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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN QATAR, 1950 - 1977

WITH AN ANALYSIS OF SOME EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

by

ABDULLA JUMA AL-KOBAISI

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July, 1979.

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ABSTRACT

Prior to the production of oil in Qatar in 1950, education was mostly restricted to kuttab schools. Since 1954, the expansion of modern education has occurred on a large scale. This thesis attempts to cover the development of the educational system in Qatar during the last two decades, from 1950 to 1977, and to analyse the main problems.

The thesis is organized into nine chapters. Chapter I describes the geographical and social setting, and gives a broad idea of the current economic and social development of Qatar society. Chapter II is mainly concerned with the expansion and development of formal and non-formal education. In this chapter the development of syllabuses and textbooks is fully described; also the kuttab system is fully illustrated, as an educational historical background. Chapter III deals with the development of administrative organization and the educational budget. From 1954 to 1964, six Directors of Education rapidly succeeded each other, the cause and the circumstances of that unstable period are fully analysed. Chapter IV briefly describes the lack of educational strategy. Also this chapter serves as a link between Chapters II and III and Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII. Chapter V analyses curriculum efficiency, the syllabuses and timetable organization and the methods of evaluation. The general aim of education and student trends in science and the literary stream are also examined. Chapter VI deals with the proportion of Qatari and non-Qatari teachers, their qualifications and the kind of in-service programme which has been offered. Also, the factors which have affected teacher status are fully examined. Chapter VII describes and analyses school building in Qatar, and devotes special emphasis to school size and distribution in Doha zone. Chapter VIII fully analyses the pupil and student drop-out and repeat rate and its impact on various educational areas, in addition to analysing obstacles facing any improvement of educational quality. Chapter IX concludes this study with suggestions and recommendations concerning educational quality.

Dedicated to my children:

Hamad, Muhammad, Rana and Hayyfa

CONTENTS

							Page
Abstract							
List of Figures	..	..	..	..	..	..
List of Tables	..	..	..	..	..	..
List of Appendices	..	..	..	..	..	..
Abbreviations	..	..	..	..	..	..
Acknowledgements	..	..	..	..	..	..
Preface	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chapter I.	Qatar: Geographical and Social Background				..		1
	A. Geographical Setting			..	..	..	3
	A.1 Main Natural Economic Resources						4
	A.2 Population			..	..	..	5
	A.3 Economic Activities				..	..	8
	A.4 Distribution of Population and Economically Active Population in Main Towns and Villages					..	11
	B. Social Development			..	..	..	12
	B.1 Pre-oil Period			..	..	..	13
	B.2 Pre-oil Traditional Society in Transition			..	..	..	20
	References	..	..	..	..	..	27
Chapter II.	Development of Education in Qatar				..	..	31
	A. Historical Background: Traditional Education						31
	A.1 Kuttab Schools			..	..	..	31
	A.2 Post-kuttab Education				..	..	34
	A.3 Transformation from Kuttab Education to Semi-modern Education					..	36
	B. Development of a Modern Educational System: 1954-1977			..	..	..	39
	B.1 Primary School Expansion in Doha and the villages				..	..	39

		Page
	B. 2 Educational Ladder with the Types of Education	44
	B. 3 The Expansion of General Preparatory and General Secondary Education ..	46
	B. 4 The Development of Syllabuses and Textbooks	49
	B. 5 Development of Technical and Vocational Education	65
	B. 6 Adult and Illiteracy Education. Vocational Training and Career Development Centre and Non- Government Schools	88
	References	109
Chapter III.	Development of Administrative Organization and Educational Budget	118
	A. Administrative Organization	118
	A. 1 Unstable Period, 1954-1964 ..	118
	A. 2 Strengthening of the System, 1964-1976	128
	A. 3 Administrative System	131
	A. 4 Girls' Schools Administrative System	133
	A. 5 Development of Personnel ..	133
	B. Educational Budget	136
	References	142
Chapter IV.	Lack of Educational Strategy	145
	References	150
Chapter V.	Curriculum Problems: Syllabuses, Timetable Organization, and Method of Evaluation	152
	A. Syllabus and Timetable Organization ..	155
	B. Method of Evaluation	166
	References	172

		Page
Chapter VI.	Problems of Teachers	176
A.	Lack of Qatari Teachers	176
B.	Lack of Qualified Teachers	185
C.	Lack of In-service Training	192
D.	Some Factors Influencing the Status of Teachers	198
E.1	The Female Teachers	202
E.2	The Male Teachers	202
	References	208
Chapter VII.	School Buildings Problem	211
A.	School Buildings in the Doha Zone	212
	A.1 School building: general shape and contents	212
	A.2 School building: the classroom, its equipment and organisation	214
	A.3 School building: size	214
	A.4 School building: shortage	216
	A.5 School building: distribution and transport problems	221
B.	Village Schools	224
C.	New School Projects: Trend of Size, Facilities and Equipment	227
	References	233
Chapter VIII.	Internal Quality of the Educational System	236
A.	Drop-out Rate	240
	A.1 Drop-out rate in the primary school	240
	A.2 Drop-out rate in General, Technical and Vocational Schools	242
B.	Repeat Rate	246
	B.1 Repeat rate in primary schools	246

	Page
C.	Repeat Impact on Some Educational Areas .. 251
C.1	Repeat impact on the educational ladder 251
C.2	Repeat impact on the educational budget 255
C.3	Repeat impact on the delay in producing qualified manpower .. 255
D.	Some Obstacles Facing the Improvement of Educational Quality 257
D.1	Political and Religious Influences .. . 257
D.2	Lack of expenditure on qualitative educational plans 258
D.3	Lack of both planning and executive bodies 258
	References 260
Chapter IX.	Conclusion: A Call for Comprehensive Reconsideration of the Role of the Educational System 265
A.	Toward Qualitative Development 269
A.1	Administrators 269
A.2	Curriculum Change 270
A.3	Establishing an encouraging educational Environment 270
A.4	Teachers 270
A.5	Towards a balance between the centralized administrative educational system and the need for an efficient administrative autonomy within the schools 271
A.6	Towards a small size of Primary School 272
A.7	Reforming the examination system 274
	References 277
Appendices	.. .. . 278
Bibliography	.. .. . 298

LIST OF FIGURES

Following Page:

Chapter I.

Fig. 1.1	The location of Qatar	3
Fig. 1.2	Distribution of main towns, harbours and paved roads	12

Chapter II.

Fig. 2.1	The location of the first three school buildings in Doha in 1954, 1956, and 1960 ..	37
Fig. 2.2	Development of Pupils and Students in two decades 1957-58 to 1977-78	50
Fig. 2.3	Development of teachers in two decades 1957-58 to 1977-78	50
Fig. 2.4	Development of schools in two decades 1957-58 to 1977-78	50
Fig. 2.5	Indicates the growth of general secondary education and technical and vocational education (secondary stage) for boys from 1966/67 to 1976/77	65
Fig. 2.6	The pattern of enrolment of Qatari and non-Qatari students in the Religious Institute from 1965/66 to 1974/75	70
Fig. 2.7	Shows the third grade students of the male Teacher Training Institute in 1976/77 ..	81
Fig. 2.8	The pattern of enrolment of Qatari and non-Qatari in the Commercial Secondary School from 1966/67 to 1974/75	85

Chapter III.

Fig. 3.1	Distribution of educational zones by location, schools and primary schools population in 1976 to 1977.	132
----------	--	-----

Chapter V.

Fig. 5.1	Comparison between enrolment of Qatari and non-Qatari boy students in both the Science and the Literary stream of Second Grade, from 1967/68 to 1977/78	164
Fig. 5.2	Shows the third grade students at general secondary school sitting their public examination	169

Chapter VII.

Fig. 7.1	Standard Primary School in Abu-Dhabi and Kuwait, 1977	232
Fig. 7.2	Standard Primary School in Abu-Dhabi and Kuwait, 1977	232
Fig. 7.3	Science Laboratories for Secondary School in Abu-Dhabi, 1977	232
Fig. 7.4	Shows Primary Classroom in Abu-Dhabi, 1977	232
Fig. 7.5	Standard school, first floor	212
	Standard school, ground floor	212
Fig. 7.6	General view of Qatar school in Doha zone	212
Fig. 7.7	Standard school, Site Plan	212
Fig. 7.8	Qatari School: First Grade Primary Classroom, 1976/77	214
Fig. 7.9	Qatari Primary School: Classroom Organization in Doha, 1976/77	214
Fig. 7.10	Primary Classrooms in Doha 1976/77	214
Fig. 7.11	External view of Qatari School, 1976/77 General Preparatory School	216
Fig. 7.12	External view of Qatari School, 1976/77 Primary School	216
Fig. 7.13	External view of Qatari Schools, 1976/77	232
Fig. 7.14	External view of Qatari School, 1976/77 Girls School	232
Fig. 7.15	School distribution in Doha Zone 1976/77	222
Fig. 7.16	Village School	225
Fig. 7.17	First and Second Grades in Village Primary School	225
Fig. 7.18	Shows Co-education in Village Primary School	225

Following page:

Chapter VIII.

Fig. 8.1	Comparison of the drop-out trend between Qatari Boys and Girls in General Preparatory and Secondary Schools by percentage from 1967/68 to 1977/78 ..	243
----------	--	-----

Chapter IX.

Fig. 9.1	A comparison between the development of educational capital and current expenditure in Q.R. Millions from 1957 to 1978 ..	276
----------	---	-----

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>Page</u>
Chapter I.		
Table 1.1	Proportion of Oil Revenue out of the total Public State Revenue from 1953/55 to 1977	4
Table 1.2	Qatar population distributed by age, sex and nationality in 1970	6
Table 1.3	Trend of manpower immigration toward Qatar, 1970 to 1974, by number and nationality	7
Table 1.4	Development of current and capital state expenditure in 1953-55 and 1966-70, 1972, 1975 and 1977	8
Table 1.5	Distribution of economically active population by nationality, level of education and economic sector in 1970	10
Chapter II.		
Table 2.1	Well-known Kuttabs in Qatar	32
Table 2.2	Some Qatari Graduates from Madrasah Shaikh al-Mani'	35
Table 2.3	Names and nationalities of the Headmasters who ran the first semi-modern primary school in Doha from 1950 to 1954	37
Table 2.4	Shows the names of the schools in Doha Zone in 1956 and 1957	39
Table 2.5	Development of Primary Education in Doha Zone in 1956/57, 1964/65 and 1976/77 by sex	40
Table 2.6	Shows the development of village education from 1956/57, 1964/65 and 1976/77 ..	42
Table 2.7	Growth of primary, general preparatory and general secondary enrolment by sex and nationality in the academic years 1965/66, 1969/70, 1973/74 and 1976/77	48
Table 2.8	Distribution of Nationalities of pupils and students in primary, general preparatory and general secondary Qatari schools in 1976/77	50
Table 2.9	Syllabus which applied in Qatari schools from 1954 to 1957 by weekly lessons and stages	52

	<u>Page</u>
Table 2.10 Primary school syllabus in 1962/63 by weekly lessons	55
Table 2.11 General Preparatory syllabus in 1962/63 by weekly lessons and sexes ..	55
Table 2.12 General secondary school syllabus in 1962/63 by weekly lessons and sections. Boys only	56
Table 2.13 Primary school syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons and sexes	59
Table 2.14 General preparatory school syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons and sexes ..	60
Table 2.15 General secondary school syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lesson and sexes ..	61
Table 2.16 Primary school syllabus in 1976/77 by weekly lessons and sexes	62
Table 2.17 General preparatory school syllabus in 1976/77 by weekly lessons and sexes ..	63
Table 2.18 General secondary school syllabus in 1976/77 by weekly lesson and sexes ..	64
Table 1.19 Religious Institute: Preparatory syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons ..	68
Table 2.20 Religious Institute: Secondary syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons ..	69
Table 2.21 Distribution of Nationalities of students in R. I. in 1974/75	71
Table 2.22 Industrial School: Preparatory syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons ..	75
Table 2.23 Industrial School: Secondary Syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons	76
Table 2.24 Shows the distribution of the I. S. students on various specializations - 1976/77 ..	77
Table 2.25 Teacher Training Institute syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons	80
Table 2.26 Shows the enrolment trend in both male T. T. I. and female T. T. I. in 1969/70, 1972/73, 1976/77 and 1977/78 ..	83

	<u>Page</u>
Table 2.27 Commercial school syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons	85
Table 2.28 Shows the proportion of Qatari enrolment in the technical and vocational schools, secondary stage, in comparison with Qatari enrolment in the general secondary stage for both sexes in four different years	86
Table 2.29 Growth of adult evening education by stage and nationality, 1963/64 - 1974/75 ..	91
Table 2.30 Distribution of adult education by staff, school and level in 1973/74	94
Table 2.31 Enrolment in Illiteracy Eradication Schools 1966/67 to 1974/75	95
Table 2.32 A comparison between the old and the new system, by years 1974/75	98
Table 2.33 Shows the output of the R. T. C. from regular courses held between December 1970 and November 1973 by nationalities and field of training	103
Table 2.34 Enrolment in the non-government schools by level of education at three different periods	107
 Chapter III.	
Table 3.1 Name, Period of Time and Nationality of the Directors of Education who succeeded each other during 1954 to 1964	121
Table 3.2 Development in numbers of employees in both kinds of school and in departments and sections within the Ministry of Education by sexes	134
Table 3.3 Allocation of the Educational Budget of the Department of Education in 1954 and 1955 Current expenditure only	138
Table 3.4 Growth of the Education Budget, 1953/54 - 1974/75	140
Table 3.5 Allocation of the educational budget-in 1976/77 - current and capital expenditure	141
 Chapter V.	
Table 5.1 Shows the development of science and literary students, in general secondary schools,	165

Chapter VI.

Table 6.1	Distribution of teachers, by nationalities and sex, in primary, preparatory and secondary 1977/78	177
Table 6.2	Comparison between Qatari and non-Qatari teachers, by level of school, number, percentage and sex, at three different periods of time	179
Table 6.3	Numbers of additional teachers required annually for primary, preparatory and secondary schools, by sexes from 1975/76 to 1979/80	183
Table 6.4	New student enrolment into the two T. T. colleges from 1973/74 to 1976/77, by sex and nationality	184
Table 6.5	Distribution of non-Qatari teachers according to their sort of contract, by numbers and percentage from 1963/64 and 1974/75, male and female teachers	189
Table 6.6	Distribution of primary school teachers, by nationality and qualifications - 1963/64 - 1974/75	190
Table 6.7	Distribution of preparatory and secondary school teachers, by nationality and qualification 1968/69 - 1974/75	191
Table 6.8	Primary, preparatory and secondary teachers enrolled into the In-service training programme held under the T. T. college supervision in 1974/75, by numbers, nationality and sex	194
Table 6.9	Basic salary for primary, preparatory and secondary school teachers of Qatari schools in 1974/75	205
Table 6.10	Monthly allowances made to Qatari and non-Qatari teachers in 1974/75, according to their basic salaries	206

Chapter VII.

Table 7.1	Sizes of primary, general preparatory and general secondary boys' schools in the Doha zone in 1965/66 and 1974/75	231
Table 7.2	Sizes of primary, general preparatory and general secondary girls' schools in the Doha zone in 1965/66 and 1974/75	232

	Page
Table 7.3	Primary school organization in England and Wales (1970) 215
Table 7.4	Expansion of both schools and classrooms in comparison with the growth in pupil and student numbers between 1965/66 and 1974/75 217
Table 7.5	Village schools classified on their capacity 1974/75 224
Table 7.6	Village Schools classified by their level 1974/75 225
 Chapter VIII	
Table 8.1	Distribution of Qatari population aged from less than 1 year to 6 years in April/May 1970, both sexes 237
Table 8.2	Pupil enrolment in the first grade of primary school from September 1970 to September 1976, by age and sex, Qatari only 238
Table 8.3	Drop-out Rate in Primary School from 1973/64 to 1976/77 239
Table 8.4	Categories of drop-out pupils under Grade 1, Grades 2 - 4 and Grades 5 - 6, in four different periods of time. 240
Table 8.5	Proportion of Qataris dropping out from both general preparatory and general secondary schools from 1967/68 to 1976/77 .. 243
Table 8.6	Repeat rate in primary schools, by grade and sex in 1965/66, 1970/71 and 1976/77 246
Table 8.7	Number and percentage of primary pupils who had graduated, repeated and dropped out after six years, from a total of 918 pupils who entered school in 1967/68 in both Doha and the villages 249
Table 8.8	Productivity assessment of boy students who entered preparatory and secondary schools in 1970/71 and graduated within three years without repetition 250
Table 8.9	General examination results in three different years 251
Table 8.10	A comparison between pupils and students whose age was compatible with their grade and those whose age was above their grade age in 1963/64 and 1976/77 253

LIST OF APPENDICES

		<u>Page</u>
Chapter II.		
App. 2.1	Development of Boys' Education by Level from 1951/52 to 1977/78	278
App. 2.2	Development of Girls' Education by Level from 1956/57 to 1977/78	279
App. 2.3	Expansion of Education in Qatar between the 1950s and early 1960s	280
Chapter III.		
App. 3.1	Development of Administrative Structure from 1964 to 1973	283
Chapter VIII.		
App. 8.1	Drop-out Rate in Primary School from 1963/64 to 1976/77	285
App. 8.2	Drop-out Rate in General Preparatory School from 1967/68 to 1976/77 ..	286
App. 8.3	Drop-out Rate in General Secondary School, both sections, from 1967/68 to 1976/77,	287
App. 8.4	Drop-out Rate in Technical and Vocational Schools from 1972/73 - 1976/77 ..	288
App. 8.5	Pass rate in the General Examination for the Primary School Certificate ..	289
App. 8.6	Pass rate in the General Examination for the General Preparatory School Certificate	290
App. 8.7	Pass rate in the General Examination for the General Secondary School Certificate	291
App. 8.8	Pass rate in the General Examination for the T. T. I. Certificate	292
App. 8.9	Pass rate in the General Examination for the R. I. , I. S. , and Com. S. Certificate	293
App. 8.10	Age Distribution in Boys' Primary Schools	294

		<u>Page</u>
App. 8. 11	Age Distribution in Girls' Primary Schools	295
App. 8. 12	Age Distribution in Boys' General Preparatory and General Secondary Schools ..	296
App. 8. 13	Age Distribution in Girls' General Preparatory and General Secondary Schools ..	297

ABBREVIATIONS

B	Boy
G	Girl
M	Male
F	Female
T	Total
T. T. I.	Teacher Training Institute
T. T.	Teacher Training
N. G. S.	Non-government School
Mn. Ed. Q.	Ministry of Education, Qatar.
Tech.	Technical
Voc.	Vocational
Gen.	General
Sec.	Secondary
Ed.	Education
Q.	Qatar
R. T. C.	Regional Training Centre.

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PREFACE

The intention of this thesis is to assess the development of the educational system in Qatar from 1950 to 1977, and to analyse the main educational problems which influence the development of educational quality. The study deliberately focuses on the actual educational practice within the schools and attempts to consider the underlying political, social and educational elements which often make for serious difficulties in the way of the satisfactory attainment of publicly stated objectives. The ultimate objective of this thesis lies beyond the discussion of the more immediate kinds of educational problem; it is concerned ultimately to encourage the planners to devise serious and relevant ways of developing a better educational system, able to meet the country's social and economic needs.

The thesis analyses problems facing the educational system in five educational areas. These deal with the lack of educational strategy, the curriculum, the teachers, the school buildings and the drop-out and repeat rate. As a means of presentation, each educational area has been organized into a separate chapter, but the whole is considered in an integrated manner. This work is presented in Chapters IV to VIII. Chapter II and Chapter III cover the purpose of educational development and serve as a necessary background to the analysis of educational problems in the following chapters. Chapter I provides the reader with a broad idea of the society in which the educational system operates and is assessed.

In general the present educational system has developed through three main stages. The first one lasted from 1954 to 1964; in this, primary education was spread all over the country, and the form of administrative organization was established in Doha. In addition, this stage was marked by major difficulties.

Apart from the constantly changing choice of textbooks and syllabuses, the administrative system was unstable as a result of internal and external political circumstances. It is worthwhile to mention here that most of the teachers and directors recruited from Northern Arab countries during that period were distinguished and ambitious men. Some of them occupied leading positions in their own countries; in particular, Abdulla Abd al-Daim, a well known educationist, became a Minister of Information and Education in Syria in the 1960s, Mahmud al-Aiubi was Prime Minister in Syria, Mahmud al-Maghribi, Prime Minister in Libya and then Libyan Ambassador in Britain. Mustafa Murad al-Dabbagh was a well known historian. Muhammad Murri was a Director of the Documentation Centre in Abu Dhabi, and Aiz al-Ddin Abraham acted as cultural advisor for Shaikh Zaid, the Head of State of the United Arab Emirates. In addition, many Palestinian teachers held leading posts in the Palestine Liberation organization. However Qatar, as an oil producing country, was under British control at that time and this made for great difficulties for such Arab teachers in developing and guiding the educational system. This difficulty interacted with internal political conflicts within the Ruling family which latterly focused on the Ministry of Education as a potential source of political power. In Chapter III this crucial period is fully described.

The second stage lasted from 1965 to 1972; in this the educational system became more stable, secondary education for both sexes was expanded and the Ministry of Education was occupied in composing its own textbooks, syllabuses and school regulations.

The third stage covers the remaining period of the 1970s. At this time, the Ministry of Education became anxious about educational quality. Also this stage is characterized by the establishment of the two faculties of education for men and women (in 1973) which were then developed and converted into a university in 1977. In this thesis we have made little mention about Qatar

University because of its very recent establishment.

Boys' and girls' education in Qatar, from primary to university level, is organized separately in independent school buildings. The boys are taught by male teachers and the girls by female teachers, except at university level where teaching is carried on by male and female teachers. Teaching in Qatar is almost all carried out by teachers from various other Arab countries.

Chapter VI gives full details about the number and the nationalities of teachers in Qatar.

An examination has been made of the Ministry of Education's regulations, circulars, decrees and documentation, issued between 1954 and 1977, in order to find out if there is any kind of short term or long term plan for developing educational quality. The result seems to be that education development is mostly a matter of day to day decisions. There might have been some justification for lack of planning during the period between 1954 and 1964, in which the administrative system was unstable because of the rapid succession of six Directors of Education, but the following period was characterized by considerable administrative stability and a relatively large school population, and at that time, there could be no reasonable justification for lack of planning. However, the lack of planning which has characterized the last two decades has made for serious weakness in educational quality in Qatar and has resulted in great difficulties and challenge in the research process.

