionals start at about $A80,000, plus a range of benefits such as free schooling for children, free accommodation, one month's salary as bonus at the end of each year and return annual airfare, plus in some cases a new car. The wealth of some of the shaikhs is difficult to comprehend. The BBC quoted Forbes magazine which reported that, despite lowered oil prices and political tensions in the region, the ruling families of the two richest emirates, Dubai and Abu Dhabi, ranked in the top 10 richest families in the world (BBC Online 1999).

Media In The UAE

The UAE has eight satellite-delivered television channels plus about 30 terrestrial or free-to-air channels. Because of the country's size, it is easy to receive free-to-air broadcasts from neighboring cities. The monopoly telecoms provider, *Etisalat,* provides a digital cable network known as e-vision that offers a basic service of 63 channels: 16 in English, 28 in Arabic, 16 in Hindi, two in French and one in German for $A25 a month. The UAE has five Arabic-language and three English-language dailies and just over 160 magazines and journals.

The Emirates news agency, WAM, provides news and features to radio and TV stations as well as local newspapers. WAM delivers news in Arabic and English from 8am until 1am, although on special occasions transmission times are extended. It has news exchange agreements with more than 20 Arab countries. WAM employs about 180 people inside the UAE, and has 15 reporters outside the country. WAM's headquarters are in the capital, Abu

Dhabi. It has offices in all the other emirates plus bureaus in the cities that WAM regards as important for newsgathering: Cairo, Beirut, Rabat, Riyadh, Damascus, Sana'a, Algeria, Jerusalem, London, Paris, Islamabad, Tehran, Washington and New York.

WAM is an arm of the ministry of information and culture. Television also comes under the wing of the government. Shaikh Zayed, the president, issued a federal decree in January 1999 establishing *Emirates Media Incorporated* (EMI) as an "independent" body to replace all existing broadcast services. EMI is also attached to the Ministry of Information and Culture. It controls three of the country's eight TV channels and six of the radio stations. It also publishes one of the five Arabic-language dailies, *Al Ittihad* (UAE Yearbook 2001: 233). The corporation, based in Abu Dhabi, is run by a board of nine directors – all nationals – with the minister of information and culture, Shaikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan, as chair. In Australia, this would be tantamount to the prime minister appointing his son as minister for broadcasting and making him chairman of the ABC and some of the commercial networks. Strong links are also apparent in the print media. Business people with links to the ruling families own or control most of the newspapers. Obaid Humaid Al Tayer, managing director of the premier English-language daily, the *Gulf News*, is president of Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry and a brother of Ahmed Humaid Al Tayer, the Minister of Communications.

Dubai as media and technology hub

Dubai Media City (DMC) is part of a government-sponsored free-trade zone that aims to make Dubai a media and technology hub for the region. DMC and Dubai Internet City (DIC) sit next to each other on 500 acres hectares of landscaped grounds. DMC cost about $A1.6b, while DIC cost about $A1.4b. DMC chief executive officer Saeed Al Muntafiq noted that DMC's closeness to Dubai Internet City helps it achieve synergy. "The whole city is wired with fibre optic links. So in terms of creating content digitally, manipulating it digitally, post-producing it digitally, that's really where our focus is. With that in mind, we already have 150,000 square feet of production studios." In relation to news values, Al Muntafiq said DMC had established four no-go areas: "No pornography, no broadcasters owned by political parties, no preaching of religion other than Islam, and no defamatory content. We're going after the entertainment, variety, and leisure category of broadcasters, not the political aspect. We're a commercial organization and believe that's where the money is, and don't want to get involved in the other side (Transnational Broadcasting

Studies 2001).

DMC and DIC officially opened in January 2001. They are designed to attract international organizations and to help make Dubai the technology and media centre of the Arab world. News organisations are increasingly aware of the Gulf and Middle East regions as a source of news and revenue. *Reuters* has based its Middle East headquarters at DMC, and the world's biggest Arabic broadcaster, Middle East Broadcasting, moves from London to DMC later in 2002. DIC has attracted Microsoft, Compaq and a host of other software and hardware companies. In February 2002, CNN International launched an Arabic language web site, *CNNArabic.com,* and its fifth Middle East newsgathering bureau at Dubai Media City. The project is driven by the prospect of rich advertising from the region.