In order to draw a clear picture of education in Qatar, an investigation has been made of the available material issued by the Ministry of Education from 1954 to 1977, as well as of other material issued by different Government bodies in Qatar. Interviews were had with teachers, headmasters, inspectors, senior staff in the Ministry of Education headquarters and in other government departments, as well as with other experienced people on different occasions

during the field work. There was also personal observation made in boys' schools in Doha and the villages in 1975, 1977 and 1978. Three periods of field work were completed. The first in 1975 for three months comprised visits to Qatar, Beirut (UNESCO Regional Centre for Education in the Arab Countries), Cairo (the Arab League Educational Cultural and Scientific Organization). The second one in 1977 for three months consisted of visits to Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain and Abu Dhabi. In Kuwait the writer attended a seminar about primary education in the Gulf States organized by the Kuwaiti teachers' society, "Jam'iah al-Mucalimin". The third period in 1978, for one month was a visit to Qatar and the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. Interviews held during the field work are mentioned in chapter references and are not included in the bibliography.

As a result of paucity of academic research studies into education in Qatar, this thesis is mainly based on primary sources in both Arabic and English. Titles of Arabic sources are translated into English and distinguished from original English sources by the letter (A). The transliteration used in this thesis follows the method generally used in the School of Oriental Studies at Durham. However, when an Arabic word or name has a form which has been commonly accepted in English it has been used without change. Also, names of Arabic authors writing in English are quoted in the form used in the English sources. Fatha takes a and Dammah takes u, Shaddih Ukarat al-Harf. Ias takes i and not y.

Finally it is hoped that this study will encourage researchers to further study in the field of Education in Qatar, as well as in the Arabian Gulf; it is hoped, too, that it will encourage the Government of Qatar to devote more attention to educational quality.

Chapter I

QATAR: GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Qatar is an Arabic country and the religion of the indigenous population is Islam¹. The political system passed through a tribal confederation stage, an autocratic stage, and then, in 1970, the State adopted the constitutional system².

Qatar external affairs from 1871 to 1916 were run by the Ottoman Empire, and from 1916 to 1971 came under British control³. As a result of the British decision in 1968 to end its treaty of protection with the Arabian Gulf States⁴, Qatar has, since 1971, enjoyed complete sovereignty over her land. The independence of Qatar state in 1971 led the Government to establish diplomatic relations with all Arab States and most other nations. Internally the Government issued in 1970 the provisional constitution and made it clear that Qatari rulership was hereditary in the family of al-Thani⁵. Also the Government established the Council of Ministers and the Advisory Council in order to cope with the changing situation⁶.

The recent political history of Qatar mostly started in the eighteenth century when a number of tribes united under the name of 'utub had moved from the southern part of central Arabia toward the Qatar peninsula. They settled temporarily in Zubarah town, in the north western part of Qatar. Then they moved toward Kuwait, where the al-Sabah division established their Shaikdom in Kuwait in about 1750⁷. In 1766 al-Khalifa, the cousin of al-Sabah accompanied by other 'utub families moved back from Kuwait to Qatar and settled in Zubarah⁸. From 1766 to 1783 Zubarah town grew rapidly in both political and commercial terms. Lorimer wrote as follows:

The growth of Zubarah was greatly stimulated by the Persian occupation of Basrah between 1776 and 1779, during which a number of Basrah merchants together with fugitives from Kuwait resided temporarily at Zubarah and pearl trade and the general trade of eastern Arabia with India to a considerable extent centred there.⁹

As a result of a commercial conflict and wars between Zubarah and the Rulers of Shiraz and their allies in Bahrain Island, the people of Qatar under al-Khalifa leadership in 1782 launched a successful expedition on Bahrain and occupied it¹⁰. Consequently Qatar and Bahrain came under al-Khalifa rule. Within a short time Bahrain became the main base of al-Khalifa rule as well as of the pearl and commercial trade, a matter which seriously influenced Zubarah role. It seems that al-Khalifa found great difficulties in ruling both countries in an efficient manner. The Qatari tribes started to rebel against al-Khalifa rule and on different occasions refused to pay them the usual tributes. In return al-Khalifa carried out many retaliatory expeditions against the Qatari tribes. Lorimer wrote about one of these expeditions as follows:

A remarkably treacherous and destructive attack was made in October 1867 on Dohah and Wakrah, the principal places upon the eastern coast of Qatar, by the Shaikhs of Bahrain and Abu Dhabi acting together; the motive, on the part of the Shaikh of Bahrain, was a desire to punish the inhabitants for some restiveness against his authority which they had latterly exhibited. . . .; suffice it to say that the towns of Dohah and Wakrah were, at the end of 1867, temporarily blotted out of existence, . . . and that the damage inflicted was estimated to amount to over \$2,000,000.¹¹

In 1878 Shaikh Jasim Muhammad al-Thani emerged as a leading figure among the Qatari tribes, and rapidly achieved his objective in establishing a strong bond of unity between the Qatari tribes. In 1878 the Qatar tribes, under Shaikh Jasim leadership had succeeded in destroying Zubarah town, the symbol of al-Khalifa rule in Qatar¹². From that point al-Khalifa political control over Qatar started to decay and Qatar gained its complete separation

from Bahrain in 1916 when it signed the protection treaty with the British¹³, as Bahrain and the rest of the Arabian Gulf States had done before¹⁴.

A. Geographical Setting

Qatar is a peninsula lying in the middle of the Arabian Gulf. It borders on Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates to the south. The total mainland area consists of about 10,600 sq. km. In addition, Qatar comprises three small off-shore islands. The most important one, called Halul island, is used by the Shell Company of Qatar Ltd. as a storage centre and tanker terminal for two sea-bed oil fields¹⁵. The accompanying map shows the location of Qatar, Figure 1.1.

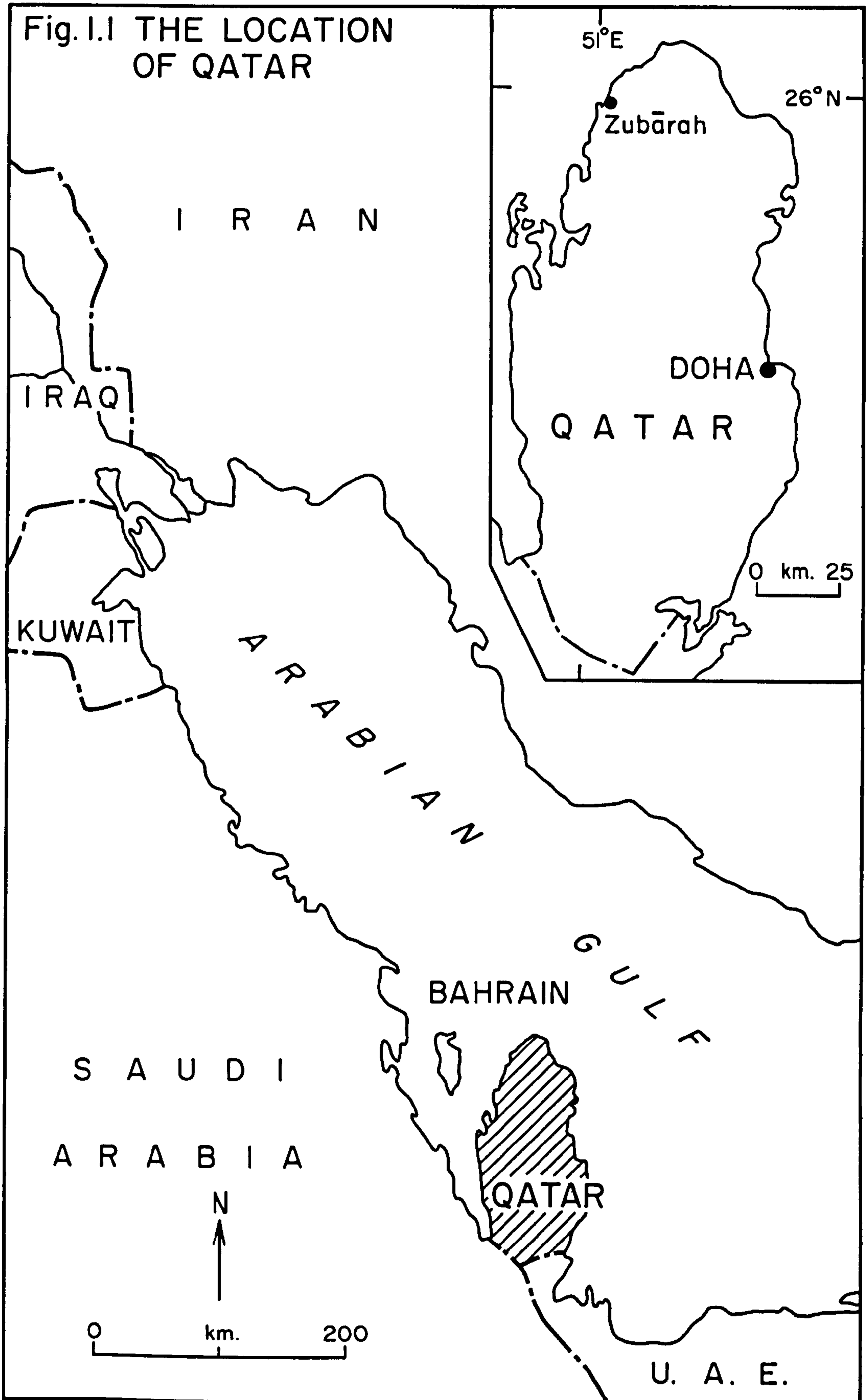
The climate is typical of an arid zone, in Qatar taking the form of long summers and short winters; temperature varying from 21°C to 31°C during summer seasons, (occasionally reaching 40 - 45°C in August); in the winter (January and February) the minimum temperature may decrease to 10 - 14°C. Humidity ranges from 45 per cent to 95 per cent with an average of 70 per cent, decreasing during winter to 45 - 55 per cent¹⁶.

The geomorphology of Qatar can be characterized as follows:

Qatar peninsula as a whole can be described as a very slightly undulating desert plain with a scattering of depressions with rock fragments on the soil surface.¹⁷

In Qatar there are no rivers. The water supply comes from both ground water and sea water "distillation".¹⁸ As a result of the circumstances of the climate the amount of rainfall has ranged from 2 mm to 190 mm over a period of 13 years¹⁹. This low amount of rainfall has caused a limitation in developing the agriculture programme in the country, and on the other hand has influenced the Government to establish many distillation units in order to meet the country's

Fig. I.1 THE LOCATION OF QATAR



increasing demand for drinking water. The Government pays a great deal of attention to the ground water resources, so in 1970 Qatar sought technical help from UNDP/FAO for a comprehensive survey of ground water resources and of land suitable for agricultural purposes. The result of the UNDP/FAO survey revealed that the ground water resources were very limited and the present irrigation system was very poor. There were, in Qatar about 9,700 ha. of land suitable for agriculture. The UNDP/FAO team recommended minor expansion in the agriculture programme with great emphasis on improving the irrigation system²⁰.

Agriculture in Qatar has developed within the last two decades, especially in vegetable crops. In the 1950s and 1960s Qatar used to import vegetables for local consumption, but in the 1970s Qatar has nearly reached self-sufficiency in vegetable crops²¹.

A.1 Main Natural Economic Resources

Oil and gas are the main natural economic resources in Qatar. Qatar has depended economically on the oil revenues since 1950²²; before that the pearl industry played an essential role economically and socially (see this Chapter, p.13). The oil revenue represented between 90 and 97 per cent of the total public state revenues from 1953/55 to 1977. See the following table.

Table 1.1

Proportion of Oil Revenue out of the total Public State Revenue from 1953/55 to 1977

	1953/55	1966/70	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Share of oil in public State revenue by percentage	97.5	91	90	93	96	93	96	91

Source: Al-Kuwari, op. cit., p.156, and Al-Kuwari, the Oil Revenues: a Choice between Consumption or Investment, Seminar on economic development and co-operation in the Arabian Gulf, held in Kuwait, 29 April to 2 May 1978 (A).

Besides the oil industry sector the Government adopted a policy of establishing some other form of light and heavy industry. There are the cement plant (1965)*, the fisheries (shrimps) company (1966), the fertiliser plant (1969), the flour mill plant (1973), the petro-chemical complex (1977), the natural gas liquids plant (1970 and then enlarged in 1977), and the steel mill (1975). In addition there are a number of light industry projects under construction, such as building materials, household consumer goods, plastic and paper industries. The main objective of the Government was to ensure a reliable non-oil state income in order to reduce the present heavy dependence on oil revenues²³.

A.2 Population

In general Qatar is characterized by very small numbers of indigenous population. Lorimer mentioned that the total population in Qatar in 1904-07 was about 27,000²⁴. In 1955 the total population was estimated at about 35,000 Qatari and non-Qatari.²⁵ It is clear from the two figures that there was no significant growth in Qatar's population within about 50 years. This could be explained by reference to the common habits of Arabian Gulf tribes who used, in the past, to change their settlement from one Gulf State to another for many reasons, such as tribal conflicts, rainfall and cultivation crises. Nevertheless, the 1970 census** showed that the population was about 111,000 Qataris and non-Qatari. Table 1.2 indicates the population distribution by age, sex and nationality in 1970.

It is obvious from Table 1.2 that the non-Qatari population was greater than the indigenous population, also that the larger number among the non-Qatari population are men. The imbalance between Qatari and non-Qatari population mostly occurred as a result of the national demand for skilled and non-skilled manpower. The non-Qatari population comprised Arab, Pakistani, Iranian, Baluchi,

* Date between () shows the establishment date.

** Qatar held no census during the study period except one in 1970.

Table 1.2

Qatar population distributed by age, sex and nationality in 1970

Age Group	Qatari			Non-Qatari			Total		Grand Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	
0 - 9	8,710	8,543	17,253	6,830	6,681	13,513	15,540	15,224	30,766
10 - 14	3,272	3,037	6,309	2,205	1,573	3,778	5,477	4,610	10,087
15 - 19	1,922	1,941	3,863	4,224	1,199	5,423	6,146	3,140	9,286
20 - 29	2,143	2,708	4,851	15,466	3,535	19,001	17,609	6,243	23,852
30 - 39	2,274	2,554	4,828	12,275	2,359	14,634	14,549	3,913	19,462
40 - 49	2,005	1,512	3,517	5,531	1,004	6,535	7,536	2,516	10,052
50 - 59	1,233	934	2,167	1,860	395	2,255	3,093	1,329	4,422
60 - 74	897	935	1,832	595	266	861	1,492	1,201	2,693
over 75	212	207	419	60	36	96	272	243	515
Total	22,668	22,371	45,039	49,043	17,048	66,094	71,714	39,419	111,133

Source: Census, April/May 1970. Table No. 10.

Indian and other small groups from Europe and North America²⁶. The proportion of Arabs in the non-Qatari population was about 35 per cent. This low proportion of Arab labour in the non-Qatari population was probably a result of the high cost of Arab labour in comparison with Iranian, Pakistani and Indian labour.

The imbalance between the Qatari and non-Qatari population can hardly be regarded as reassuring because of the differences between the indigenous population and especially the non-Arab immigrant population, which is very noticeable by its number, sex and age, cultural heritage, attitude and language. These differences in a small community like Qatar may create many problems, socially, economically and politically, in the long run. It seems that the Government has not yet realised fully the danger which this policy might lead to later on. Apart from the fact that the Government provided Qatari nationality for a few Arabs from Saudi Arabia, North Yemen and Oman, in addition to some encouragement for Qatari contractors to recruit manual labour from Egypt, we found that the stream of non-Arab immigrants towards Qatar was continuing, as Table 1.3 shows.

Table 1.3

The trend of Manpower Immigration toward Qatar, 1970 to 1974, by number and nationality

New entry

Year	Nationality				% of Arab
	Arab	Iranian	Pakistani and other	Total	
1970	2,000	7,213	5,815	15,028	13
1971	1,845	7,659	4,127	13,631	13
1972	1,605	13,629	4,427	19,661	8
1973	2,077	13,899	9,013	24,989	8
1974	1,900	4,482	13,464	19,846	10

Source: Collected from the immigration records, March 1975.

There is no doubt that the Government policy of speeding and developing industrial projects and other social services will bring in more immigrants and that consequently in the late 1970s the percentage of the indigenous population will fall below the level indicated in the 1970 census.²⁷

A.3 Economic Activities

However, the radical change in economic resources which has taken place since 1950 has proportionately brought great wealth to Qatar. For instance, the State income from oil revenues considerably increased in the late 1960s and in the 1970s. In 1953/55 it was estimated at QR:387 million, in 1966/70 it increased to QR:2,597 million. In the 1970s it jumped from QR:1,104 million to QR:7,052 million and to QR:7,888 million in 1972, 1974 and 1977 respectively²⁸. Both current and capital expenditure was rapidly developing too, as Table 1.4 shows:

Table 1.4

Development of current and capital state expenditure
in 1953-55 and 1966-70, 1972, 1975 and 1977

(million QR)

Public State Expenditures	1953-55 and 1966-70	1972	1974	1977
Current	864	699	2,764	3,604
Capital	520	245	2,370	3,715
	1,384	944	5,134	7,319

Source: Al-Kuwari, op. cit., p.157. Also Al-Kuwari, op. cit. (Seminar).

Table 1.4 clearly shows that the Government allocated enormous current and capital expenditure during the last two decades to various social and economic objectives; schools were spreading all over the country, paved roads, shops,

houses, hospitals, electricity and water services were established. Developing and maintaining these enterprises was obviously beyond the skill and the number of the indigenous economically active population.

The 1970 census revealed that the total economically active population in Qatar was around 48,000, nearly 8,000, or 17 per cent of them Qatari. The total active population is distributed as follows by economic activity:

13 per cent in the Government sector

16 per cent in construction

16 per cent in trade

11 per cent in the manufacturing and public utilities

7 per cent in transport and communications

5 per cent in the oil industry

4 per cent in agriculture and fishing

1 per cent in banking

27 per cent in other services.

Table 1.5 shows the distribution of the labour force in 1970 by nationality, level of education and sector. Table 1.5 indicates that the percentage of Qataris was less than of non-Qataris in all sectors except the oil industry. The higher percentage of Qataris in the oil sector was mostly for two main reasons, the first because the oil sector paid them higher salaries than the Government sector and the second a historical reason, that the oil companies in Qatar expanded their needs for manual labour as early as 1949 and the Government had established a kind of arrangement with the oil companies which protected Qatari labour from non-Qatari competition. Table 1.5 reveals also that about 68 per cent of the non-Qatari economically active population is illiterate.

Table 1.5

Distribution of economically active population by nationality,
level of education and economic sector in 1970

Nationality and Economic Sectors	Level of Education					Total and %
	None	Primary	Secondary	Technical	University	
1. Agriculture and Fishing						(4%)
Qatari	74	11	-	1	-	86
Non-Qatari	1,914	50	13	-	7	1,984
Total	1,988	61	13	1	7	2,070
2. Manufacturing/Mining/Quarrying						(15%)
Qatari	1,220	453	104	40	8	1,825
Non-Qatari	2,174	611	441	87	104	3,417
Total	3,394	1,064	545	127	112	5,242
3. Construction						(16%)
Qatari	125	71	9	1	1	207
Non-Qatari	6,578	583	292	23	102	7,578
Total	6,703	654	301	24	103	7,785
4. Oil Industry						(5%)
Qatari	839	304	77	33	6	1,259
Non-Qatari	204	188	297	108	153	950
Total	1,043	492	374	141	159	2,209
5. Wholesale/Retail						(16%)
Qatari	360	423	80	7	10	880
Non-Qatari	3,936	1,846	1,001	49	173	7,005
Total	4,296	2,269	1,081	56	183	7,885
6. Banking						(1%)
Qatari	2	6	2	-	-	10
Non-Qatari	42	37	138	14	61	292
Total	44	43	140	14	61	302
7. Transport and Communications						(7%)
Qatari	484	137	27	6	1	655
Non-Qatari	1,836	424	202	35	74	2,571
Total	2,320	561	229	41	75	3,226
8. Government Services						(13%)
Qatari	681	436	207	44	2	1,391
Non-Qatari	2,556	1,493	567	32	133	4,781
Total	3,237	1,929	774	76	156	6,172
9. Other Services						(28%)
Qatari	1,284	328	151	61	31	1,855
Non-Qatari	8,039	1,523	1,191	209	682	11,644
Total	9,326	1,851	1,342	270	713	13,499
Total: Qatari	5,069	2,169	657	193	80	8,168
Non-Qatari	27,279	6,755	4,142	557	1,489	40,228
GRAND TOTAL	32,348	8,924	4,799	750	1,569	48,390

A survey concerned with the manpower situation in Qatar was carried out in 1978 and has revealed the following findings. In the Government sector the total of employees was 14,458, nearly 7,540 or 52 per cent out of whom were Qatari; in the public sector* the total of employees was 4,190, nearly 829 or 20 per cent of the total Qataris; in the private sector the total of employees was 4,041, nearly 32 or 1 per cent of the total Qataris²⁹. This gives a broad idea of the way in which the economically productive sectors have been mainly run by non-Qataris. The increasing trend of Qataris toward employment in the Government sector could not be considered a healthy sign as far as economic objectives are concerned.

A.4 Distribution of Population and Economically Active Population in Main Towns and Villages

Doha is the capital of the State. It is the seat of the Government, and the majority of the population is concentrated in and around it. The 1970 census shows that about 80,000 out of the 111,000 lived in the capital. Also 37,000 out of the 48,000 economically active population work in Doha and the rest are distributed all over the country³⁰. Doha is considered the main commercial centre for supplying the country; it comprises a large modern commercial harbour, a modern airport, hotels, large markets and well equipped hospitals. As far as education is concerned, Doha is the main educational zone in the country where there are a number of secondary schools and a university.

Besides the capital, there are two important small towns; Dukhan and Ummsa'id. Dukhan gained its importance as an oil field, while Ummsa'id gained its importance as an industrial zone, storage centre and tanker terminal

* The public sector in this survey comprised oil and the heavy and light industrial sector. The private sector only amounted to 62 firms out of 194.

for shipping crude oil from Duhkan oil field. The permanent population in both towns is very limited. Figure 1.2 shows main towns, harbours, airport and paved roads.