Said Nigel Pritchard, CNN vice-president of public relations in Atlanta, when the service was first announced in September 2001: "CNN supports new ideas like Dubai Media City which fits CNN's [idea of] freedom of expression. Dubai Media City is also expected to become a major player in the Middle East and is a base for advertising agencies going around media organizations." Pritchard also said CNN was looking to establish Hindi- language and Hebrew-language web sites. CNN was also involved with the Israeli tender to launch a 24-hour news service in English and Arabic (Owais 2001: 26). The eventual clash that occurs between companies like CNN, with their Western news values, and Arab governments that control the media will be interesting to watch and a source of future research.

The Internet in the UAE

The Internet is used as much for commerce as for communication. On 25 October 2001, the Crown Prince of Dubai and UAE Defence Minister General Shaikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, launched the Dubai e-government portal. This linked all 24 government departments and was intended to reduce bureaucracy and increase efficiency (Al Rostamani 2001: 1). The UAE is the most wired nation in the Arab world, though this world represents only 2 per cent of total number of connections.

A study conducted by Emirates Internet and Multimedia (EIM), the UAE's monopoly Internet service provider and part of the telecoms monopoly *Etisalat,* showed that it had a customer base of about 250,000 people – roughly a quarter of all Internet users in the Arab world. EIM claims the number of actual users in the UAE is about 775,000 because of the large numbers of people

in each household. This figure may be optimistic. While most Emiratis live in extended households, they represent only a small proportion of the population. Many expatriate households are small.

As mentioned earlier, a huge number of Asian workers arrive without families, and the ratio of men to women in the country is 7:3 (Al Rostamani 2001: 8). EIM said that 30 per cent of the 565,000 households in the UAE had access to the Internet. On the business front, 45 per cent of businesses had access. "Consumers in the UAE are spending less time on traditional media and more time on the Internet," EIM said. When the Internet was introduced in 1995, EIM had about 2,550 subscribers.

A breakdown of users reflects the population base: Asians account for 51 per cent, followed by expatriate Arabs (19 per cent), nationals (10 per cent) and Westerners (4 per cent). The research also claimed that 36 per cent of Internet subscribers were female. Many of these people are students because of the high numbers of women who receive free access to tertiary education (Anonymous 2001 and WAM 2001: 29).

Technology, the media and rumours

Most people in the UAE get their news by talking and listening rather than reading. Mobile phone penetration is one of the highest in the world: The country has about 1.7 million mobile phone users, about 50 per cent of the population because many people own more than one mobile (WAM 2001: 29). Much of the network is provided by *Thuraya,* a satellite launched in October 2000 that offers voice, data, facsimile, SMS and location determination (GPS) on one handset (UAE Handbook 2001: 193-4). Daily newspaper readership is low, with perhaps one person in 16 reading either an English or Arabic paper each day. Audience research data for broadcasters is not reliable, and what is available is not recent. The executive news producer of the Business Channel in Dubai complained that he had no audience data. "We're firing blind" (Gilchrist 2001). Most people get their news from television, gossip and their mobile phones.

Unfortunately, with constant re-telling gossip often soon becomes fact. Some examples of gossip from my students, after the September 11 attacks in New York and Washington, reflected the dangers of constant re-telling. A so-called news item gets told and re-told, often in translation from more than one other language, and then misinterpreted along the way. People also add their version, through the prism of their values, beliefs and background – a classic example of "Chinese whispers". One student told me, angrily, about the $US43 million that George W

Bush had personally given to the Taliban – clear proof, she said, that Bush was a hypocrite. The reality: In March 2001 the US Congress, as part of a world-wide campaign to eradicate heroin, voted to give $US43 million to Afghanistan in return for its eradicating poppy plantations used to make opium.

Another rumour had the Israeli government telling 4,000 Jews not to go to work in the World Trade Centre the morning of September 11. The evidence appeared to be the small number of Jews among about 2,800 dead in New York. That news item circulated on local Arabic radio and my students spread it via email and short messaging services (SMS). The original story may have came from a Beirut-based satellite news service. It was picked up by English-language news agencies who reported it as a rumour. But it was re-reported as fact by Arabic radio stations who re-translated the story into Arabic and other languages. Another example of "Chinese whispers".