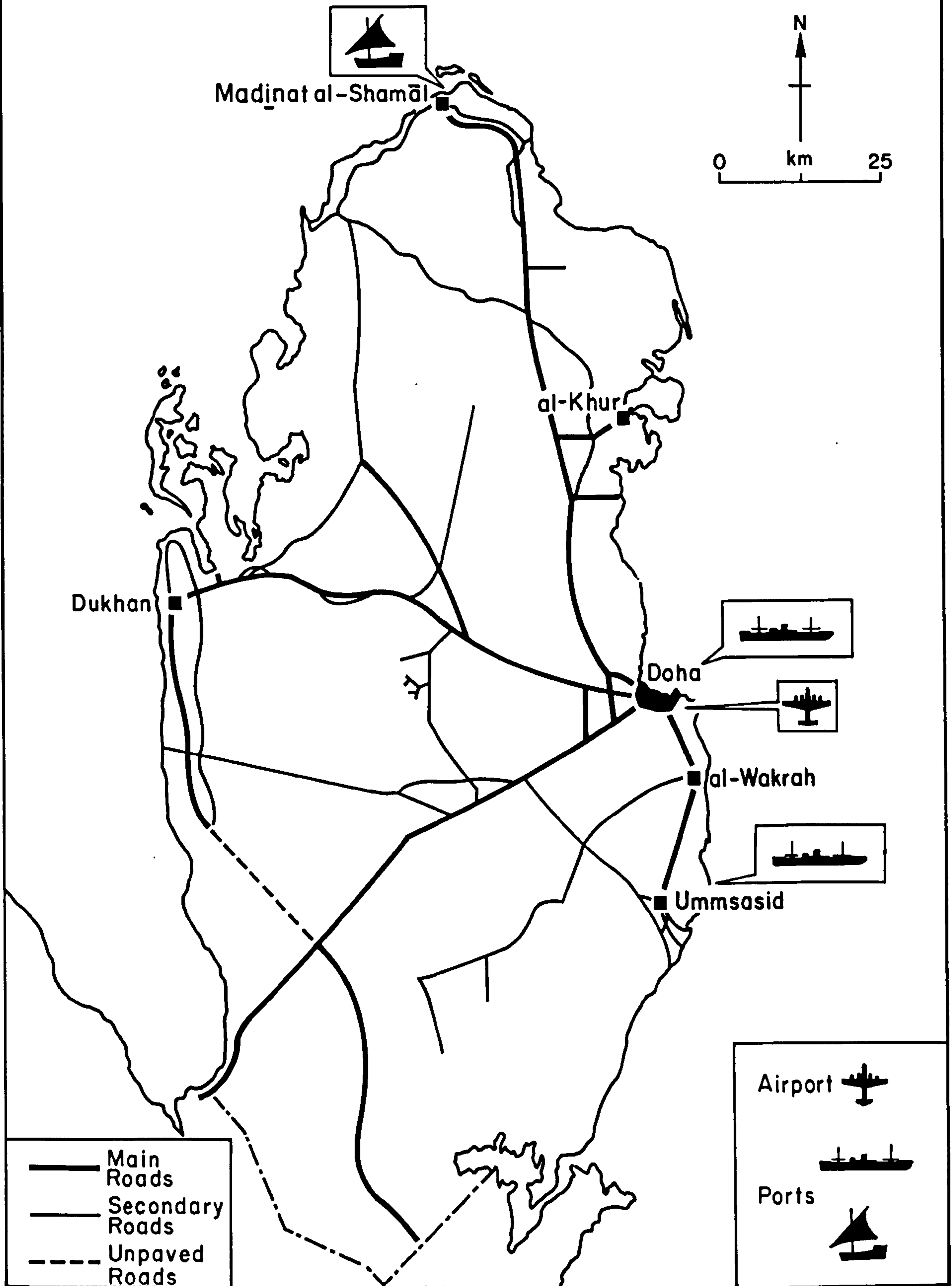
Villages in Qatar are very small, with limited modern facilities and services. It was not until the beginning of the 1970s that most villages had electricity. Economic activity in most villages is minimal and the settlers depend on fishing on a limited scale, and on jobs provided by the Government and oil companies*. Even the villages located in the middle and north part of Qatar and surrounded by many farms have few inhabitants willing to engage in peasant farming. This reluctance is an inheritance from their past, from traditional tribal attitudes towards those who engaged in agricultural activities. In general Qatari villages play no significant role in the country's economic activity at present, but in the past these villages located on the seashore had enjoyed remarkable economic activity when, in the pearl diving period, there was scarcely any difference between life in villages and life in Doha town.

B. Social Development

During the last three centuries the Gulf region has passed through dramatic events and changes, some of them political, some others economic and social³¹. The consequences of these changes are still more or less reflected in the present life of the people and to some extent influence their behaviour and responses in the midst of recent rapid social change. Our task in this part is to focus on some aspects of society during the pre-oil period as a social, historical background and then to examine the social development of the last two decades.

* Some villagers work in Duhkan oil field for six days and return to their families during the weekend.

Fig. 1.2 DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN TOWNS, HARBOURS AND PAVED ROADS



B.1 Pre-oil Period

Apart from political movements on a large scale, tribal movements and tribal conflicts dominated the Arabian Gulf region in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century. Qatar saw a form of settled life under a tribal system and with pearl-diving activities. Al-Kuwari wrote as follows:

The pearl industry was the leading activity upon which the whole economic life and even the settlement and social life of the Emirates used to depend.³²

In general Qatar society during this period of time was characterized by a tribal system in which customary law was the common traditional basis upon which all Qatari tribes and families built their stability and their way of living. The customary law was a mixture of Islamic principles and tribal customs and values. If, for instance, a conflict or dispute had occurred between two different tribes, it was usually solved by intervention from other tribal chiefs as mediators who judged the situation according to the traditional customary law.

The number of settled Qatari tribes was estimated in 1904-08 at about 15, distributed according to their numbers as follows; one tribe consisted of 3,200 members, three tribes of between 2,000 and 2,500 members each, one tribe with 1,700 members and ten tribes ranging between 200 and 800 members³³. Probably this diversity of size, as well as the limited numbers of each tribe, was the reason for the balance and stability among the Qatar tribes, and the maintenance of great respect for the traditional customary law among them. The importance of the tribal chiefs mostly derived from their general tribal status and reputation. Consequently each tribe used to be very keen and eager to establish for itself a good reputation and distinguished status among the others.

This objective was mostly sought in traditional ways: to be well known for hospitality and poetry, to be wealthy in kind, owning a sizeable pearl fleet, many camels and sheep, etc., to be proven in protecting the tribal reputation, property and territory, and to enjoy great unity, co-operation and discipline between members of the tribe³⁴. The location of settlements was mostly organized to show the independence of each tribe. Even in some cases when there was more than one tribe resident in a village or town, there was a distinct area or street divided between them³⁵.

Qatari tribes provided their children with a simple form of Islamic education (see Chapter II). Apart from that, there was no formal educational system; parents simply used to teach their children to cope with their traditional tribal system. The first, and continuing, lesson taught to the child in the tribal system was that the child must be faithful to the Islamic religion and to his parents and must devote himself to his tribal interest. Beside these principles the tribal system played a significant role in the child's education, boys were trained in diving, sailing, rowing, fishing, hunting and shooting in order to be fit to deal with their economic and social environment. In addition each tribe shouldered the responsibility of transmitting to the next generation the culture and heritage of their society at large, but with some special emphasis on their own tribal heroism, story, wisdom and poetry which were often heard from people who gathered each evening in various majlas or tribal guest rooms and who also played a vital role in educating the new generation³⁶.

Skill in reading and writing was rarely found among the Qatari tribes. Learning by heart, observation and experience was the common method by which they were able to carry on living in their sea and desert environment generation after generation.

B. 1. 1 Role and Structure of Family

The nuclear family rarely occurred, the extended family structure was the common form in the tribal system. Grandfathers, their sons, their sons' wives and their children, all lived together in a large house. When the father died, his eldest surviving son inherited his father's position and responsibilities. Women enjoyed no right to oppose their father's, brother's and husband's order. Their activities while their men were present were very limited, mainly restricted to housework, such as preparing food, taking care of the house and looking after their small children. The significant role in the family was the man's. Men co-operated in financing their family, and most often the son, whether he was married or not, had to hand to his father what he had earned, and the father of the family normally had the entire right to work out the best way to spend the money. This kind of co-operation between a father and his son or sons, and between brothers themselves when their father died, was expected and appreciated behaviour within the tribal system. The limited demands of the life of the families as well as the influence of the traditional tribal system resulted in a strong bond between all family members and enabled the extended family to carry on its functions for a long time in Qatar society.

It was the father of the family's right to arrange an endogamous marriage either for his son or his daughter, and it was common for the son and daughter of two brothers to marry each other if they were of the right age. It was the duty of the tribe to decide upon exogamous marriages because exogamous marriages would create a marriage relationship between two different tribes which might develop well and extend to a state of alliance in case of a successful marriage,

or could develop into hostility in case of a marriage that failed. Both possibilities were for the tribe to consider and not the family. However, exogamous marriages rarely occurred between the Qatari tribes.

The tribal system enjoyed a strong hold and influence on its members' behaviour and consequently on their families' behaviour. The family situation was always coloured by their general reputation in the tribe, their economic status and stability. Such an organic interaction between families and their tribes has gradually lost its significance as a result of the radical change in the country's economic, political and educational situation in the last two decades.

B.1.2 Pattern of Social and Economic Activities

The pattern of social life during the pre-oil period was of two main forms, one for the summer season and one for the winter. At the beginning of the summer season the inhabitants started gathering in their own villages which were almost always located near the seashore and started to prepare themselves and their vessels for the pearl diving season which lasted from the beginning of June to the beginning of October. From December to March when there was no pearl diving, people left their villages and lived in tents in the interior around the wells and cultivated areas³⁷. The two seasons provoked differing social and economic activities.

A month or so before pearl diving started, the social and economic activity of villages and towns started to flourish. Men who engaged in pearl diving started to receive cash in advance from their captains in order to provide their families with the necessary stock of food, and to equip themselves with the required tools for diving and for living on a boat during the pearl fishing season. Captains with their crews were also kept busy preparing, maintaining and equipping their pearl boats with drinking water, rice, dry dates, etc.³⁸

As the pearl diving fleets departed, villages and towns were mostly left inhabited by women, small children and elderly men. Consequently women shouldered the whole burden of activity on their settlement. They used to fetch drinking water from the wells around their villages, fish from the masakir* which was located near the seashore, look after their herds, prepare tents for the winter season, etc. Social life grew gloomy and bitter and the women, apart from their harsh life, felt lonely and anxious about their men's safety.

With the departure of the pearl diving fleets from land, a remarkable social, trade and commercial life grew up on the boats around the well-known pearl beds. It was common that boats from Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the Emirates and Oman met together around one pearl bed, and paid visits to each other. This created a wide social communication between them and established a significant degree of co-operation between them. In 1907 the total number of boats which participated in pearl diving was estimated at about 4,500 with total crews of 74,000 men. Of these, about 817 boats and 12,890 men were from Qatar³⁹.

On the boats, discipline and organisation of labour was highly regarded. The Nukhdh or captain was the leading figure and he was the one who controlled the whole range of activities on his boat. The second most important group was the ghasah or divers and the third group was called siub or the divers' pullers. These three main groups were at the heart of the pearl diving business. The number of crews varied from boat to boat, but the average ranged between 40 - 50 men per boat⁴⁰.

* A large stone wall, about five feet high and one kilometre in length, built near the seashore in order to trap fish during the ebb.

Pearl trading and other commercial activities were usually carried out during the course of pearl fishing. Boats of pearl traders, tawashin, kept close watch and bargained hard with the captains, buying pearls from them at the lowest price. Rumaihi wrote the following:

They roamed in launches between the various banks being fished and, if news of a good pearl came to their ears, they would make haste to be first to contact the appropriate captain in the hope of buying it cheaply by an immediate offer of ready cash.⁴¹

In addition there were commercial boats, selling drinking water, rice and dry dates for the pearl diving boats⁴². Conditions of life were often very bad on board pearl diving boats. Apart from the poor food, hard work, absence from home and poor health, divers faced every day the danger of death either by shark attack or by drowning⁴³. It is not surprising then that the crews waited anxiously to hear from their captains that the pearl diving season was finished and that they could return to their villages and towns. Dancing and singing usually accompanied their sailing back home.

On land, children, women and old men usually received the news of the end of pearl season with great joy and cheering. Dancing and traditional celebrations were held in every village and town on this occasion every year⁴⁴. Soon after the return of the pearl diving fleets, an active social and economic life rapidly developed on land. Main ports in the Gulf region were besieged by wealthy pearl traders. Divers and the rest of the crews mostly kept out of the pearl dealing, their captains, on their behalf, engaged in the complex process of negotiation and calculation. They had to figure out the total income of their pearl diving season, then subtract the total cost of the trip, the taxes allocated for the Sheikhdom, and then find out how much remained for their crews after

deducting the sum given to them at the beginning of the season⁴⁵. The result might be that the divers were in debt, and their captains too, to the merchants.

Rumaihi comments as follows:

The fact that the divers were illiterate led to many abuses of the system by the captains. Because the divers could neither read nor write, it was possible for the captain to falsify the accounts so that the divers were permanently in debt to him.... If the captain himself was in debt, he was often forced to sell his ship or his house to the merchants in order to carry on. Quite often the captains sank so far into debt that they were forced to become divers themselves.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, whether it was a bad season or a good one, the captains again financed their crews with cash for the winter season. Those who were not in debt to their captains and nevertheless freely accepted money, had already engaged themselves to work under the same captain for the next pearl season; but those who were already in debt had no choice but to work under the same captain.

After the end of the pearl-diving season, people mostly enjoyed a relaxed life, they held various popular traditional celebrations and sports, and the marriages largely occurred during this period. Soon after the spread of the news of the rains, which was usually welcomed with great thanks to God, inhabitants started moving out from their villages and towns to settle into camps in the interior. Lorimer comments as follows:

A considerable proportion of the settled tribes of Qatar go into camp in the interior in winter with their flocks and herds.⁴⁷

Camels, horses and donkeys were the main means of transportation. Donkeys were often used for short distances and for carrying goods and water. Hunting for bustards and rabbits as well as gathering faqi' *dominated daily life. Falcons and dogs were trained and used for hunting. Hunting in the past was not an

* A kind of truffle or mushroom.

expensive prestige sport as it is nowadays but was necessary for survival⁴⁸.

Although the pearl industry brought considerable income to the Gulf region, which has been estimated at a figure as high as £2,000,000 in 1912/13⁴⁹, divers and the like were kept in poor economic conditions and those who derived most benefit from the system were the pearl traders, the Rulers and the merchants. Moreover, during the 1930s and 1940s, economic and social life in Qatar seriously declined as a result of the decline in the pearl industry. The total income of the Gulf region from pearls fell from its high level in 1912/13 to £208,000 in 1926 and to only £62,000 in 1946⁵⁰. The dramatic deterioration in the pearl industry in the 1940s was accompanied by the crisis of the Second World War, as well as by a rainfall crisis in Qatar, which made life in Qatar, for the mass of the people, more than miserable and led to public starvation⁵¹. But the start of oil production in Qatar in 1949 rapidly transformed the life of poor people. Captains and divers and the like found jobs in the oil companies, they found their life in tents and huts around the oil field in Dukhan very enjoyable; also earning cash each 12 days or each month was something new and not a part of their past experience. Even though the oil companies during the 1950s provided their local employees with a poor wage and poor living conditions it was in the view of the poor people, much better than their previous life⁵².

B.2 Pre-oil Traditional Society in Transition

The vital change in the country's economic resources has resulted in a great break-through in all aspects of the old social life. The oil revenue enabled the Government, as was mentioned before, to establish a form of modern life in Qatar. For instance, within the last two decades the educational system has rapidly developed from the simple form of kuttab school to a university level for both sexes. This single example reveals how far the

pre-oil traditional society has changed. It is beyond our scope to cover all the main aspects of change in Qatar society. Our attempt here is to focus on two main social elements as examples of the social transition. These are the tribal system and the family.

B. 2.1 End of the Influence of the Pre-oil Tribal System

During the pre-oil period the Ruler of Qatar used to devote considerable attention to each individual tribe and often summon the tribal chiefs to have their opinion in important matters related to their country's general affairs. This system operated because the tribes, through their pearling activities, used to finance the Ruler's budget, and also the tribes acted under their rulers as informal soldiers in the country's wars and conflicts with the neighbouring countries. However, from 1950 the State income was received by the Ruler directly from the oil companies. This change in the source of the Ruler's income meant a crucial loss of influence by the tribes and a concentration of power in the hands of the Ruler and his family. Al-Kuwari apositely wrote as follows

The oil revenue helped to concentrate power in the hands of the Rulers. This concentration preserved the 'status quo' in two ways. First, the Government became the main channel through which the oil revenue was pumped to the country, consequently, everyone, whether employee, contractor, merchant, or tribal sheikh had to keep on good terms with the regime if he wanted to enjoy an easy income or perhaps accumulate wealth. Secondly, the Rulers, with the help of the oil revenue spent lavishly on propaganda machinery and a large police force and secret service. By these means the Rulers decreased effective opposition to a minimum.⁵³

In the 1950s and the 1960s the Ruler strengthened his agnatic lineages and sub-lineages by allocating for each single male a considerable proportion of money from the oil revenue as well as providing them with special social and political privileges⁵⁴ in order to avoid serious internal conflict within the Ruling Family. This also helped to present the Ruling Family as a united front in the

view of the rest of the Qatari tribes. At the same time the Ruler dealt with the tribal population as individuals and not as a system and often devoted special care to the tribal chiefs at the expense of ordinary members of the tribes, which resulted in widespread complaint and confrontation within each tribe and led to a remarkable weakening in tribal solidarity. Moreover, the lack of modern services in all Qatari villages, which were mostly inhabited by tribes, encouraged a massive internal migration from villages to the capital. This change in settlement from small villages to a large community made it very difficult for the tribal chiefs to control their members' behaviour. In addition, living in a large community, and working in the oil sector, in the Government and private sector, produced a new environment and enabled wide daily communication between members of different Qatari tribes. Schools, as a form of social community played an essential role in changing the new generation's attitudes toward tribal prejudice and values. Apart from that the development of the Government administration which provided elaborate social services and means of enforcing law and order meant the end of any justifiable function for the tribal system, which had functioned in the past as a protector of its members' life and stability. All these factors interacted with each other and introduced weakness after weakness into the tribal system.

By the 1970s most tribes in Qatar had completely lost any practical control and influence over their members, and the tribes, consciously or unconsciously, transformed themselves into an urban society. The only remaining tribal mark was the name borne by the members of each tribe. Even though this is the case with the majority of Qatari tribes, it is however, the case

that the Government and the political system is still influenced by the tribal system as embodied in the privileges of the Ruling Family.

B.2.2 The Emergence of the Nuclear Family

While the role of the tribe and its solidarity declined rapidly, the extended family structure continued unchanged for a long time. Not until the 1970s was the nuclear family observed as a social phenomenon in Qatar society. At first the extended family developed into a semi-nuclear family, where the married son lived with his father in the same house but with special arrangements, the married son and his wife usually having a semi-independent villa. If the extended family was large and there was more than one son married, the shape of the house could be described as a number of small villas but within a large wall, or a number of large villas with their walls linked to each other. The latter shape was common in the wealthy semi-nuclear families.

There are many factors to encourage the emergence of the nuclear family. Firstly, the decline of tribal influence has encouraged the family to take over the responsibility for exogamous marriages. Also endogamous marriages became less the rule, to the extent that it became quite natural that a son and daughter of two brothers were not married as they would have been before. This change in the marriage system brought to the family new members of different families or new members of different tribes. The new situation created considerable difficulties for the head of an extended family to deal with. Again, with the change in the economic situation as well as the spread of formal education, considerable variation in level of education and income occurred among members of the extended family. Different expectations arose, too; in the

family, for instance, that one should own a private car, should travel outside for pleasure, live in modern well-equipped houses, wear expensive clothes, etc. All these things made for difficulty and challenge for the head of the extended family and made him less able to carry on in the former way. Then, again, the Government introduced two forms of housing scheme for Qatari citizens: one for low income families and one for the university graduates in order to improve their standards of living. The former scheme was mainly designed for the nuclear family. All these factors contributed to encourage the spread of the nuclear family in Qatar society.

Relations between parents and their married son or sons and between married brothers and their own nuclear families are psychologically and socially strong and financial co-operation is usually provided when it is needed. Fathers and mothers who could not afford to carry on living independently live jointly with one of their sons.

The transition from a traditional tribal system in a poor society to the urban system of a rich society has not been carefully planned economically or socially. It has also happened too fast, within a relatively short period of time. This has caused great damage to the old social values with no substitution of mature social values for the new society. For instance, those who were born between 1910 and the 1930s mostly entered upon the new ways as illiterate and proud of their tribal values and customs; they found themselves in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s under enormous pressure from economic, social and political factors, and unconsciously they were swept away by the new stream. They now realize that in the last 20 years they have lost most of their important traditional role. Psychologically they resist the new social environment in which they find themselves less able to

compete for the new jobs with their educational and skilled requirements. Not unnaturally, they look back upon their past life as to a golden age. The new generation, born in the late 1940s and early 1950s grew up into a different society which was dominated by modern education, electricity, cars, health services, television, radio, and other mass media communications, paved roads, well-equipped modern houses and air-conditioning, healthy foods, wide contact with western culture and technology, as well as a different social, economic and political ideology. Also they grew up in a non-homogeneous society in which there was a large proportion of immigrant workers with their different culture and way of life. Moreover this generation grew up too amid the decline of the old society's traditional values and customs. When they were children and young boys and girls they enjoyed their easy life in the decline of the old ways, but when they became adult and fathers and mothers in the late 1960s and in the 1970s they felt different, they found that there were no solid and appreciated social values left. They found that the confusion and the conflict between old and new social values exerted strong contrary pressures on the attitudes of the indigenous population.

Just as the older generation felt unhappy with their present life, so did the younger generation, but for different reasons. They did not demand a return to their fathers' traditional values and customs but neither did they accept completely the whole new set of social values which had invaded their society. They simply demanded that their society should develop, but steadily and with clear social, economic and political objectives. But the crisis is that the political system provides no democratic means such as public popular organizations, unions and societies, by which the people can express their

opinions about public affairs and through which they can positively participate in leading their society. This lack of democratic means has resulted in a considerable fragmentation in the people's efforts in public and social affairs, and has increased the anxiety and discontent of the new generation. Moreover this general situation in a small society like Qatar has not only affected the public attitude toward the Government's economic and social projects and policy, but has also seriously affected the productivity of the people and brought as a result great waste and corruption in the Government sector and in society at large.