The *Siliconalleydaily.com* email newsletter may have come up with an explanation of the origins of that story. It reported on 28 September 2001 that the FBI had been investigating email messages sent between employees of an Israeli SMS company, *Odigo,* between Israel and New York a few hours before the attacks. Alexander Diamandis, vice president of marketing, would not comment on what was said in the messages though he did say they were vague. The company skipped its usual confidentiality rules and located the sender's address. US officials later interviewed some of Odigo's 65 employees but no one was charged. Odigo moved its headquarters to New York from Israel in January 2000 (Siliconalleydaily.com 2001).

SMS, or short messaging service, has huge potential for creating rumours. An example concerning fast-food giant McDonald's shows the power of SMS. A text message circulating in the UAE in August and September 2001 claimed the company was giving money to Israel. Sent in English and Arabic, it read: "McDonald's restaurant will give its Saturday income to occupational authority Israel weekly to help them against Palestinians." The story rated a lot of media coverage at the time and sales at McDonald's dipped. The story was absurd. About 30 per cent of the company's shareholders worldwide are Muslim, and in the UAE McDonald's is "100 per cent locally owned" (Langley 2001: 2).

SMS services are predicted to grow worldwide by 156 per cent in the next two years to 7.8 billion messages by the year 2004, despite an overall decline in the youth demographic (Wireless World Forum 2002). The Internet introduces a new factor into the media equation. It crosses international boundaries and provides ways to circumvent state control of media. The director of the

Institute of Modern Media in Israel, Daoud Kuttab, noted that even if governments ban a critical report, it can still be published on the Internet. Kuttab has set up a web site, the *Arab Media Internet Network* (www.amin.org). It pools the international coverage of several Middle Eastern dailies, and gives people the chance to read criticism of their own governments (Kuttab 2001).

Freedom of expression

Shaikh Hasher Maktoum, director of the Dubai Information Department, told a press conference at Zayed Centre for Co-ordination and Follow-up on 23 October 2001 that Article 30 of the country's Constitution "guaranteed and safeguarded" freedom of expression. But he also noted that a press law regulated the profession. "Press regulations are not meant to curtail freedom of speech but [are] rather aimed at regulating operations of the press." Shaikh Hasher noted that journalists were expected to exercise their freedom not to politicise society but to focus on issues such as education, health and economy. "If journalists operate within regulations, there should be no qualms or problems," he told reporters (Al Bakry 2001: 3). What this means, in effect, is that journalists are expected to appreciate the environment in which they must work. Most exercise self-censorship. Certain topics are never reported. These include stories mentioning sex, any criticism of the ruling families, stories that could be seen to promote drugs in a positive light and anything about homosexuality or sexual difference. *Gulf News* reported in February 2002 that 5,000 women had been deported the previous year for "immoral reasons" but at no point was the word prostitute used. The paper also failed to include any background material, such as the fact that the male:female ratio in the emirate is 7:3 – a reflection of the thousands of men – single or married but without their families – who come from the Indian subcontinent to work.

The UAE government's web site also says that it is UAE policy to "encourage a free press" while noting the press is subject to "normal constraints underpinning the spiritual, moral and political integrity of the country and its people". These constraints cover the story topics mentioned in the previous paragraph. The web site then concludes: "As a result [of government policy], the country's mass media enjoys substantial freedom. This has been emphasized by the recent call made by the Minister of Information and Culture, Shaikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan, to those working in the media, specially journalists, to "discharge their duties without fear or favor, reminding them that journalism is about seeking the truth, while at the same time correcting mistakes or helping to avoid them" (see http://www.uae.gov.ae).