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Chapter II

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN QATAR

A. Historical Background: Traditional Education

The few available sources make only general gestures about education in Qatar before 1950. Al-Alusi stated that the al-Ahsa region, Qatar included, had 20 kuttab for children and about 30 madrasah for teaching religious science and arabic arts, in addition to 400 mosques, between 1878-1913*.¹ Al-Dabagh mentioned that al-Zubarah town had become a famous place in whose schools al-'ulama and students sought knowledge in the 18th century.²

There is no doubt that Qatar as an Islamic Society must adapt, in part at least, the simple form of Islamic education, the kuttab school for teaching the Quran. The kuttab schools were often found in the Gulf region as well as in the rest of the Arab countries before the adoption of a modern educational system.³ If we rely on the memory of older people, the traditional Islamic education found in Qatar from 1900-1950 might be described as follows:

A.1 Kuttab Schools

Kuttab schools, locally called muttawa'** or mulla, were divided into two types according to their educational level. There were kuttabs for teaching the Quran and the primary religious principles only and these existed in nearly every village. Attendance at this kind of kuttab was common for poor and rich children and for both sexes up to the age of 10 years; the girls were often taught separately by women teachers.⁴ A place for teaching the children was no problem; it was common to see the children with their teachers reading the

* Al-Alusi mentions no date, but he does mention that Qatar was under the rule of Shaikh Qasim abn Thani, and Shaikh Qasim ruled Qatar from 1878-1913.

** Muttawa' is Arabic stylist and Mulla is Persian stylist. Also muttawa' and mulla are the masculine forms and muttawa'h is the feminine.

Quran in the mosque, or in the corner of the local shop in the case of men teachers.⁵

Women teachers usually taught in their own houses.⁶

The other type of kuttab was more advanced. These kuttabs taught, in addition to the Quran and religious principles, the Arabic language, reading and writing and simple arithmetic. Admission for Arabic language and arithmetic was mostly restricted to children of wealthy families, and especially the boys. This kind of kuttab was seldom found, and usually in Doha and in the big villages. They had a fixed location consisting of one classroom furnished with mats or rugs for the children and a small carpet for the teacher. The kuttab schools were mostly known by their teacher's name; so these were in Doha town: Mulla Salim; Mulla Hasan Murad, Mulla Habib, Muttawa'h Aminah Mahmud and Muttawa'h Muzih Slibikh. In the villages there were Mulla Abraham and Mulla al-Ansari. Table 2.1 shows the well-known kuttabs by name and location in Doha and the villages.

Table 2.1

Well-known Kuttabs in Qatar

	Location	
1. Mulla Salim	Doha	
2. Mulla Hasan Murad	"	
3. Mulla Habib	"	
4. Muttawa' Duham	"	
5. Muttawa' al-Sanadi	"	
6. Muttawa' 'ab al-Hamid al Dail	"	
7. Muttawa'h Aminah Mahmud	"	Kuttab Muttawa'h Aminah Mahmud, transferred in 1956 to a modern girls' school.
8. Muttawa'h Muzih Slibikh	"	
9. Muttawa'h Aminah al-Mas'ud	"	
10. Mulla Abraham	al-wakrah	
11. Mulla al-Ansari	al-khur	
12. Muttawa' al-Salid	al-mafiat	

Source: The writer's communication with experienced persons, such as al-Shaikh Hasan Muhammad al-Jabir and Mrs. Aminah Mahmud.

The two types were run in the same way by individual teachers. They organised their classroom by grouping the children according to their educational level and each individual progressed at his own rate. Consequently some children would be memorising different parts of the Quran, while others were reading Arabic or practising arithmetic.

The kuttab fees came from payments by the parents of the children on different occasions, such as at the first admission of the child, on each Thursday, when the child finished memorising part of the Quran (in the kuttab schools they divided the whole Quran into thirteen parts), and when the child finished memorising the whole Quran. The fees were not the same for all children, but were determined by the parents' economic and social status. However, when the boy had completed reading the whole Quran, a graduation celebration was held. The leaver, who was called on that occasion Khatim al-Quran, wore new clothes and passed from house to house with his friends, knocking on the doors and reading al-Tahmidh (a kind of holy song). The people were happy to greet him and provide him with gifts which at the end of the celebration were carried away as a presentation for the teacher, who in return greeted the Khatim al-Quran's father and wished his son good luck. The other children were also given a day off.⁷

It is important to note the limitation of the kuttab system. First, most of the kuttab teachers had themselves very poor educational qualifications. Secondly, their idea of efficient teaching was based on harshness. Consequently they treated the children without mercy.⁸ Thirdly, most of the children who joined kuttab left before completing the Quran.⁹ Consequently, the part played by the kuttab in Qatar can only be considered inadequate.

A.2 Post-kuttab Education
(Madrasah al-Shaikh* al-Mani')

In addition to the kuttab schools, Qatar had known an advanced Islamic school called Madrasah al-Shaikh Muhammad 'Abal'aziz al-Man'. It was established at Doha about 1335 Hجري (corresponding year about 1918) when Shaikh al-Mani' had been called from Bahrain by the Ruler of Qatar, Shaikh 'Abdullh Qasim al-Thani, in 1918 to oversee legal affairs in the country.¹⁰ The school gained its importance from its high reputation and the high standard of education of its teacher who had studied in Iraq and Cairo and in various schools in Saudi Arabia.¹¹

The school curriculum was designed for adults who were interested in greater specialisation in advanced Islamic studies and Arabic literature. The syllabus mainly consisted of the subjects of jurisprudence, prophet's sayings, philology, grammar, eloquence and literature. The method of teaching consisted of lectures by Shaikh al-Mani', research by the students, discussion of research and some selected religious matters and the practical lessons drawn from watching Shaikh al-Mani' carry out the normal magistrate's duties in front of his students who made their own notes about their Shaikh's procedures. In addition there was a small library in the school in which the students could find books for reading and research.¹²

There was, however, no fixed number of years for a student to complete the course. It is a matter of religious interest that when the student felt that he had what he came for or that he needed to study in another madrasah run by another Shaikh in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Egypt, or Syria, he was free to do so and the Shaikh al-Mani' usually advised his school leavers and respected their wishes.¹³ Then he provided the leaver with a certificate saying that the

* The title "Shaikh" here is not that of the ruling families of Gulf states, but is an honorary title given to a learned man in the Islamic tradition.

leaver, who was called Talib al-'ilm, had studied in his school.¹⁴

Madrasah Shaikh al-Mani' took students or Tlab'ilm from Qatar as well as from neighbouring countries. There are no available records to show the numbers of the students or their names, but one of the students, as well as his companion Shaikh 'uthman alsalih stated that Shaikh al Mani's students were very numerous and from different regions.¹⁵ In Qatar those who left Madrasah Shaikh al-Mani' were very few in numbers, but their Islamic educational standard was very high and most of them played an essential role in the contemporary life of Qatar as Table 2.2 shows.

Table 2.2

Some Qatari Graduates from Madrasah Shaikh al-Mani'

Name	Position
1. Shaikh Abdullah Zaid al-Mahmud	The present Chief Magistrate for Qatar Shari'ah Court
2. Shaikh 'Abdullah Tirki (died in 1968).	Former Director of Religious Affairs in the Ministry of Education and a member of educational committee which was formed in 1952/53.
3. Shaikh (Ruling Family) Nasir Khalid	Present Minister of Commerce and Economy and a supervisor of semi-modern education in 1951.
4. Shaikh Qasim al-Drwish	Wealthy merchant and the head of the educational committee 1952/53.
5. Shaikh 'Abdullah Abraham al ansari	Director of Religious Affairs and Director of Rural Affairs in the Ministry of Education.
6. Muhammad abn'uthimin (died)	A well known poet.
7. Shaikh Ahmad Yusif al Jabir	A well known poet, and a key figure during the Shaikh 'Ali rule in the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s.

Table 2.2 (cont...)

Name	Position
8. Shaikh Mubarak Saif al-Nakhi	Teacher and then Librarian in the Ministry of Education.
9. Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id al-Ghubash (died)	Teacher and then Assistant to the Director of the Public Library.

Source: 'uthman al Salin/Kamal Naji

The school was nearly closed in 1938 when the Shaikh al-Mani' left for Saudi Arabia where he became the religious adviser to the King 'Abdal'aziz.¹⁶ Then he was the Director of the educational department from 1365-1373 Hجري (corresponding years about 1945-1953).¹⁷ Between 1956 and 1957 Shaikh al Mani' returned to Qatar as religious adviser to the former ruler, Shaikh 'Ali Abdullah al-Thani.¹⁸ During that period modern education in Qatar had already been started; the situation was very different from the past. Shaikh al-Mani' s contribution was in the drawing up of the religious syllabus for the primary school¹⁹, and his great encouragement of girls' education, especially when he composed a religious declaration (Ftwa) for the Ruler of Qatar in 1957 saying that the education of girls was entirely consonant with the principles of Islam.²⁰ Shaikh al-Mani' died in Doha in 1965.²¹

A.3 Transformation from Kuttab Education to Semi-modern Education

The transformation from Kuttab Education to semi-modern education was started about 1948-49 with one school in Doha. The school was run by one teacher, accommodated 50 children and was financed privately by the Ruler's own income*.²² The school developed rapidly with an increasing number of

* From 1950/51 education financed by the Government fund. See educational budget in Chapter III.

both pupils and teachers. Pupils were estimated at about 240, taught by 6 teachers, in 1950/51.²³ The syllabus was developed along the lines of the educational background of the school teachers and the various headmasters. Table 2.3 shows the nationality of the headmasters who ran the first semi-modern school from 1950 to 1954.

Table 2.3

Names and Nationalities of the Headmasters who ran the first semi-modern primary school in Doha from 1950 to 1954

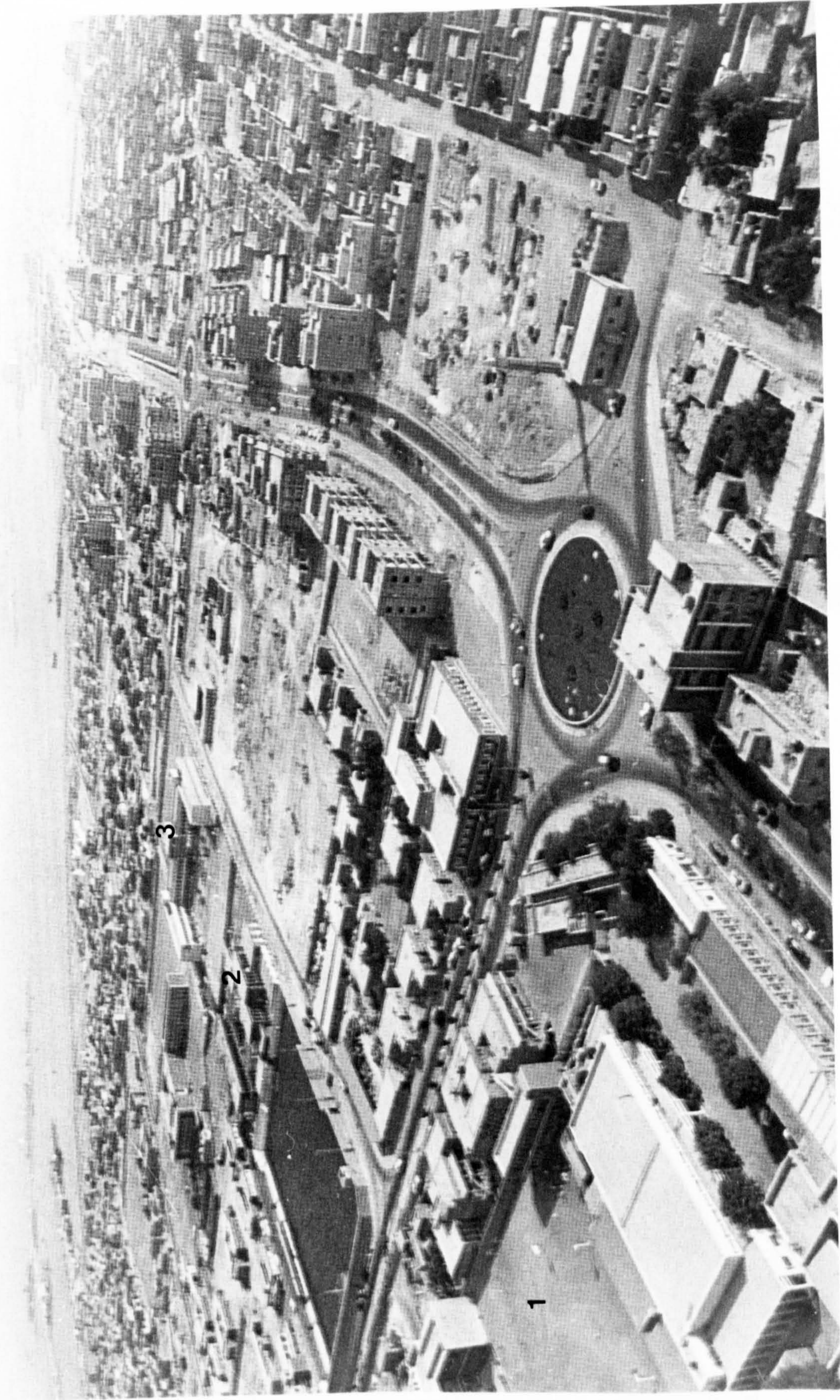
Name	Nationality	Years
1. Mr. 'Ali 'Amir	Iraqi	One year 1950
2. Mr. Mahmud al-Rais	Syrian	One year 1951
3. Mr. Abraham al-'aki	Palestinian	One year 1952
4. Mr. Musa Abuals'ud	Palestinian	Two years 1953-1954

Source: 'Abdal-Badi' Saqr, Report about the educational department of Qatar, 1376 Hjri, 1956, p.56. (A)

Subjects such as the Quran, religious education, arithmetic, Arabic language, such as grammar and reading and writing, geography and English were taught. In general, textbooks and syllabuses during the period of transition were bought from Egypt. In 1954 the school was transferred to a new school building with nine classrooms, electric lights and a small yard.²⁴ The school was called the al-Abtidaiih al-Qadimh; later the name was changed to Madrasah Qatar al-Abtidaiih and then to Madrasah Khalid abn al-Walid.²⁵ The location of the school is shown in Figure 2.1. In addition, another school was established in Doha in 1954 called al-Rwdah al-Qadimh.²⁶ In al-Khur village

Figure 2.1 The location of the first three school buildings in Doha in 1954, 1956 and 1960.

- 1 - Madrasah al-Abtidaiih al-Qadimih (1954)
- 2 - Madrasah al-Doha al-Thanawiih (1956/57)
- 3 - Madrasah al-Doha al-Thanawiih (1960/61)



a semi-primary school was founded in 1952, followed by another school in al-Ruwas village in 1954.²⁷ However, the total of pupils in all Qatar schools in 1954 was only about 560 boys; these were in four schools and were taught by 26 teachers, most of them from northern Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and Egypt).²⁸

Certain major factors helped to speed the transformation process from kuttab to modern education. The first and most important was the discovery of oil; that enabled the Government to finance the new educational system. Secondly, a call for modern education was made by well-known Qataris (see Table 2.2), because in 1952/53 the Ruler of Qatar appointed a committee of four, Shaikh Qasim al-Drwish, the head of the committee, and Shaikh 'Abdullah Tirki, Shaikh Yusif Ahmad al-Jadah and Mr. Khalid al-Dajani, and charged them with the task of organising a system of education throughout the country.²⁹ The committee's religious background and high reputation had great influence on the people of Qatar and encouraged them to send their children to the new schools. A further factor was the growth of modern education in the north Gulf region, especially Bahrain and Kuwait, where they had started changing to semi-modern education as early as 1918 (in Kuwait) and 1919 (in Bahrain) and had experienced an expansion of modern education since the 1930s (in Kuwait)³⁰ and 1940s (in Bahrain)³¹. In addition to all this the Government offered various inducements to pupils to attend school in both Doha and the villages (see educational service and educational budget in Chapter III).

B. Development of a Modern Educational System: 1954 to 1977

B.1 Primary School Expansion in Doha and the villages:

B.1.1 Doha

The period 1954 to 1964 marked the great expansion of primary education in Qatar.³² In Doha zone*, schools, classrooms, pupils and teachers rapidly increased. For instance, the number of schools jumped from two in 1954 to six in 1956. Classrooms in 1956 numbered 39, accommodating 1,098 boy pupils, taught by 62 teachers. In 1964 the total enrolment of boys was estimated at about 4,346, distributed in nine primary schools, with 122 classrooms, see Table 2.5.

In 1956 the six schools in Doha zone were at two levels; three schools were pre-primary and three were primary. These schools had names given to them according to their location. In 1957 all schools were converted to the primary level (see Educational Ladder), and then new names were given to them. Table 2.4 shows the old and new names of the schools.

Table 2.4

Shows the names of the Schools in Doha Zone
in 1956 and 1957

Name of School in 1956	Changed	Name of School in 1957
1. Rwdah al-Sharq Lilbanin	to	Madrasah al-Khalij al-'Arabi
2. Rwdah al-Bdi' Lilbanin	to	Madrasah al-'urwbah
3. Al-Abtidaiih al-jadidah	to	Madrasah Slah al-din
4. Al-Abtidaiih al-Qadimh	to	Madrasah Qatar
5. Al-wasat al-Abtidaiih	to	Madrasah Khalid Abn al-walid
6. Rwdah al-wasat	-	-

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Circulars issued on 13th and 21st May 1957.
(unpublished, Arabic)

* Schools in Qatar, for both sexes, are organized under 6 educational zones.

See Figure 3.1

In 1954 the girls' kuttab of Muttawa'h Aminah Mahmud had been chosen to be the nucleus of the girls' primary school, and at that time it was administratively and financially categorized as a private educational establishment.³³

From 1956/57 girls' education became a part of the educational programme in the country. Since then the education of girls and boys has followed the same curriculum and financially and administratively has had the same attention. Consequently, the enrolment of girls in Doha as well as in the village schools has increased. For example, the ratio of girls to the total primary population enrolment in Qatar increased from 8.4 per cent to 32 per cent and to 48 per cent in 1956/57, 1964/65 and 1976/77 respectively. Table 2.5 shows the development of primary education in Doha zone at three different periods of time.

Table 2.5

Development of Primary Education in Doha Zone in
1956/57, 1964/65 and 1976/77 by sex

Year	No of Pupils			No. of Schools			No. of Classrooms			No. of Teachers		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	M	F	T
1956/57	1,098	122	1,220	6	1	7	39	3	42	62	4	66
1964/65	4,446	3,176	7,622	9	10	19	122	101	223	194	155	349
1976/77	11,839	10,787	22,626	10	14	24	239	248	487	323	451	774

Source: Saqr, A. op.cit., pp. 30 and 38. Mn. Ed. Q. Annual Report(s) 1964/65 and 1976/77. (A)

Living in Qatar during the 1950's was very difficult for those teachers who came from advanced Arabic countries like Egypt and Syria. There was a lack of facilities such as electricity, transport, comfortable housing, shopping areas. Cummins comments as follows:

In Qatar, there is little of any local production. While certain items, including meat, vegetables and eggs are obtainable in the local market if the shopper is fortunate in the early morning rush ...³⁴

In addition, the following circular issued in 1957 by the adviser to the Government of Qatar sheds light on the harsh life in Qatar in that period:

Commencing on Thursday, 26th December, limited quantities of fresh vegetables produced from the Government garden will be available for sale every Thursday morning, 9 a.m. at the Qatar cold stores, Doha. Please circulate this information to Government employees.³⁵

There is no doubt that such an environment was not attractive to many teachers. Hence the Ministry of Education authorities, in order to protect the educational expansion policy from any collapse as a result of teacher shortage, adopted the following policy. Firstly, it encouraged a small size of school during the 1950s, which enabled the Ministry of Education to recruit more teachers than it really required, as is very obvious from Table 2.5. In addition, the Ministry of Education provided its teachers at that time with furnished accommodation and other incentives such as yearly round trip tickets from Doha to their own country and vice versa, with their wives and children: and this made the teachers' lives more secure.

In the 1960s and 1970s Qatar, socially and economically, developed very rapidly, the harsh environment of the 1950s entirely changed for the better. Living in Qatar became very attractive and consequently work in Qatar became desirable for many reasons*. As far as education is concerned, quantitative development had continued for both sexes, see Appendices 2.1 and 2.2.

B.1.2 Villages

The expansion of modern education in the villages area began in 1955/56 when seven primary schools had opened in the following villages: Aummslal,

* See Chapter VI.

Smismih, Abuzluf, al-Gharah, al-Ruwas and al-Khuwir.³⁶ That made the total of schools in the villages area in 1956/57 about nine, with 20 classrooms accommodating about 369 children, taught by 14 teachers. Co-education occurred in some village schools for first and second grades as Appendix 2.3 shows. During the 1960's schools for both boys and girls had been established in almost all villages. Table 2.6 shows the development of village primary education at three different periods.

Table 2.6

Shows the Development of Village Education from
1956/57, 1964/65 and 1976/77

Year	No. of Pupils			No. of Schools			No. of Classrooms			No. of Teachers		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	M	F	T
1956/57	369		369	9	-	9	20	-	20	14	-	14
1964/65	1,558	551	2,109	37	17	54	166	76	242	142	37	179
1976/77	2,498	2,115	4,613	30	29	59	169	162	331	169	155	324

Source: Mn. Ed. Q. Annual Report(s), 1964/65, 1965/66 and 1976/77 (A).

This growth of education in the villages which happened between 1956/57 and 1964/65 was the result of a number of factors. In addition to the factors mentioned before, there are these: firstly, the village schools became a very important source of income for the Qatari tribes. The existence of a school brought Government money into the villages in a number of ways. For example, the Ministry of Education hired cars from the villages for the school transport service. Similarly, the Ministry of Education hired cars for bringing water for the schools and for teachers' houses.³⁷ Again, it was often necessary for

the Ministry of Education to rent houses for teachers and sometimes to rent premises to be used as schools.³⁸ Secondly, the Qatari tribes objected strongly to their sons going to school in neighbouring villages because the feeling for equal rights between the Qatari tribes was very strong. School meant for them, in addition to their sons' education, wealth and work, and a high social status.

The effects of the introduction of Government money into the villages were, however, not wholly beneficial. Not only did it affect the shape and the content of village education from the beginning until 1974/75* but also it created disputes among the village people and accelerated internal emigration from the villages to the capital (Doha). Emigration at that time (mid 1950s to mid 1960s**) was a result of the government policy of leaving the village tribes to allocate the distribution of the money which was spent by the Ministry of Education. The result was a lion's share for some people and a minute share for others. Consequently, tensions grew up between the tribes themselves which led in the end to interference by the Ministry of Education through its Rural Affairs Office. But even so, there were some people who felt they had been treated unjustly. Those people, in accordance with the traditional customs of the Qatari tribes, usually moved their place of settlement frequently. Over the years this happened in the majority of villages. For example, al-Gharih village was abandoned completely. The result was that most of the villages grew smaller and smaller during the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, the villages are scattered along the sea shore and in the desert with many miles between them and Doha, with no paved roads and none of the facilities of modern life. Teachers from northern Arab countries found village life difficult; communication

* See Chapter VII (Village Schools).

** In 1968 the Government adopted a policy of gathering small villages in one new settlement (see Chapter I and Chapter VII).

with village people was not easy for them because of the differences in accent and customs, and the physical environment of the villages was very very poor. In spite of all Government efforts the Qatari villages continue to present formidable problems in the establishment of adequate education. Schools tend to be very small with inadequate ventilation and sanitation; most of them consist of one or two teachers. This is a result of the small size of the school population, which in most schools ranged between 10 to 50 pupils in the 1950s and in 1960/61.³⁹ During this time the Ministry of Education restricted the course of study in many village schools to the first, second and third grades, and for the grades above that, the boys joined the Doha schools.⁴⁰ This policy might have solved the educational problems of the boys but it had the effect of further disadvantaging the girls, because parents were not willing to allow their daughters to travel to schools in Doha.

In the mid 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s, village education was re-organized to include study in all primary grades and some preparatory and secondary grades. In the 1960s the arrangement was that pupils from small villages when they finished their fourth grades, were distributed to the nearest big schools in big neighbouring villages. The Ministry of Education hired cars from small villages for pupil transportation. In the 1970s, in addition to that, the Government adopted a policy of gathering the populations of some small villages in new settlements in one big area,⁴¹ and that made it convenient to establish relatively big schools at primary, general preparatory and general secondary level for both sexes.

B.2 Educational Ladder with the Types of Education

In 1957 Qatar changed its educational ladder from two years kindergarten, six years primary and five years secondary,⁴² to the Arab cultural unity

ladder which is made up of a primary stage of six years, preparatory of three years and secondary of three years.⁴³ Consequently the kindergarten schools or madaris al-Riiad were converted into primary schools and since then kindergarten education has ceased, (see this chapter, section B.6.3).

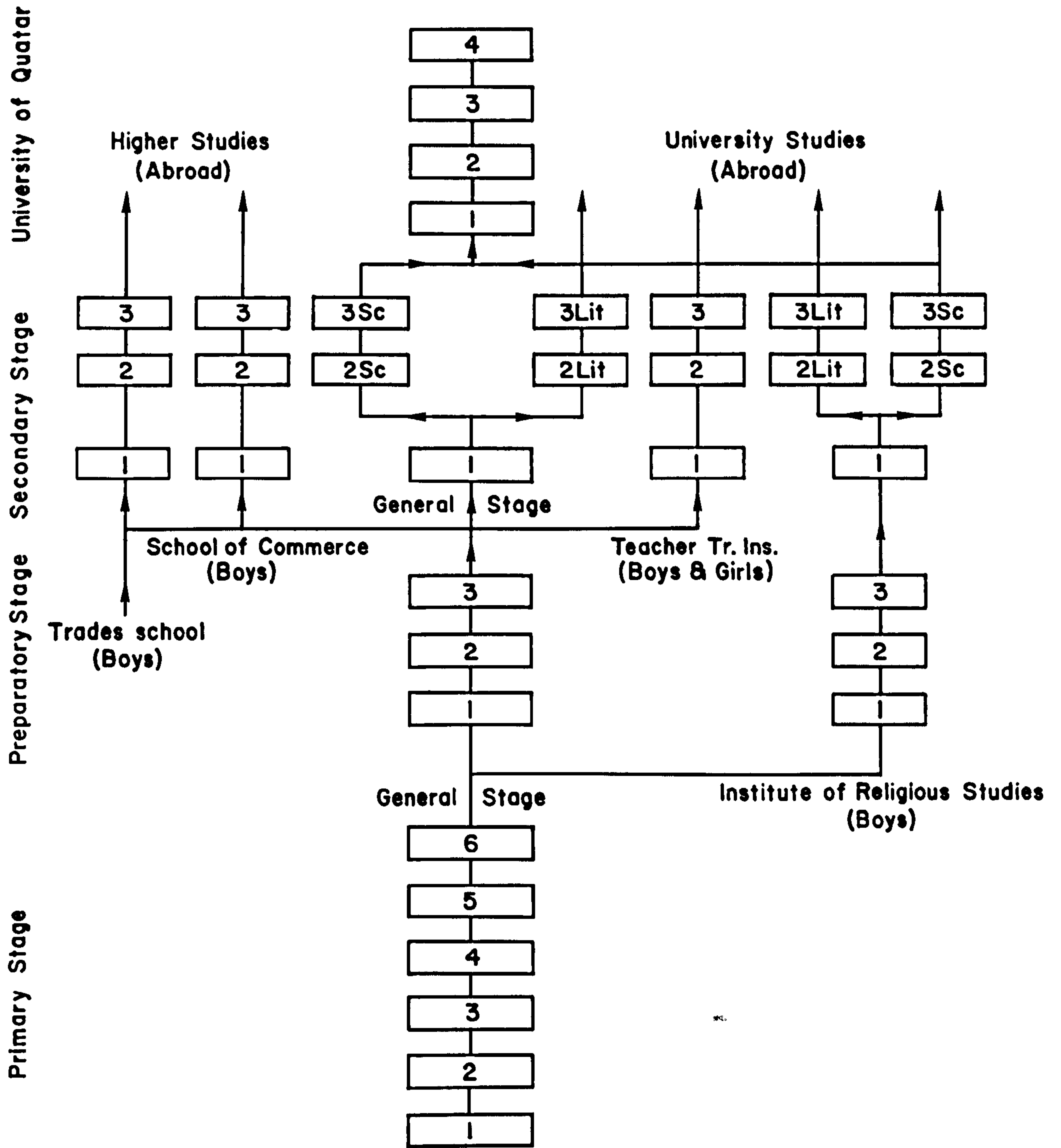
Education, at present, is divided into three main types. General Education, Technical and Vocational, and Higher Education. Chart 2.1 shows the structure of the schools. General Education is split into three stages: primary, preparatory and secondary⁴⁴. The primary stage, where the minimum entry age is six years, covers six years of study. At the end of the sixth grade, the pupil sits a general examination directly controlled by the Ministry of Education. The successful pupils obtain a primary general certificate, which allows them to go on to general preparatory or to religious preparatory schools. The pupil who joined the general preparatory would study for three years. The holders of the general preparatory certificate are eligible for admission to general secondary schools or to technical and vocational schools⁴⁵.

The general secondary stage has the same duration as the general preparatory. Students in the first grade are offered a general education composed of subjects in both sciences and literary studies. In the next two years the course of study is divided into two streams; science and literature. At the end of the third year the students take a final examination. Students who pass this examination are awarded the general secondary school certificate which gives them the right to further study either at Qatar University or at universities abroad at the Government's expense.

Technical and vocational education is made up of four schools*. The period of study is equivalent to that for the general secondary school except for the

* See this chapter, section B.5.

Chart 2.1 GENERAL STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN QATAR 1977/78



Source: Min. Ed. Q Annual Report 1977/78

Religious Institute in which the period of study is extended to cover the three years preparatory as well. A certain percentage of the Religious Secondary Institute and the Teacher Training Institute graduates are accepted at the University of Qatar and the rest are offered jobs in primary schools as teachers, while a certain percentage of graduates from commercial and industrial schools is sent to universities abroad, and the rest are offered jobs in government and the petroleum industry.

Movement from one class to another in all the previous schools depends on "promotion examinations" which are held twice a year under the headmaster's supervision. The first one is held at the end of the academic year and the second one at the beginning of the next academic year, the second one being held for those who failed in the first promotion examination.⁴⁶

Higher Education has been recently established in Qatar, starting in 1973/74 with two Colleges of Education, one for men and one for women.⁴⁷

In 1977 the two Colleges were converted into a university called Qatar University and located in Doha.⁴⁸ The course of study is for four years after the completion of the secondary stage.

B. 3 The Expansion of General Preparatory and General Secondary Education

Historically preparatory education, which was called secondary education before the reorganisation of the educational ladder, was started as early as 1956 with three classrooms in the madrasah al-Abtidaiih al-Qadimih. Students were estimated at about 49 boys.⁴⁹ In 1956/57 new school buildings for preparatory and secondary education were completed, consisting of four classrooms in addition to nine rooms and halls for administrative and student activities⁵⁰.

The school was called madrasah al-Doha al-Thanawih. In 1960/61 the school moved into another new building* near the former one which since then has been assigned to the Religious Institute. Fig. 2.1 shows the location of the two buildings.

During the 1960s there were, in Doha zone, two general preparatory and one general secondary school for boys⁵¹. Between 1970 and 1976, two more preparatory and two more general secondary schools were added to cope with the expansion of secondary education for boys⁵². For girls, a preparatory-secondary school was established in 1964/65; in 1969/70 another school for secondary education was added; in 1972/73 and 1976/77 two preparatory schools were established⁵³. In addition to that there were about four girls' primary schools, comprising classrooms for preparatory and secondary education. Preparatory and secondary education in village zones gradually started for both sexes in 1970/71. In a period of three years most village zones had classrooms for preparatory and secondary students within their boys' and girls' primary schools. Before 1970/71 students from villages who had completed their primary education and wished to pursue their preparatory and secondary education had to reside in Doha, whether in the care of their relatives or in boarding houses which were established by the Ministry of Education in 1956 for this purpose. Boarding houses or al-Qism al-Dakhili, were mainly designed for boys; consequently girls from the villages rarely had further education beyond the primary stage during the 1960s.

* Madrasah al-Doha al-Thanawih from 1956/57 to 1963/64 consisted of classrooms for both general preparatory and general secondary. In 1963/64 the building was restricted to secondary students only. Again in 1969/70 the madrasah al-Doha al-Thanawih was transferred to another building in Ras abu'Abud and the former building was devoted to a preparatory school called al-Doha al-A'dadiih. For location of schools in Doha zone see Fig.7.15

As a result of the more recent expansion of primary education in Qatar, preparatory and secondary education expansion was not started until the mid 1960s for Qatari boys and later in the 1960s for Qatari girls. Since then general preparatory and general secondary education has grown rapidly for both sexes. Table 2.7 shows the growth of primary, general preparatory and general secondary enrolment through four different periods classified by sex and nationality.

Table 2.7

Growth of Primary, General Preparatory and General Secondary enrolment by sex and nationality in the Academic Years 1965/66, 1969/70, 1973/74 and 1976/77

Years and Stage	No. of Students								Total	
	Qatari				Non-Qatari					
	B	%	G	%	B	%	G	%	B	G
1965/66 Primary	5,056	76	3,673	81	1,580	24	879	19	6,636	4,552
Preparatory	584	78	133	63	166	22	78	37	750	211
Secondary	111	49	8	16	114	51	42	84	225	50
1969/70 Primary	5,375	71	4,452	74	2,234	29	1,604	26	7,609	6,056
Preparatory	988	69	482	65	454	31	259	35	1,442	741
Secondary	311	57	75	34	236	43	147	66	547	222
1973/74 Primary	6,908	70	6,516	73	2,968	30	2,368	27	9,876	8,884
Preparatory	1,710	70	1,459	77	750	30	438	23	2,313	1,897
Secondary	732	61	381	59	472	39	268	41	1,204	649
1976/77 Primary	8,266	69	7,647	71	3,673	31	3,140	29	11,839	10,787
Preparatory	1,915	64	2,062	72	1,069	36	814	28	2,984	2,866
Secondary	1,096	60	1,007	69	718	40	459	31	1,814	1,466

Source: Mn. Ed. Q. Annual Report(s), 1965/66, 1968/70, 1973/74 and 1976/77.

The number of Qatari pupils and students in relation to the population of Qatar is considered quite high and it also shows how Qatari attitudes towards girls' preparatory and secondary education have developed. Even though girls' preparatory and secondary education started at least four to five years later than boys' it shows a rapid increase in comparison with the boys' education; for instance the proportion of Qatari girls in the preparatory stage in 1965/66 was 19 per cent, of total Qatari enrolment; this jumped to 33 per cent in 1969/70 and to 46 per cent and 52 per cent in 1973/74 and 1976/77 respectively. This was as a result of two main factors; firstly that the girls' productivity is higher than the boys', secondly the drop-out rate in girls' schools is less than in boys' schools*. In addition Table 2.7 shows that education in Qatar is not restricted to Qatari children only, but is also for children from various Arab countries who make up a considerable proportion of the total. Table 2.8 shows the distribution of pupils and students by nationality in Qatari schools in 1976/77. The growth of pupils and students in Qatari schools, then is not only based on the natural birth rate of the indigenous population but is influenced by the immigrant population who have brought their children with them to the country. Figures 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 show the general growth of education from 1957/58 to 1977/78, by children, teachers and schools and Appendices 2.1 and 2.2 show the quantitative growth of education in Qatar from 1951 to 1977 by level and sex.

B.4 The Development of Syllabuses and Text Books

With the era of educational expansion the mass of the people of Qatar have been urged and convinced that their children of age 12 or so should not only learn to read and write the Arabic language and to do arithmetic but also to know something of history, geography, English, and in addition to acquire a

* See Chapter VIII

Table 2.8
Distribution of Nationalities of Pupils and Students in Primary, General Preparatory
and General Secondary Qatari Schools in 1976/77

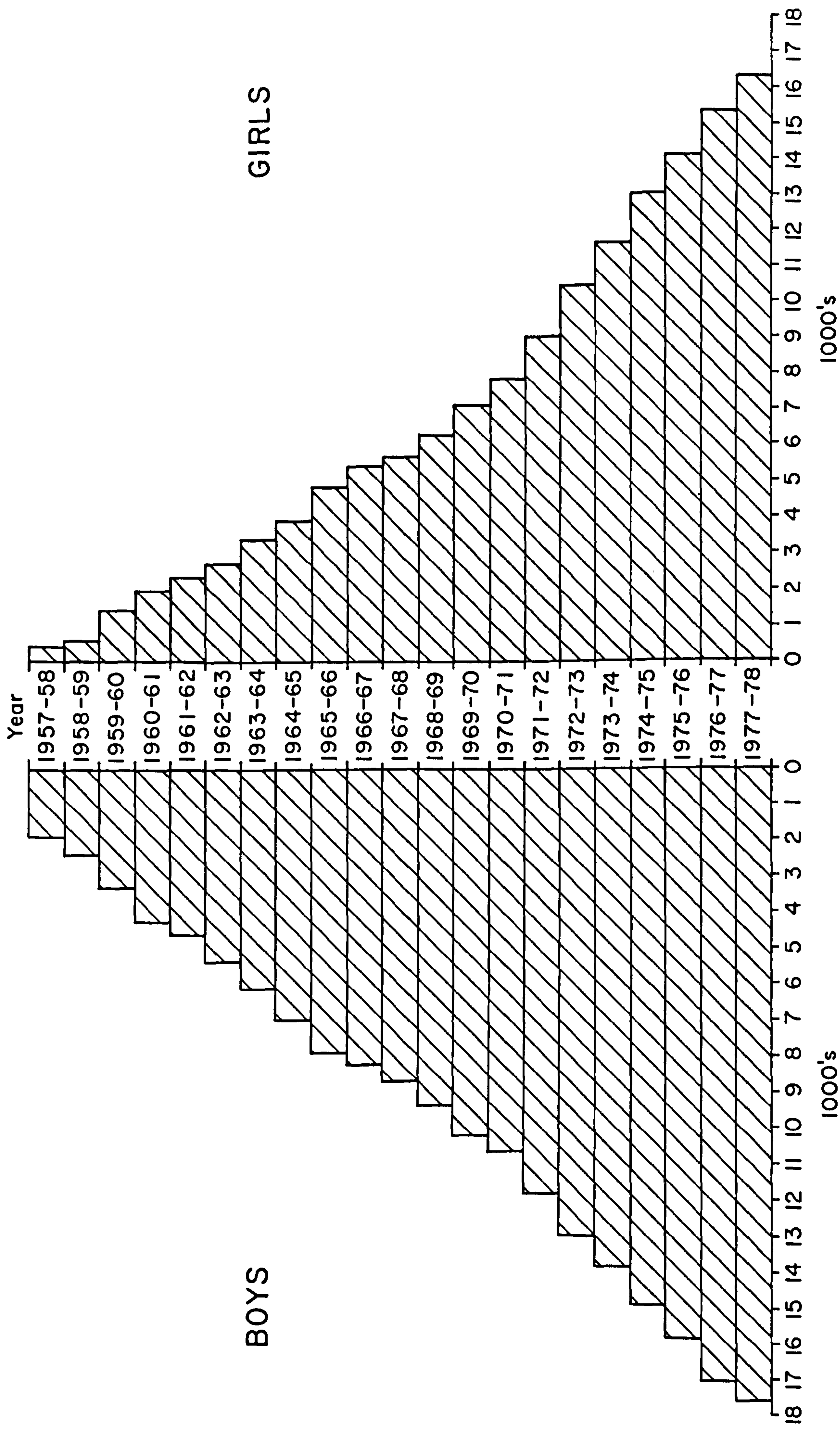
Stage and Sex	Qatari	Non-Qatari Pupils and Students											Total	Qataris		Non-Qataris	
		GC	S	P	J	E	SN	L	Y	ON	No.	%		No.	%		
Primary:	Boys	8,166	400	149	863	752	176	40	56	408	829	11,839	8,166	69	3,673	31	
	Girls	7,647	227	98	820	716	234	42	52	333	618	10,787	7,647	71	3,140	29	
Preparatory:	Boys	1,915	160	18	293	269	136	18	23	50	102	2,984	1,915	64	1,069	36	
	Girls	2,052	60	13	246	249	135	13	28	22	48	2,866	2,052	72	814	28	
Secondary:	Boys	1,096	181	19	168	146	105	11	18	24	46	1,814	1,096	60	718	40	
	Girls	1,007	24	7	155	130	94	9	11	6	23	1,466	1,007	69	459	31	

Key for Nationalities:

Qatari	(Q)	Egyptian	(E)
Arabian Gulf Citizens	(GC)	Syrian	(SN)
Saudi	(S)	Lebanese	(L)
Palestinians	(P)	Yemenite	(Y)
Jordanian	(J)	Other Nationalities	(ON)

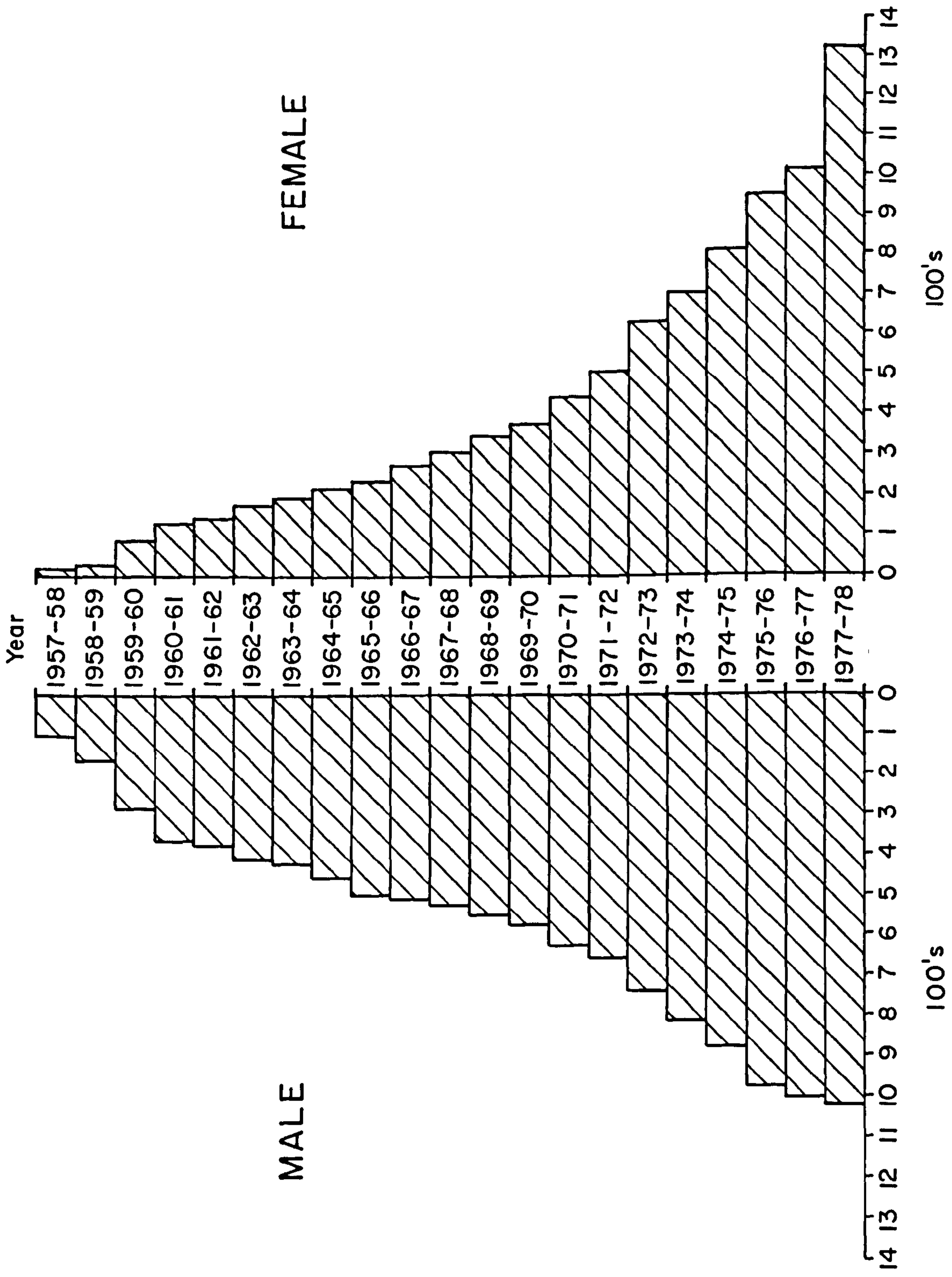
Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report, 1976/77, pp.103, 104 and 137.