Teaching journalism in the UAE

Teaching journalism presents its own difficulties and challenges because of the unique nature of the media in the UAE, and its growth in the region. Zayed University opened in 1998 and offered its first journalism courses in 2000 after students left the two-year preparatory program to enter their major. It will produce its first graduates in June 2002. The university's web site says Zayed University was founded to prepare leaders for the country:

"They will confront a rapidly changing, information and technology-driven world that will defy certain prediction. They will need tolerance for ambiguity and the capacity to adapt to changing circumstances. They must be able to set goals and manage complex, difficult pathways to success. They must be able to use sophisticated technologies to communicate, learn and solve problems. They will need to function effectively in the multicultural environments of the global society. They will need to develop the personal strength and self-confidence to persist to success. And to assure long-lasting achievement, they must have the will to critically reflect on life experiences, and on social and civic life around them, with an abiding commitment to learn, to behave responsibly and ethically, and to influence others to do the same. … Students learn through a constructive process that encourages them to develop understanding, not just to accept information. They are encouraged to take increasing responsibility for their own learning, to become active participants and leaders in the learning community, to apply their knowledge in real-world contexts, and to master the art of learning from self-reflection." (2001)

Dr Hanif Qasimi, Zayed University's president, told the university's convocation in August 2001 that while a student at UAE University, the country's oldest university (established in 1977), he was never asked his opinion of anything. In other words, he said, he was not encouraged to think. "Zayed University students will be different," he said (personal observation 2001). Interestingly, all text books used at the university must be approved by a committee. Books cannot offend Islamic values, so they must not contain nudity, references to sex or material the committee considers "un-Islamic". Again, the potential clashes of values that come about as Zayed graduates enter the workforce will be fascinating. If they ask questions, and "not just to accept information" they will face all sorts of challenges. It is against this background that we discuss teaching journalism via the medium of the student newspaper, *The Pioneers.*

Working with student journalists

The Pioneers operates as a training newspaper. Students in the journalism and new technologies major taking COM328 (newspaper editing and production) produce two editions of the tabloid-size newspaper as part of the assessment for their course. About 16 students are broken into groups of four and each group is responsible for a page. The paper is produced on four G4 Macintosh computers using Quark XPress and Adobe PhotoShop. Stories are written and edited in Microsoft Word before being placed on the page. Students take analog and digital photographs, the latter with Sony Mavica and Nikon CoolPix cameras. Analog images are scanned and all photographs are cropped in PhotoShop. Pages are assembled and proofed before being sent on Zip disk to the printers. About 5,000 copies of *The Pioneers* are distributed to both campuses and throughout the country.

Students are assessed on practical and creative aspects of journalism. Did they gather stories and photographs for their page on time? Were pages designed in Quark on deadline? Students' creativity is assessed as excellent, good, satisfactory or developing. The last option allows for re-submission, although the best available mark for a re-submit is a C. (The university follows an American assessment method.) The assessment asks whether students scanned and cropped photos well, wrote effective and accurate captions, edited text accurately, wrote accurate and effective headlines and designed pages effectively. Excellent work with almost no mistakes receives an A. Good work with fewer than five mistakes gets a B. Satisfactory or acceptable work but more than 6 mistakes receives a C. And developing work, with more than 10 mistakes on the page, must be re-submitted.

Debate and discussion during the semester is a key part of the learning process. The newspaper advisers (two academics who had previously been journalists) produce a story list for each edition, which students add to and delete from at the first production meeting for each edition. Students decide which stories will be used and where they will go in the paper. Reaction to the events of September 11 provided an excellent example of this debate. Students initially did not want to write about the attacks because they, more than anyone else, knew more about local news values than their advisers.

"We don't want to get into trouble," one said.

But after more than an hour of discussion, they decided the story had to be covered. In the end, they produced a front-page lead describing staff and student reaction, a page 2 editorial on America's options, and a short piece on the back page about the

three minutes of silence held at the university to mark the deaths of more than 5,000 people.

Differences in news values

Based on their exposure to domestic news values and the way they revere their leaders, students bring a different perspective to the concept of news values as outlined in the West by writers such as Hurst and White (1998). *The Gulf News* is one of the most highly-regarded dailies in the country. Like all of the daily newspapers, it always has a photograph of at least one prominent sheikh at the top of its front page each day, along with a story from the news agency, WAM. Here is an example of how news values reflect the reverence for authority: On 11 November 2001 the first *Ibda'a* student media awards were presented to seven young people from India, South Africa and the UAE at Dubai Media City. (*Ibda'a* is Arabic for creativity). The awards are an attempt to generate creativity in the country. The UAE's rulers have realized that the country has excellent infrastructure and can attract highly-skilled technicians from the Indian subcontinent. But the country lacks a key ingredient: creative content for the media. Dubai's Crown Prince, Shaikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, aims to make Dubai a "knowledge economy" within the next few years. He came up with the idea for DMC and DIC. Policies and processes such as the Ibda'a media awards, DMC, DIC and a group of new universities have been established to try to foster creative content.