Fig.2.2 DEVELOPMENT OF PUPILS AND STUDENTS IN TWO DECADES 1957-58 to 1977-78



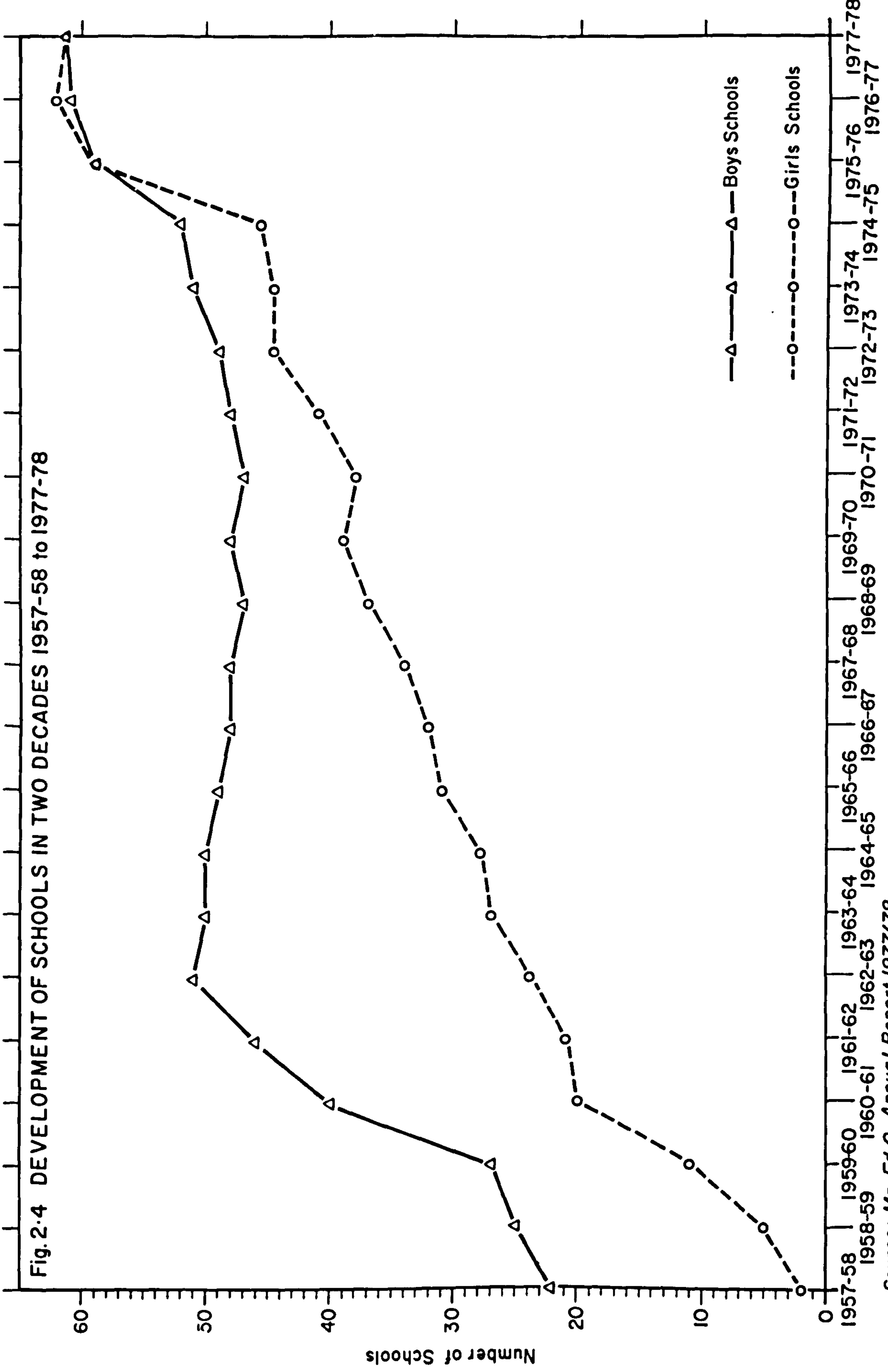
Source: Mn. Ed. Q. Annual Report 1977/78

Fig.2.3 DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS IN TWO DECADES 1957-58 to 1977-78



Source: Mn. Ed. Q. Annual Report 1977/78

Fig. 2.4 DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOLS IN TWO DECADES 1957-58 to 1977-78



Source: Mn. Ed. Q. Annual Report 1977/78

religious knowledge more advanced than that which the kuttab schools had provided. Their children in preparatory and secondary schools seem to them to learn something too complicated. However, the people of Qatar from the beginning had absolute confidence and faith that their educational leaders were very keen to provide the children with as good an education as the Islamic principles and the country's social and economic climate would allow. Nevertheless, in spite of what the fathers saw as extraordinary about their children's education, the children were attracted by their new education; but the Ministry of Education, to whom was committed the whole educational responsibility, felt differently. It was aware that providing children with adequate education is burdensome in a country like Qatar which has just emerged from poverty. Education not only needs school buildings, children and equipment, but also qualified teachers, suitable text books, syllabuses and curricula. An elaboration of the difficulties which faced the Ministry of Education in providing schools with text books, syllabuses and curricula will be made in the following pages.

The present syllabuses and textbooks have developed through three stages. The first one was the foundation stage. The second one was the imprinting of the Qatari stamp on education and the third one is concerned with qualitative aspects.

B. 4.1 The Foundation Stage - 1954 to 1964

With the beginning of modern education in Qatar in 1954 the Department of Education had no curriculum or textbooks of its own. It was dependent on Jordanian, Egyptian and Syrian textbooks⁵⁴. The syllabuses adopted from 1954 to 1957 are shown in Table 2.9.

In 1958 Qatar applied in its schools the Arab cultural unity curriculum, agreed by Jordan, Syria and Egypt, and adopted by the other Arab countries

Table 2.9

Syllabus which applied in Qatari schools
from 1954 to 1957 by weekly lessons and stages

Subjects	Kindergarten		Primary						Secondary		
	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3
Quran	6	6	10	10	8	8	7	5	5	5	5
Arabic language	7	7	10	10	7	7	7	6	6	6	6
English language	-	-	-	-	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Mathematics	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5
Book-keeping	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Social studies	-	-	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	5	5
Science	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	5	5
Handwork and drawing	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	2	2	2	2
Physical education	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Total	28	28	34	34	34	34	34	34	35	35	35

Source: Saqr, A. op. cit., p. 49.

somewhat later⁵⁵. At the same time the Education Department of Qatar formed a committee to select suitable textbooks from the following Arab countries; Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. The result was that the religious textbooks came from Saudi Arabia for primary schools, and for preparatory and secondary from Egypt. The Arabic language textbooks for the primary stage came from Syria and for the next two stages from Egypt⁵⁶, and so the haphazard choice continued. With the expansion of pupils and students all over the country the continual difficulty in obtaining textbooks each year was the major problem facing the Education Department. As a temporary solution Qatar made two agreements, one with Kuwait and one with Egypt. The two agreements allowed Qatar to reprint the Kuwaiti primary textbooks and the Egyptian preparatory and secondary textbooks for its schools at its own expense⁵⁷. Consequently the problem of obtaining textbooks each year was solved, but Kuwaiti and Egyptian textbooks were mainly designed for their own pupils and students, and the problem of teaching the Qatari children about their own environment, their country's geography and history occurred widely. For the primary stage some attempt was made to compose texts about Qatari geography. In the preparatory and secondary stage students, for a long time, embarked on studying subjects to do with Egypt more than Qatar. That was a result of two factors, first that modern education in Qatar was newly started and qualified Qataris were not available to compose textbooks about Qatar. At the same time the teachers and the headmasters who came from northern Arab countries needed more time to understand the country's social background. The second factor was that in 1959/60 a special agreement between the Education Department of Qatar and the Ministry of Education in Egypt established that the general examination at the general secondary level was to

be set by the Egyptian Educational Ministry and the examination answers marked in Egypt too*, if Qatari students were to be accepted to study in Egyptian universities⁵⁸.

From 1957 to 1964 syllabuses were modified several times as a result of the change in the educational ladder as well as the indecisiveness of the Directors** of the Education Department. Tables 2.10, 2.11 and 2.12 show the syllabuses of the Qatari schools in 1962/63. The English language was deleted from the primary syllabus as early as 1957⁵⁹. Weekly lessons in the Quran and Islamic Religion were abandoned in first, second, third and fourth grades from 10 and 8 to 6 but made available in fifth and sixth grade from 7 and 5 to 8. More emphasis was given to the Arabic language as well as to arts education and physical education, see Table 2.10.

B. 4.2 Imprinting of the Qatari Stamp on Education, 1964/1973

During the foundation stage the Ministry of Education*** had insufficient time**** to make use of the experience which had been brought to it by its Directors of Education, inspectorate, head teachers and school teachers. It was not until the second stage that most of the ideas gained from these sources were implemented, and from 1964 to 1975 the Ministry of Education was busy establishing its administrative system*****, school regulations, syllabuses and textbooks.

* This system continued from 1959/60 until 1973/74 when Qatar took over the responsibilities of setting and marking its own general secondary examinations.

** From 1954 to 1964 six Educational Directors rapidly succeeded each other, see Chapter III.

*** In 1962 the Department of Education became the Ministry of Education. See Chapter III.

**** See Chapter III.

***** See Chapter III.

Table 2.10Primary School Syllabus in 1962/63 by weekly lessons

Subjects	Grades					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quran and Islamic Religion	6	6	6	6	8	8
Arabic Language	12	12	10	11	9	9
Mathematics	5	5	5	6	6	6
General Science and Hygiene	1	1	2	3	3	3
Social Studies	-	-	1	2	4	4
Arts Education	3	3	3	3	2	2
Physical Education	3	3	3	3	2	2
Total	30	30	30	34	34	34

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1963/64, p.57. (A)

Table 2.11General Preparatory Syllabus in 1962/63 by weekly lessons and sexes

Subjects	Grades/ Boys' School			Grades/ Girls' School		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Quran and Islamic Religion	5	5	5	5	5	5
Arabic Language	7	7	7	7	7	7
English Language	6	6	6	6	6	6
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5
Social Studies	5	5	5	4	4	4
General Science and Hygiene	4	4	4	3	3	3
Arts Education	2	2	2	2	2	2
Physical Education	2	2	2	1	1	1
Home Economics and Child Care	-	-	-	3	3	3
Total	36	36	36	36	36	36

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1963/64 p. 162 (A)

Table 2.12

General Secondary School Syllabus in 1962/63 by
Weekly Lessons and Sections. Boys only

Subjects	Grade 1	Grade 2		Grade 3	
		Literary	Science	Literary	Science
Quran and Islamic Religion	5	4	4	3	3
Arabic Language	7	7	5	7	5
English Language	6	7	6	8	6
History	2	3	(	3	(
Geography	2	3	(	3	(
Society	1	1	(1	-	(1
Sociology	-	2	(-	(
Philosophy and Psychology	-	-	(	3	(
Mathematics	3	2	6	-	6
Physics	2	(	3	(	3
Chemistry	2	(2	3	(2	3
Biology	2	(	3	(	3
Arts Education	2	1	1	2	1
Physical Education	2	1	1	1	1

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report 1963/64, p.164. (A)

B. 4. 2. 1 The School Regulations

In 1964 the Ministry of Education held a local conference* in Doha attended by all school headmasters, rural school supervisors, technical inspectors, administrative inspectors and headed by the technical assistant of the General Director. Their terms of reference required them to modify the regulations prevailing in Qatari schools. However, the modified regulations which were suggested by the conference and approved by the Ministry of Education mainly consisted of general rules appropriate to the aims and objectives of each school stage, syllabuses, conditions for admission, the academic year and official holidays, the examinations system, pupils' and students' absence, the reward and punishment system, the responsibility of each member of staff, school activities, the school board, home-school co-operation and school records⁶⁰. The 1964 school regulations replaced an old set which had been established in 1954 by the Director of the Education Department and approved by the Ruler of Qatar Shaikh 'Ali**. In comparison the new school regulations were considered very advanced, both educationally and administratively**. Educationally, they established equality between boys' and girls' education at all levels, the physical punishment of children and the reprimanding of children was forbidden.

B. 4. 2. 2 Syllabus Modification

Again the Ministry of Education found it necessary to modify the syllabuses, because of changes in the educational pattern. This modification was particularly noticeable where the following subjects were added to syllabuses: mathematics

* The female staff were excluded.

** See Chapter III.

*** Unfortunately little of the 1964 school regulations had been put into practice, as a result of lack of school administrative autonomy, see Chapter III.

for third grades of secondary-literary section; Arabic grammar for second and third grades of both secondary sections and English language for fifth and sixth grades of the primary stage. Tables 2.13, 2.14 and 2.15 show primary, general preparatory and general secondary syllabuses in 1974.

B. 4. 2. 3 Textbook Composition

The Ministry of Education, after laying down the school regulations and the syllabus modifications, turned its attention to composing its own textbooks. Local textbook composition started in 1965 under the responsibility of the textbook composition committee which was authorised by the Education Minister⁶¹. The draft textbooks were first prepared by certain selected teachers and inspectors and then submitted to the textbook composition committee for study before being delivered to the press. In fact local textbook composition consisted of no more than a collection of textual matter from different Arab textbooks, except for those texts dealing with Qatari geography. The total number of textbooks completed each year was estimated as follows: 26, 13, 50, 43, 40, 42 and 37 textbooks from 1965 to 1971 respectively⁶². The English textbook and the great part of the technical and vocational textbooks were excluded and were imported from abroad. From 1971 to 1973 nearly all textbooks in use in Qatari schools were locally composed⁶³.

B. 4. 2. 4 Third Stage: Toward Improving the Quality of Syllabuses and Textbooks: 1974/78

During the last two stages the Ministry of Education had concentrated on building up its own syllabuses and textbooks as well as the educational system as a whole, which started almost from nothing. But as far as the syllabuses and textbooks were concerned, their quality was not satisfactory to great numbers of teachers and inspectors as well as pupils and students. Revision was put in hand

Table 2.13

Primary School Syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons and sexes

Subjects	Grades											
	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade 4		Grade 5		Grade 6	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Quran and Islamic Religion	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7
Arabic Language	12	12	12	12	10	10	10	9	8	8	8	8
English Language	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	4
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6
Social Studies	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	4	4	4	4
General Science and Hygiene	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	2
Arab Education	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Women's Education	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2
Physical Education	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	1
TOTAL	30	30	30	30	30	30	34	34	36	36	36	36

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar, Primary School Regulations, Second Edition, 1974, p. 9.

Note: The school day runs from 6.45 a. m. to 12.15 p. m. for six days a week, and the lesson period varies from 40-45 minutes.

Table 2.14

**General Preparatory School Syllabus
in 1974/75 by weekly lessons and sexes**

Subjects	Grades					
	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Quran and Islamic Religion	5	5	5	5	5	5
Arabic Language	7	7	7	7	7	7
English Language	6	6	6	6	6	6
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5
Social Studies	4	4	4	4	4	4
General Science and Hygiene	4	3	4	3	4	3
Art Education	3	2	3	2	3	2
Home Economics and Child Care	-	2	-	2	-	2
Physical Education	2	2	2	2	2	2
TOTAL	36	36	36	36	36	36

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar, General Preparatory Regulations, Second Edition, 1974, p. 7.

Note: The school day runs from 6.50 a. m. - 12.15 p. m. for six days a week, and the lesson period is 45 minutes.

Table 2.15

**General Secondary School Syllabus
in 1974/75 by weekly lesson and sexes**

Subjects	Grade 1		Grade 2				Grade 3			
			Literary		Science		Literary		Science	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Quran and Islamic Religion	5	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3
Arabic Language	6	6	9	9	6	6	9	9	6	6
English Language	6	6	8	7	6	6	8	8	6	6
History	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Geography	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Society	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociology	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philosophy and Psychology	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-
Mathematics	4	4	2	2	8	7	2	2	8	8
Physics	2	2	-	1	3	3	-	-	4	3
Chemistry	2	2	2	-	3	3	3	1	3	3
Biology	2	2	-	1	3	3	-	1	3	3
History of Science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Scientific Research Method	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Arts Education	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physical Education	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Women's Education	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2
Total	36	36	36	37	36	37	36	37	36	37

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. General Secondary School Regulations, Second Edition, 1974. p.7.

Note: The school day runs from 6.50 a. m. - 12.25 p. m. for six days a week, and the lesson period is 45 minutes.

Table 2.16

Primary School Syllabus in 1976/77 by weekly lessons and Sexes

Subjects	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade 4		Grade 5		Grade 6	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Quran and Islamic Religion	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	6	6	6	6
Arabic Language	12	12	12	12	10	10	10	9	8	8	8	8
English Language	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	4
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	6
Social Studies	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	4	4	4	4
General Science and Hygiene	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Art Education	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2
Physical Education	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	2	1
Home Economics and Child Care	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	30	30	30	30	30	31	35	35	36	37	36	37

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report 1976/77, p. 35.

Table 2.17

General Preparatory School Syllabus in 1976/77
by weekly lessons and sexes

Subject	Boys			Girls		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Quran and Islamic Religion	5	5	5	5	5	5
Arabic Language	7	7	7	7	7	7
English Language	6	6	6	6	6	6
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	5	5
Social Studies	4	4	4	4	4	4
General Science and Hygiene	4	4	4	3	3	3
Art Education	3	3	3	2	2	2
Physical Education	2	2	2	2	2	2
Home Economics and Child Care	-	-	-	2	2	2

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Report 1976/77, p. 35.

Table 2.18

General Secondary School Syllabus in 1976/77
by weekly lesson and sexes

	Grade 1		Grade 2				Grade 3			
			Literary		Science		Literary		Science	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Quran and Islamic Religion	5	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3
Arabic Language	6	6	9	9	6	6	9	9	6	6
English Language	6	6	8	7	6	6	8	8	6	6
French Language	-	-	4	4	-	-	4	4	-	-
History	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Geography	2	2	3	3	-	-	3	3	-	-
Society	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sociology	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philosophy and Psychology	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-
Mathematics	5	5	2	2	8	7	2	2	8	8
Science	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	2	-	-
Physics	2	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	4	3
Chemistry	2	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	3	3
Biology and Geology	2	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	3	3
History of Science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Scientific Research Method	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Arts Educations	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physical Education	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Home Economics and Child Care	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	37	37	36	37	36	38	36	37	36	37

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report 1976/77, p. 36.

Note: Students in the second grade of the Literary Section have a choice of specialising in French Language or Mathematics and Science.

for the majority of the syllabuses*.⁶⁴ Tables 2.16, 2.17 and 2.18 show the modified syllabuses in 1976/77.

However, from 1958 to 1978 the syllabuses and textbooks in all Qatari schools had developed rapidly. Comments on and appraisal of these developments will be found in Chapter V.

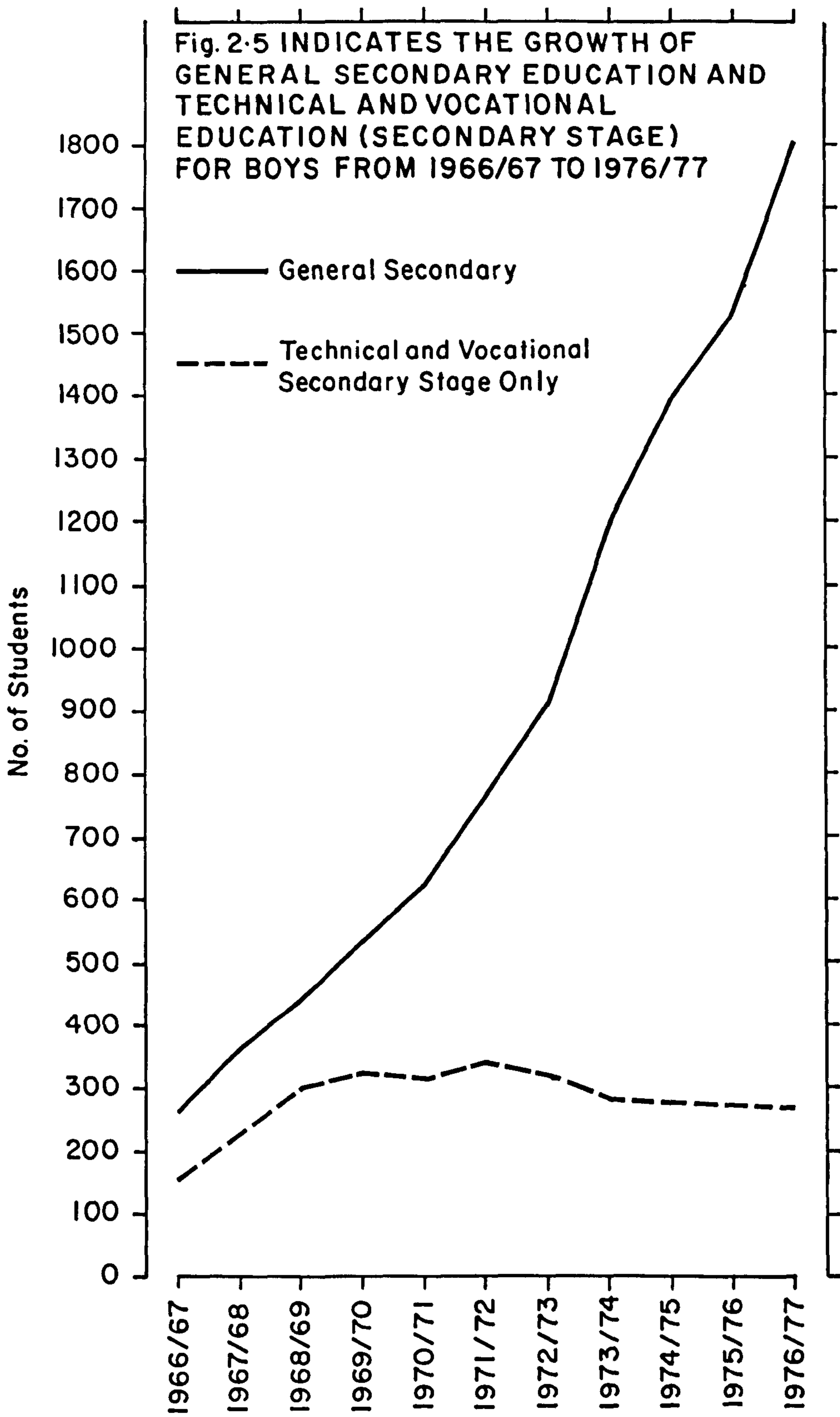
B.5 Development of Technical and Vocational Education

Education in Qatar for both girls and boys has been characterized by rapid expansion in primary, general preparatory and general secondary areas. Technical and vocational education, however, has grown more gradually. Figure 3.5 shows a comparison between student growth in technical-vocational schools and general secondary schools from 1966/67 to 1976/77. However, the phenomenon of low enrolment in this kind of education seems common in the Arab countries, as for instance El-Koussy makes clear.

Due to the importance of vocational training for economic developments all Arab countries have agreed to pay particular attention to this segment of education. Yet, in spite of 25 years of such pronouncements at meetings and conferences, the progress made in this area cannot be considered encouraging.⁶⁵

Technical and vocational education in Qatar consists of four schools, namely, the Religious Institute (R. I.), the Industrial School (I. S.), the two Teacher Training Institutes (T. T. I.), and the Commercial School (C. S.). All the four schools and the Institutes are located in the capital, and historically some of them were established as early as the beginning of the 1950s. Admission to technical and vocational schools is restricted to boys, except for admission to the T. T. I.s which is open to boys and girls. In addition non-Qatari students are not accepted in T. T. I.s and I. S.s, although in the C. S. and

* See Chapter V.



R. I. a certain percentage of non-Qatari students is allowed, 25 per cent and 50 per cent of the total enrolment respectively. Students in these schools are provided with monthly allowances.⁶⁶

B. 5.1 The Religious Institute, R. I.

In 1960/61 a new preparatory-secondary R. I. was established in Doha, and occupied the former building of the first secondary school in Qatar. The objectives of the R. I. are: to provide the upper grades of primary schools with male teachers specialized in Islamic Religion and Arabic language; to provide mosques with enlightened religious leaders; to prepare students to pursue higher studies in the al-Azhar University or its equivalent, so as to be qualified to shoulder the responsibilities of the Shari'ah Law ... etc. and to be able to teach Islamic religious subjects in the secondary schools⁶⁷.

Historically, the R. I. or Religious School (R. S.) existed in Doha before 1960/61. In the 1950s there was one R. S. called madrasah al-Ma'had al-Dini consisting of a school building, library and boarding house; it was located opposite the Ruler's palace in al-Bdi' area⁶⁸ (within Doha town). There is no available information about the date the school was founded or its curriculum or grades of study. It might have been founded during the transformation stage from the kuttab school to semi-modern education, which happened between 1949-1954. The R. S. was administratively and financially supervised by the Government, and before 1957 it was run by the Director of Religious Institutions independently from the control of the Education Department⁶⁹. On the 10th December 1957 the R. S. was transferred to the direct control of the Director of the Education Department. The following official statement issued by the Adviser to the Government of Doha clearly shows that:

It is notified for your information that the administration of the Religious School has been transferred to the Education Department.

In future, all matters concerning the Religious School which used to be referred to the Director of Religious Institutions will be referred to the Director of Education.⁷⁰

When the school was transferred to the Education Department it comprised about 180 pupils and 10 teachers⁷¹. For unknown reasons the R.S. closed during 1957/58, and its pupils and teachers were distributed into the primary schools⁷².

The R. I. which was established in 1960/61, in order to achieve its objectives, laid greater stress in its curriculum on the subjects of Islamic religion and the Arabic language for both preparatory and secondary stages. For instance, the total percentage of time devoted to these subjects is 53.8 and 53.8 - 59.0 per cent in preparatory and secondary literary streams respectively, while the total percentage of time devoted to the same subjects in general preparatory and general secondary schools is 33.3 and 33.3 - 35.9 per cent respectively. In addition to the previous two main subjects, the students were taught English language, history, geography, mathematics and science, etc. In 1973 the curriculum for the R. I. Secondary stage was modified, so that the second and third grades were divided into two streams, science and literary students:- the science stream students study physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics, exactly like the general secondary school students. Table 2.19 and Table 2.20 shows the weekly timetable for both the preparatory and secondary school. The idea behind the later change was to provide a chance for some R. I. students to enrol in the science colleges in the al-Azhar university in Egypt. On the other hand it is aimed at strengthening the status of the R. I. and putting it on the same footing as the general secondary schools in order to attract more children.

The R. I., from 1968 onwards, has faced serious problems arising from the low enrolment of Qatari students. For example, in 1974/75 the number of

Table 2.19

Religious Institute: Preparatory Syllabus
in 1974/75 by weekly lessons

Subjects	Grade	Grade 2	Grade 3
Quran and Islamic Religion	11	11	11
Arabic Language	10	10	10
Social Studies	3	3	3
Science and Hygiene	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	5	5
English Language	6	5	5
Art Education	1	1	1
Physical Education	1	1	1
TOTAL	39	39	39

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Religious Institute Regulations, Second Edition, 1974, p.9 (A)

Table 2.20

Religious Institute: Secondary Syllabus
in 1974/75 by weekly lessons

Subjects	Grade 1	Grade 2 Literary	Grade 2 Science	Grade 3 Literary	Grade 3 Science
Quran and Islamic Religion	9	11	8	13	8
Arabic Language	8	10	7	10	7
English Language	6	7	6	7	6
Mathematics	4	-	8	-	8
Physics	2	-	3	-	3
Chemistry	2	-	3	-	3
Biology	2	-	3	-	3
History	2	3	-	3	-
Geography	2	3	-	2	-
Islamic Society	-	2	-	-	-
Sociology	-	1	-	-	-
Qatari Society	1	-	-	-	-
Philosophy, Ethics and Psychology	-	-	-	3	-
Physical Education	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	39	39	39	39	39

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Religious Institute Regulations,
Second Edition, 1974, pp.10-11.

Qatari students to enrol in the first grade of the R. I. preparatory stage was five only, as compared with 639 Qatari students enrolling in the first grade of the general preparatory stage⁷³, Figure 2.6 shows the trend respectively among Qatari and non-Qatari students in both the preparatory and secondary stage of the R. I., from 1965/66 to 1974/75.

The character of the R. I. had gradually been dominated by non-Qatari students. This had happened because of the low enrolment of Qataris and because the Ministry of Education, in order to maintain the status of the R. I., had offered scholarships for non-Qatari students in addition to free accommodation and boarding. This increased the general enrolment in the R. I. and broke down the non-Qatari admission percentage which was mentioned in the previous pages. For instance the Qatari student percentage of the total enrolment decreased from 66 per cent in 1968/69 to 33 per cent and to 21 per cent in 1973/74 and 1976/77 in the preparatory stage. The non-Qatari students are mostly from non-Arab Islamic nations. (See Table 2.21 which shows the distribution of the R. I. students by nationality in 1974/75). This, in fact, creates another problem for the teaching staff of the R. I., because the curriculum is mainly designed for Arabic students, and in addition it is a specialized one; consequently the non-Arab students find the whole syllabus very difficult for them to understand or follow⁷⁴.

There are several reasons for the decreasing numbers of Qatari students, some of the reasons are connected with students' attitude towards vocational and technical education in general and some of them relate directly to the R. I. in particular. The latter factors are: that the Arabic language and Islamic religious curriculum, syllabuses and textbooks of the R. I. are very specialized and complex, compared with the general preparatory and general secondary school curriculum, syllabus and textbooks. The status of the R. I. as a

Fig.2.6 THE PATTERN OF ENROLMENT OF QATARI AND NON-QATARI STUDENTS IN THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTE FROM 1965/66 TO 1974/75

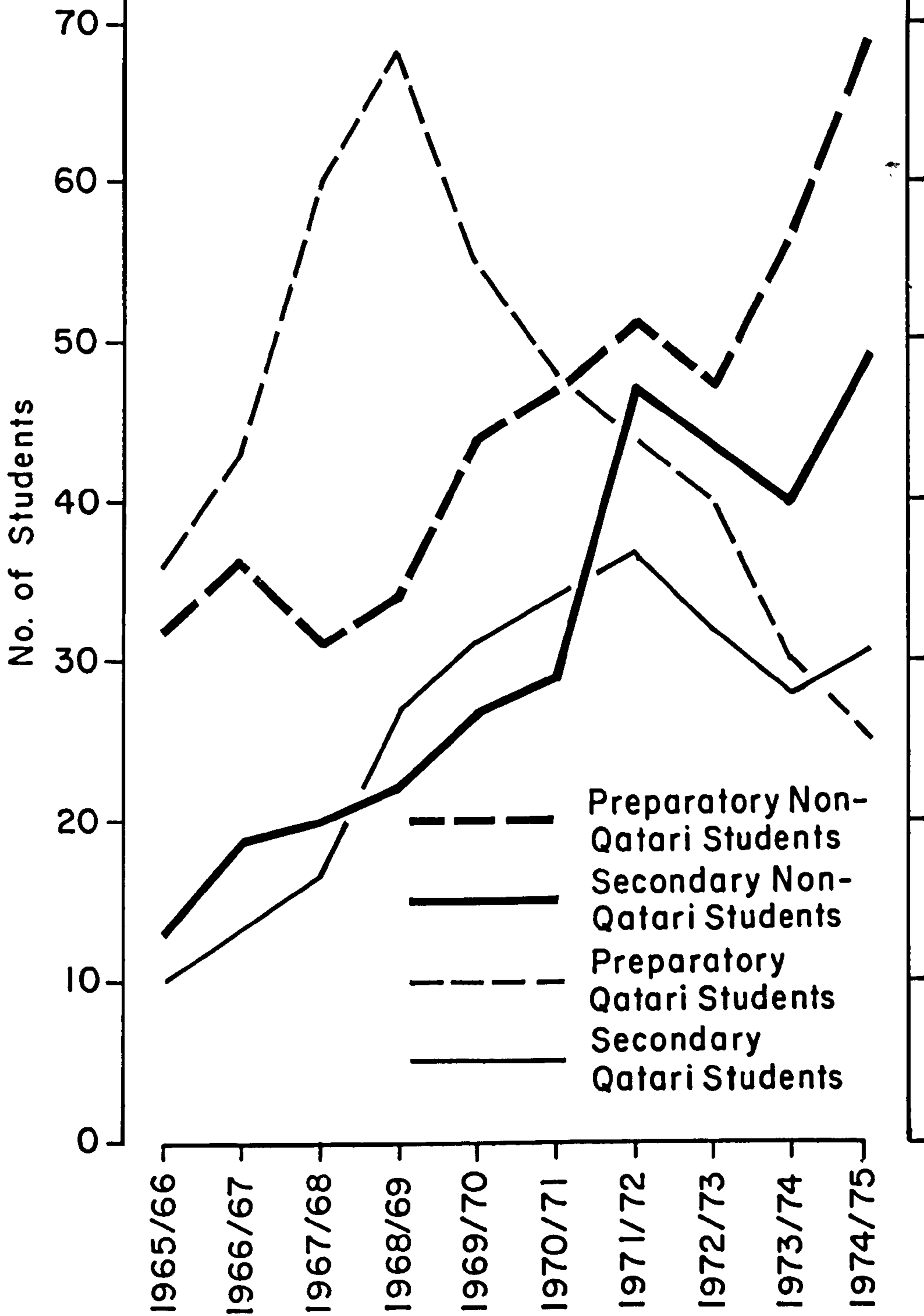


Table 2.21

Distribution of Nationalities of Students in R. I. in 1974/75

Stage	Non-Qatari Students (Arab)											Non-Arabic students	T	% of Q	% of non-Q (Arab)	% of non-Q (non-Arab)
	Q	GC	S	P	J	E	SN	L	Y	ON						
Preparatory	25	5	-	1	1	1	-	-	4	58	95	26	13	61		
Secondary	31	7	-	-	3	1	-	-	11	27	80	39	27	34		
Total	56	12	-	1	4	2	-	-	15	85	175	65	40	95		

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report 1974/75, p. 217.

Note: For nationality key see Table 2.8.

conservative religious school makes it, in the students' opinion, less attractive, and in comparison with the general secondary school it is less competitive in both employment and scholarship sectors. The R. I. secondary students who graduate and want to be primary school teachers are offered lower salaries than their fellows who graduate from T. T. I. s because the R. I. leavers are treated as unqualified teachers⁷⁵.

It is a fact that the staff of the R. I. are greatly concerned at the failure of their Institute to attract considerable numbers of Qatari students. Apart from their suggestion that most of the new generation has lost faith in Islam, they have suggested that the Ministry of Education should pay special attention to the R. I. by providing students with a full daily meal, supplying students with winter and summer clothes, restoring the mid-term trip on which the students visit the al-Azhar university and other Islamic archaeological centres and finally equalizing the salaries of R. I. graduates and T. T. I. graduates teaching in the primary schools⁷⁶.

B. 5.2 The Industrial School, I.S.

This school was established in 1376 Hjri (corresponding to the year 1956) as a training centre for those interested in a primary qualification in carpentry, fitting and turning, the metalwork and welding⁷⁷. As a result of the new educational policy in the country, pupils were accepted even though they had no education beyond the third grade of primary school. In 1958 the school changed from a training centre to an Industrial School⁷⁸. But the method of teaching and the standard of the school remained the same until 1960/61 when the school was converted into a preparatory level institution⁷⁹. The admission standard then was to be not less than the primary certificate. The school curriculum was established and qualified teachers were brought in. In 1964/65 the school level

became preparatory-secondary. The location of the school when it was established was in a relatively less crowded area. The site was about 26,780 sq. m. with an attractive building, but as a result of school expansion, some wings and rooms were added hastily. The school now (1978) is surrounded by enormous buildings and crowded streets. Its internal efficiency was described by its own Director as poor and the unintegrated building failed to protect the students from the heat and the mechanical equipment from the rain⁸⁰.

The I.S.'s objectives are threefold: to develop interest in industrial and handicraft work among young people; to produce technicians for local needs; and to organize training courses for labourers.

Students can enrol in the I.S. whether they have graduated from primary schools or from general preparatory schools. Students from general preparatory schools enter at secondary level. For this reason the first grade of the I.S. secondary stage is in two sections, 'first general' for students graduating from general preparatory schools and 'first industrial' for students graduating from the I.S. preparatory stage (see the weekly lesson plan for the I.S. secondary stage in Table 2.23). The syllabuses of both stages are categorized under two main sub-headings; general cultural subjects, comprising Islamic religion, Arabic language, English language, etc., and physical education. These general cultural subjects are common for all students, and in addition students study technical cultural subjects, consisting of theoretical and practical instruction related to the following six specialities: fitting and turning, metals and welding, carpentry, refrigeration and air conditioning, general electricity, and automobile and diesel mechanics. The percentage of time devoted to the technical programme varies from 59.5 - 64.3 and 57.0 - 64.3 per cent of the total time in the preparatory and secondary stage respectively. Table 2.22 and

Table 2.23 show the weekly timetable for both stages.

Each student must choose one of the six mentioned specializations, the choice usually being based on the student's interest and on the teacher's and headmaster's recommendations. In the secondary stage, those students who graduate from the I.S. preparatory stage pursue their studies in the specialization they had chosen at the preparatory stage to a more advanced level. Table 2.24 shows the distribution of the students according to their specialization in 1976/77.

Even both stages of the I.S. attract more Qatari students than the R.I. representing 3 per cent and 1 per cent out of the Qatari boys' total enrolment in general preparatory and 6.6 per cent and 4 per cent of general secondary students in 1973/74 and 1976/77 respectively. The situation was much better in 1965/66 and in 1969/70, in which the enrolment percentage in the I.S. preparatory stage was 25 per cent and 10 per cent of the total general preparatory enrolment and 19 per cent and 23 per cent of the general secondary school enrolment.

The low enrolment trend in the I.S. school is quite at odds with the country's needs and demands for Qatari technicians, who are urgently needed in both government and non-government sectors. The situation is seriously disappointing and the council of Ministers took a decision on 21 April 1976 to incorporate the I.S. with the vocational and career development training centre, which in practice meant the closure of the I.S.⁸¹ This decision, however, was rejected by the Ministry of Education which wrote on 19th October 1976 to the council of Ministers to clarify the differences between the objectives of the I.S. and the vocational and career development training centre*, and then proposed the reversal of the previous decision of the Council⁸². The Council of Ministers,

* For detail about this centre, see this Chapter, section B.6.2.

Table 2.22

Industrial School: Preparatory Syllabus
in 1974/75 by weekly lessons

Subjects	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
<u>Cultural Subjects</u>			
Quran and Islamic Religion	2	2	2
Arabic Language	3	3	3
English Language	4	3	3
Social Studies	1	1	1
General Science and Hygiene	3	2	2
Mathematics	3	3	3
Commerce and Labour Codes	-	-	2
Physical Education	1	1	1
TOTAL	17	15	17
<u>Technical Subjects</u>			
1. Technical drawing:			
General	4	-	-
Mechanics and Electricity	-	4	4
Carpentry	-		
2. Industrial Arithmetic:			
General	2	1	-
Mechanics, Electricity and Carpentry	-	-	2
3. Science and Industrial Origin:			
General	2	-	-
Fitting and Turning	-		
Metals and Welding	-		
Electricity	-	2	2
Automobile and Diesel Mechanics	-		
Refrigeration and Air Conditions	-		
Carpentry	-		
4. Workshop Practice	17	20	17
TOTAL	25	27	25
GRAND TOTAL	42	42	42

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Industrial School Regulations, Second Edition, 1974, pp.8-9.

Industrial School: Secondary Syllabus
in 1974/75 by weekly lessons

Subjects	General Grade 1	Industrial Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
<u>Cultural Subjects</u>				
Quran and Islamic Religion	2	2	2	2
Arabic Language	3	3	2	2
English Language	4	4	3	3
Social Studies	1	1	-	-
General Science and Hygiene	1	1	-	-
Mathematics	4	4	3	3
Commerce and Labour Codes	-	-	2	-
Physics and Chemistry	2	2	2	2
Mechanics (or Carpentry Decorations)	-	-	2	2
Physical Education	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	18	18	17	15
<u>Technical Subjects:</u>				
1. Engineering and Industrial Drawing:				
General	4		-	-
Mechanics, Electricity, Carpentry, Ref. and A. C.	-	4	4	4
2. Industrial Arithmetic:				
General	2		-	-
Carpentry	-	2	-	-
3. Science of Industrial Origin:				
General	3		-	-
Fitting and Turning	-			
Metals and Welding	-			
Electricity	-			
Automobile and Diesel Mechanics	-	3	2	2
Refrigeration and Air Conditioning	-			
Carpentry	-			
4. Measuring:				
Fitting and Turning	-			
Metals and Welding	-			
Electricity	-			
Automobile and Diesel Mechanics	-			
Refrigeration and Air Conditioning	-			
Carpentry	-			
5. Workshop Practice	15	15	17	19
TOTAL	24	24	25	27
GRAND TOTAL	42	42	42	42

Table 2.24Shows the Distribution of the I. S. Students on Various Specializations - 1976/77

Specialisation	Preparatory				Secondary				Grand Total
	Grade 3 No. of Boys	Grade 1 No. of Boys	Grade 2 No. of Boys	Grade 3 No. of Boys	Total	Grade 1 No. of Boys	Grade 2 No. of Boys	Grade 3 No. of Boys		Total
Fitting and Turning	3	2	1	4	7	2	1	4	10
Metals and Welding	3	2	1	1	4	2	1	2	7
Carpentry	2	1	2	2	5	3	3	3	7
Refrigeration and Air Conditioning	5	3	3	3	9	5	4	1	14
General electricity	6	5	4	1	10	4	4	-	16
Automobile and Diesel Mechanics	5	4	4	-	8	4	4	-	13
TOTAL	24	17	15	11	43	17	15	11	67

Source: Taken by the writer from the Industrial School Statistics Record.

at its 39th meeting on 17th November 1976 issued another decision in which it agreed to the Ministry of Education proposal.⁸³ Even though the I.S. has escaped closure this time, however, there are no reassuring signs that the Council of Ministers will not decide again on the closure of the I.S. especially if the enrolment trend shows no improvement in the coming few years. The Ministry of Education however, took a hasty decision in 1975 when it closed the preparatory stage of the I.S.⁸⁴ Such a decision was far from practical because there were, in the primary schools, considerable numbers of pupils of more than 14 and 15 years old and still in various grades of primary school; among those pupils many could have been directed to enrol in the I.S. Another step on the same path was when the Ministry of Education in 1973/74 provided general secondary students who joined science streams with monthly subsidies as an encouragement*, that method speeded the diversion towards the general secondary school, especially on the part of needy students who usually enrolled in the vocational and technical schools. The two moves together will adversely affect enrolment in the I.S. in the future unless the Ministry of Education devises a better solution.

B. 5.3 The Two Teacher Training Institutes, T. T. I. s

The Ministry of Education has established two T. T. I. s, one for men and one for women. The T. T. I. for men was opened in 1962/63, and the one for women in 1967/68.⁸⁵ The men's T. T. I. from 1962/63 to 1973/74 had no building of its own, but was sharing with a secondary school. In 1974/75 it was accommodated in a building of its own. The location of the T. T. I. 's building is shown in Figure 7.15 The building was too big and more than the T. T. I. required, and so the Ministry of Education used one wing of it as a store for

* See Chapter V, p.163.

science laboratory equipment, and then in 1977/78 the T. T. I. building was shared by the Commercial School. Figure 7.13 shows a view of the building. The women's T. T. I. is still sharing with the girls' secondary school and with the girls' primary school. For location see Figure 7.15.

The two T. T. I. s were established to provide primary schools with qualified male and female Qatari teachers. The curriculum here is designed to train students for a three year period after the completion of general preparatory schooling, so as to enable them to teach subjects in the lower grade of primary schools. The syllabuses include Islamic Religion, Arabic Language, English Language, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Physical Education, Theoretical Music, and Domestic Economy for girls. In addition to this, special care is devoted to educational theory and the Psychology of teaching methods, fine-arts and audio-visual aids. Table 2.25 shows the weekly timetable. It is observed that the T. T. I. curriculum satisfactorily equips both boys and girls with an education very appropriate to their future occupation. They are taught, for example, about the educational system in Qatar as a whole, about the principles of the primary school curriculum, primary school administration, the relationship between inspectors and teachers in the primary school, the importance of school activities, how to deal psychologically with pupils, how to use, and how to make educational aids and so on.