The awards attracted more than 1,000 entries from 12 countries. A panel of 12 judges chose seven winners from 47 finalists. The event received national television and newspaper coverage, partly because senior media executives were members of the judging panel but also because the event featured prominent shaikhs. Coverage of the event focused almost entirely on the shaikhs presenting the awards, rather than the seven winners and their achievements. *The Gulf News* reports, for example, led with a report of the Minister of Information and Culture, Shaikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan, presenting the awards (Owais 2001: 30). Of the four photographs accompanying a series of reports occupying a full page, three featured the shaikh. The fourth was an example of one of the awards. The one photograph that showed the seven winners (with the shaikh in the foreground) was so small that each winner's face was no larger than a five-cent coin. The two Emirati women who received awards wore the traditional *burqua,* or face-mask, and the *abaya,* the black full-length cloak that most families require their wives or daughters to wear. One may be tempted to ask what sort of advertisement these images – broadcast internationally from the awards – presented of a country that

maintains that women are equal with men.

Shaikha Fatma bint Mubarak, wife of President Zayed, organised a conference on women and the media in February 2002. Several papers at the conference considered the theme of the representation of women in the media, and the need to avoid stereotypes. Because of the shaikha's position, *The Gulf News* covered the conference extensively and focused on the papers covering representation of women. The stories filled three quarters of a broadsheet page. The remaining quarter was a full-colour advertisement for the Dubai Tennis Open. Most of the advertisment was a picture of Anna Kournikova in a provocative outfit, below the headline *"The power. The tennis. The women"*.

The Insh'Allah of deadlines

For Muslims, life is pre-ordained by Allah. *Insh'Allah* literally means "the will of Allah" but it is also held to mean "as Allah wills it". Many of my students pray four or five times a day, and ask to be excused from class to do so. For them, Allah determines their life. For others who are not so faithful, Allah provides an excuse for turning in copy late. My experience of setting deadlines for the first edition of The Pioneers demonstrated this latter concept. We discussed the stories each student would do, and negotiated the deadline date. *"Insh'Allah,"* they replied. I took little notice of the phrase until the day copy was due. Nothing arrived from three of the four groups. When I asked the three late groups, they replied: *"Insh'Allah."* In effect, they turned in the copy when they felt like it, or when they found time. They similarly designed their pages to some deadline that only they were privy to. Those three groups received a C for their first edition. At some universities in the UAE, a C is perceived to be as bad as a fail because it means loss of face with parents and relatives. Loss of face is extremely significant in the Arab world (Williams 1998: 81). We sat down later that month to negotiate the next deadline for copy and page proofs. The same three groups were late. When asked why, their response was the same: *"Insh'Allah."* Most received the same grade as before.

Despite the rapid and significant changes that have occurred in the UAE in the past decade, Islam remains a fundamental part of the students' way of life. When Islamic values conflict with Western values, the former tend to dominate. Western ideals of freedom of expression and Western journalistic concepts of news values do not easily translate to the UAE. Reverence for their leaders and an inability or unwillingness to challenge authority is reflected in the attitudes and values of students. It is difficult,

though not impossible, to get UAE journalism students to comprehend those ideals and concepts. But it takes time.

Conclusion

With time, things may change. It may take a couple of generations. For now, much of the country's media remains little more than a showpiece for the ruling families or business interests. Graduating students will confront a rapidly-changing world driven by information and technology. As the Zayed University home page says, this new world "will defy certain prediction". But if the country is to evolve and take its place in a Western or globalised economy, then the UAE's leaders and potential leaders (its university graduates) will need to embrace Western values of freedom of expression and transparency of process (Friedman 2001). Journalism teachers will need to work even harder to inculcate those concepts. But in the end these concepts will probably be tempered by Islamic values.

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