In the second term of the first year students visit primary schools to watch practical lessons taught by qualified teachers. In the second and third years, students practice teaching in primary schools under their teachers' supervision. This procedure is called "practical education" and is usually organised as follows: students are divided into groups; each group visits a primary school for one whole week in the second term of the second year;

Table 2.25

Teacher Training Institute Syllabus in 1974/75
by weekly lessons

Subjects	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3	
	B	G	B	G	B	G
Quran and Islamic Religion	4	4	5	5	4	4
Arabic Language	7	7	7	7	8	8
English Language	4	4	3	3	3	3
Mathematics	5	5	5	5	4	4
General Science	5	5	4	4	4	4
Society and Social Service	-	-	1	1	1	1
Psychology and Education	2	2	3	3	4	4
Hygiene	-	-	1	1	1	1
General and Special Methods and Criticism	2	2	-	-	-	-
Education Art and Educational Aids	2	2	2	2	2	2
Physical Education	2	2	1	1	1	1
Music	1	-	-	-	-	-
Home Economics and Child Care	-	3	-	2	-	2
Practical Education	-	-	3	3	3	3
TOTAL	38	40	38	40	38	40

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Teacher Training Institute Regulations,
Second Edition 1974, pp.6-7.

during the week each student voluntarily takes three lessons in the presence of his fellow students who watch and take notes about his teaching performance. At the end of the day, teacher and students hold a meeting to discuss and evaluate their teaching. In the third year, practice is increased to a period of three weeks continuously, and each student practices teaching alone, with his supervisor paying short visits to make sure that the student is teaching efficiently. A student who fails in practical teaching cannot sit the final written examination.

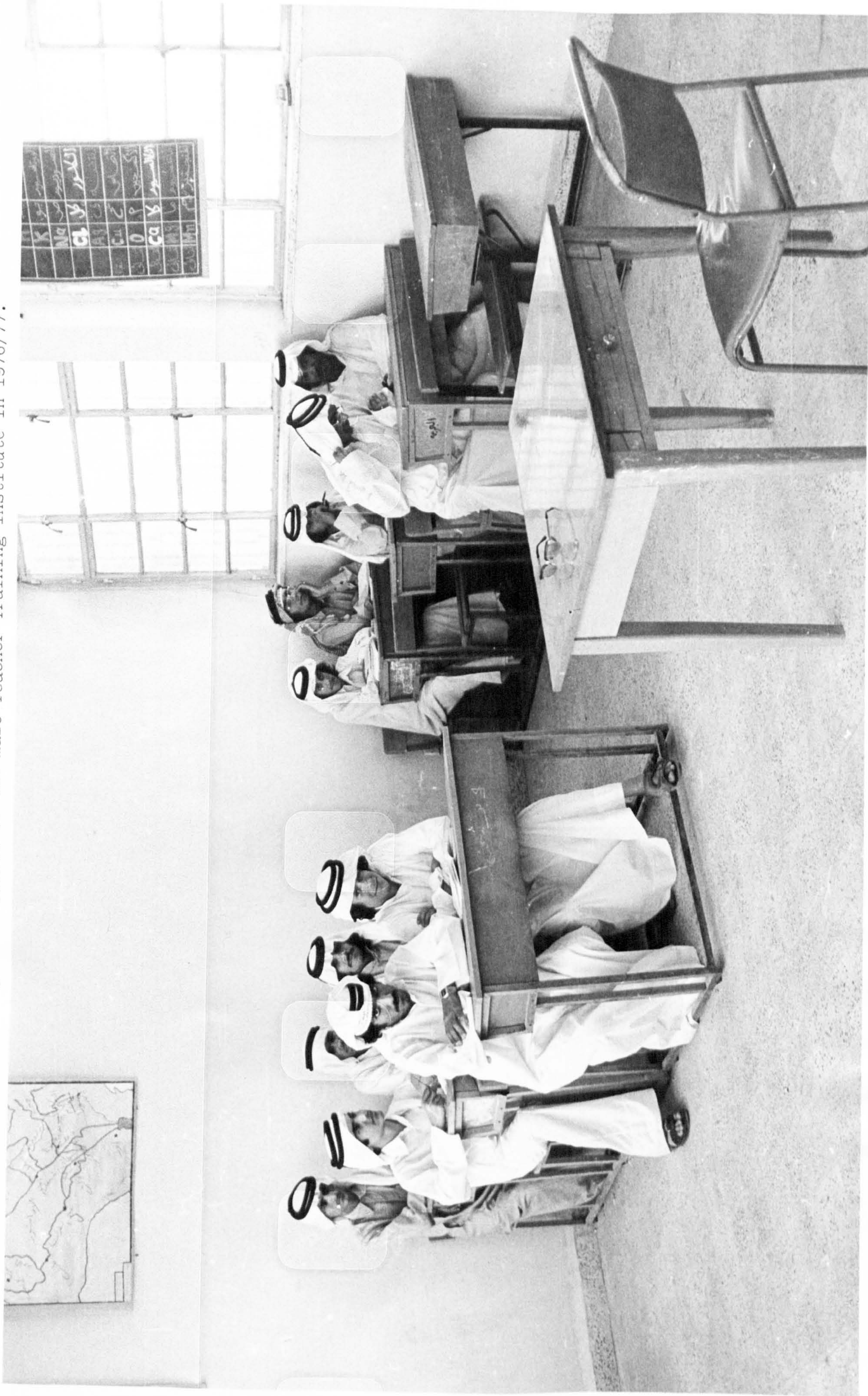
The Ministry of Education is faced with the problem of low enrolment in the two T.T.I.s also, by comparison with enrolment in the general secondary schools, especially from male students. In its report submitted to the 35th session of the International Conference on Education in Geneva 1975, the Ministry of Education stated that:

The major problems that still have to be solved by the Ministry are (1) the low enrolment in the trade school and the Teacher Training Institute for men in spite of a series of encouraging measures that have been taken. 86

Although the men's T.T.I. has provided the primary schools with 264 trained Qatari teachers during the last thirteen years, from 1964/65 to 1975/76 (see Appendix 8.8), it seems likely that, within the coming few years, it will be closed. For instance, in 1976/77 the total number of students in the T.T.I. was only 37. They were distributed as follows: 15 students in the first grade, 11 students in the second grade, and 11 students in the third grade.⁸⁷ Figure 2.7 shows the third grade students of the male T.T.I. in 1976/77.

The writer has interviewed the director of the male T.T.I. about the main causes of the low enrolment. The director emphasized three main factors, which in his opinion were responsible for the low enrolment in the T.T.I.

Figure 2.7 shows the third grade students of the male Teacher Training Institute in 1976/77.



Firstly, there was the competition from the oil companies, the army and the police, which latterly have employed more preparatory certificate holders at higher salaries than those paid by the Ministry of Education to the T. T. I. graduates. Secondly, the teaching profession is not attracting the young Qatari, because they have no difficulties in obtaining less exacting jobs with higher status in the Government sector. Thirdly, the Ministry of Education has had no effective plan for increasing enrolment in the T. T. I. during the last years.⁸⁸

The Ministry of Education is facing the present situation of the male T. T. I. with some anxiety. Two proposals are being seriously studied: one for strengthening the existing male T. T. I., by encouraging more preparatory students to enrol in the male T. T. I.; the other for simply closing it. The second proposal is made for two reasons: that there is no further point in encouraging preparatory students to go to the T. T. I. because the student trend is very much toward general secondary schools; and that the idea of training students for the teaching profession after completion of their general secondary education instead of after the preparatory stage is becoming common throughout the world. The view is, then, that the Ministry of Education should direct its efforts toward training holders of the general secondary school certificate for two further years in the T. T. College, so that they may obtain a teaching diploma for teaching in primary schools.⁸⁹

In 1977/78 the Ministry of Education made a decision to stop new enrolment to the two T. T. I. s with effect from 1978/79, in order to close the two T. T. I. s within the coming two years.⁹⁰ However, the possibility of such a closure of the two T. T. I. s was not part of Ministry of Education policy during 1963, 1966 and 1969, when there was a persistent belief that the two T. T. I. s

would eventually have the capacity to supply the whole primary school requirement of Qatari teachers.⁹¹ This belief, that a sufficient number of Qatari teachers could be trained, was more clearly justified in the case of the women, who for social reasons were largely excluded from opportunities of work outside the teaching profession. For men, for whom there were ample opportunities for employment, the situation was very different. Table 2.26 shows a comparison between enrolment in the male T. T. I. and the female T. T. I. at four different times.

Table 2.26

Shows the enrolment trend in both male T. T. I. and female T. T. I. in 1969/70, 1972/73, 1976/77 and 1977/78

Years	Male	Female	T.	M. %	F. %
1969/70	123	82	205	60	40
1972/73	129	177	306	42	58
1976/77	39	217	256	15	85
1977/78	38	196	234	16	84

Source: Appendices 2.1 and 2.2

It is obvious from Table 2.26 that while the men's T. T. I. is in a serious predicament, the women's T. T. I. is much better and its annual enrolment is quite sufficient. For instance, in 1974/75 to 1977/78 the average of new enrolment in the women's T. T. I. was 79 students, compared with 16 students as an average of new enrolments in the men's T. T. I. for the same period.⁹² Consequently the Ministry of Education's decision to close the women's T. T. I. was a great mistake, especially since the demand for female Qatari teachers increased as a result of the new policy which allowed women teachers

to run schools for boys aged 6 - 9 years, in order to cover the shortage of male Qatari teachers*.

B.5.4 The Commercial School: C.S.

The C.S. was established in 1966.⁹³ From 1966 to 1976 it was run in a small building, originally designed for family accommodation. The building, apart from its small size, is inadequate for C.S. activities, especially since enrolment has relatively increased during the mid 1970s. The C.S., from 1976/77, shared one school building with the male T.T.I.

The school's objective is to train and prepare students for commercial and clerical jobs, for instance as storekeepers, typists, secretaries, accountants, book-keepers, cashiers and so on.

The students, however, are taught Islamic religion, Arabic language, English language, economic history, and economic geography, besides the specialized commercial subjects. Table 2.27 shows the weekly timetable.

The enrolment in this school is also limited in comparison with that of general secondary schools, but it is not lower than the enrolment in the rest of the former technical and vocational schools. Figure 2.8 shows clearly that the number of Qatari students is higher than the number of non-Qatari students unlike the case with the R.I. Even though the proportion of Qatari enrolment shows some decrease between 1970/71 and 1972/73, the number of Qataris increased considerably again afterwards, as was not the case with the R.I., men's T.T.I. and I.S. which have shown no improvement since their enrolment started to fall.

The reason behind the C.S. success is that there is an increasing demand for school graduates from the oil companies as well as the Government Ministries,

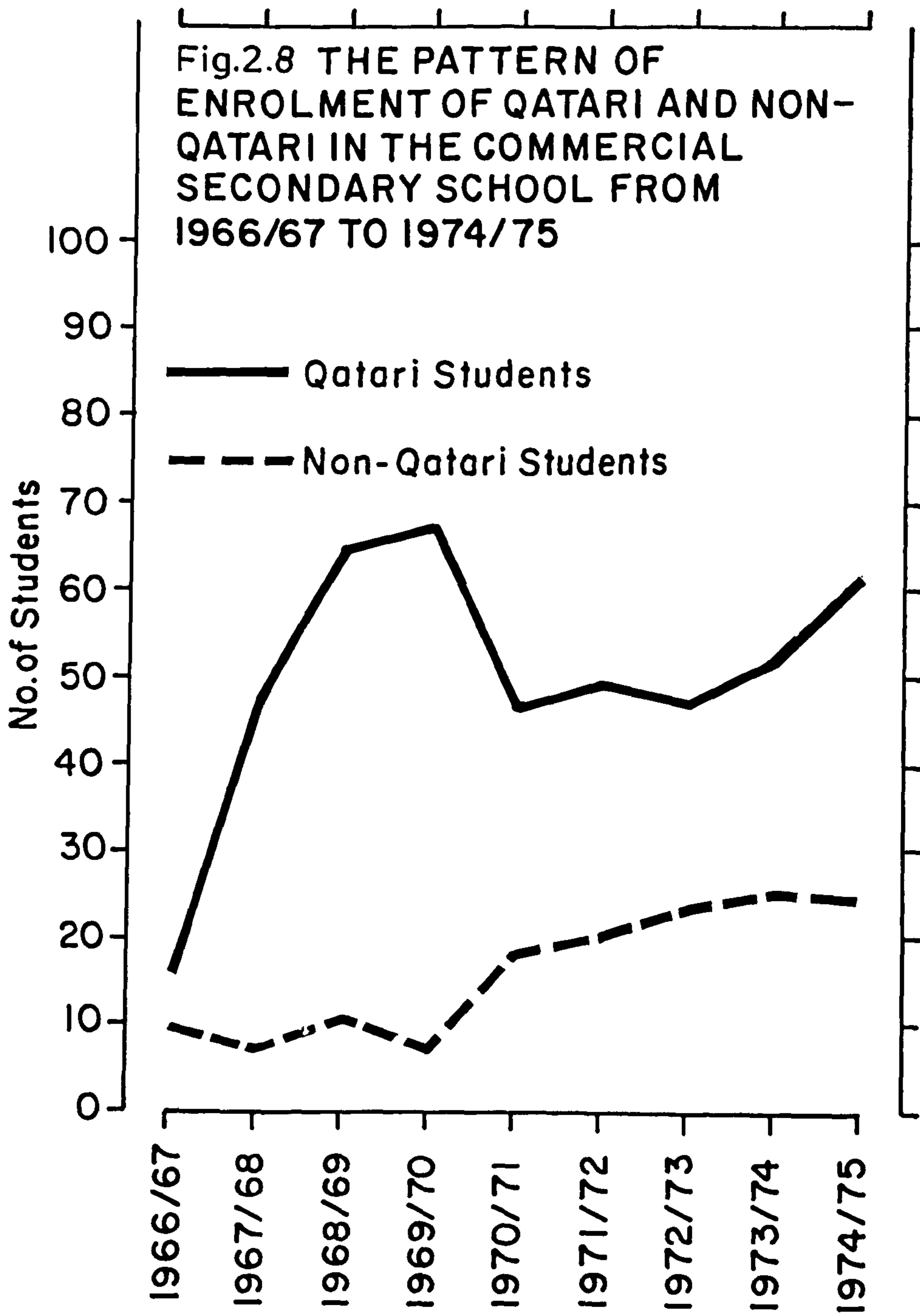
* More discussion of this matter is to be found in Chapter VI, because that Chapter is concerned with the problems of teachers in the Qatari school.

Table 2.27Commercial School Syllabus in 1974/75 by weekly lessons

Subjects	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
<u>Cultural Subjects:</u>			
Quran and Islamic Religion	4	3	3
Arabic Language	7	6	6
English Language	7	7	6
Economic History	2	-	-
Economic Geography	2	-	-
Qatari and Arab Society	2	-	-
Physical Education	1	1	1
<u>Technical Subjects:</u>			
Accountancy and Book-keeping	3	4	4
Financial and Commercial Mathematics	4	4	4
Secretarial and Clerical Jobs	3	3	2
General Economic Information	-	2	3
Commercial Correspondence	-	1	2
Arabic Typing	3	3	3
English Typing	-	3	3
Customs, Ports and Firms Services	-	1	1
TOTAL	38	38	38

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Commercial School Regulations, Second Edition, 1974, p.7.

Fig.2.8 THE PATTERN OF ENROLMENT OF QATARI AND NON-QATARI IN THE COMMERCIAL SECONDARY SCHOOL FROM 1966/67 TO 1974/75



and also that clerical jobs are more attractive to students than teaching or handicraft work.

In general the present situation of the four technical and vocational schools (the women's T. T. I. excluded) is more than disappointing. The cost per child in these schools has become very high, and in addition the schools' yearly outputs are very poor in numbers and only cover a very small area of the social demand. The total Qatari enrolment in all the technical and vocational schools dropped from 49 per cent to 23 per cent and to 14 per cent of Qatari boys' total enrolment in the secondary stage in 1969/70, 1973/74 and 1976/77 respectively, as Table 2.28 shows.

Table 2.28

Shows the proportion of Qatari enrolment in the technical and vocational schools secondary stage in comparison with Qatari enrolment in the general secondary stage for both sexes in four different years

Years	Tech. and Voc. Ed.		Gen. Sec. Ed.		Total enrolment	T. T. I. of Women		Gen. Sec. Ed.		Total enrolment
	B	%	B	%		G	%	G	%	
1965/66	75	40	111	60	186	-	-	8	100	8
1969/70	293	49	311	51	604	82	52	75	48	157
1973/74	216	23	732	77	948	224	37	381	63	605
1976/77	173	14	1,096	86	1,269	217	17	1,007	82	1,224

Source: Table 2.8, Appendices 2.1 and 2.2 and Figure 2.6.

Many reasons can be adduced to explain the failure of this kind of education in Qatar. Firstly, the Ministry of Education, in order to encourage technical and vocational education in the country, followed the technical and vocational schools pattern established in northern Arabic countries without paying much attention to two main points:

- a) The small size of the Qatari population, and
- b) The very recent start made with primary education.

This was accompanied by expansion in various types of technical and vocational schools. This early expansion condemned the technical and vocational schools from the beginning to a poor start; for instance, the I.S. started with 75 students in the preparatory stage in 1960/61, and 14 students in the secondary stage in 1964/65; the R.I. started with 25 Qatari and non-Qatari students in the preparatory stage in 1960/61 and 7 Qatari and non-Qatari students in the secondary stage in 1962/63; the T.T.I.s started with 17 students for both male and female institutions in 1962/63 and 1967/68 respectively, and the C.S. started with 18 Qatari students in 1966/67.⁹⁴ Table 2.28 shows that the total percentage of Qatari students who chose technical and vocational education in 1965/66, 1969/70 and 1973/74 was quite high in comparison with the general total enrolment in the secondary stage, but that high percentage was obviously dissipated when it was distributed between four different technical and vocational schools, unlike the percentage of girl students which was directed to one technical school, which, as a consequence made a satisfactory contribution to the teaching sector within a few years. Secondly, when the Ministry of Education established the four technical and vocational schools it left the choice between them entirely to the students. At first a good number of students were attracted by this kind of education, for two main reasons; first, that the objective of the technical and vocational schools was very clear, and second, that the importance of studying in general secondary schools was not widely known to both students and parents until the late 1960s when graduates from universities started to return home and obtain positions in the Government sector with many privileges (see Chapter VIII, p.245). Thirdly, both the

Government and the Ministry of Education formulated no clear policy for safeguarding the future of technical and vocational education in the country. Hence when student numbers started diminishing in the technical and vocational schools in the late 1960s the authorities did no more than watch helplessly.

The technical and vocational schools, as has been clearly illustrated, are collapsing in the late 1970s one after the other, and this is not surprising because they were born dead; they were just established for show and then became burdensome and a matter of challenge for the administrators in the Ministry of Education. Unfortunately the writer has observed that the Ministry of Education is seriously thinking of establishing a form of comprehensive school consisting of the previous technical and vocational schools, as some sort of solution of their critical situation. There is no doubt that such a school, if it is established, will be handicapped by the poor history of the present technical and vocational schools and therefore will produce no change in the situation as it appears to the people. A comprehensive secondary school could be suggested as one method of improving the general educational standard in the country, but not as a way of replacing technical and vocational education.

B.6 Adult and Illiteracy Education, Vocational Training and Career Development Centre and Non-Government Schools

Besides formal education the Ministry of Education has supervised and controlled other forms of education: adult education and training in general; the education of non-Arabic children resident in Qatar, and kindergarten education⁹⁵. In the following pages brief illustration will be found of some of these types of education.

B.6.1 Adult and Illiteracy Education

B.6.1.1 Adult Education Programme

With the beginning of modern education in 1954 the Ministry of Education

noted that there were young Qataris, who had been taught in the kuttab schools and semi-modern schools who, because of their age or the demands of their work, could not attend day schools. To cater for these young people the Ministry of Education established the evening study programme, designed to provide an opportunity for the adults to continue their education. For the period between 1954 and 1957, there is no available information showing the numbers enrolled or the structure of evening study. The only information available is the statement that "evening study started in Qatar in 1954 with one school."⁹⁶ But presumably the authorities found the results of evening programmes encouraging, because there was established a special section of the Ministry in 1957, called the "night education section". In the same year about eight primary schools* were opened, four of them in Doha and the others distributed in the rural areas at al-Khur, al-Ghariih, Aummslal and Abuzluf.⁹⁷ In the years between 1958 and 1960, general preparatory and general secondary evening classes were started in the Doha secondary school.⁹⁸

The evening school was usually run by one headmaster, one secretary, one storekeeper, one laboratory technician (excluding primary schools) and a number of teachers. All the staff were delegated from day school staff, and their work in the evening was considered as overtime.

The evening schools system was the same as the day schools system in terms of curriculum, stages, examinations and textbooks, from 1957 to 1974/75** The academic year in these schools was about six months. Weekly and daily lessons were organized according to stages. The primary and preparatory

* The evening school is not a special building, but is held in the same day school building.

** In 1974/75 the evening primary stage was changed from six years to three years duration, and the curriculum and textbook changed too, details will be found in the following pages.

stage was four lessons a day for four days a week, while the secondary stage consisted of four lessons daily for five days a week⁸⁹. The daily lessons usually ran from 6.30 p. m. - 9.10 p. m. and were based on the text book issued by the Ministry of Education. Students were admitted, after taking a simple oral test if they had not a school certificate showing at which level they were, (excluding both preparatory and secondary stage). At evening school there were no limitations as to age and nationality. The evening schools increased and in 1974/75 there were one secondary, one preparatory and three primary schools in the Doha zone, three primary schools with preparatory-secondary classes in the village zones and about eighteen schools for illiteracy eradication purposes¹⁰⁰. The numbers of adults who joined these schools in 1974/75 was estimated at about 2,000 in primary schools, 455 in preparatory schools and 300 in secondary schools. Table 2.29 shows the growth of adult education by level and nationality from 1963/64 to 1974/75.

It is clear from these figures that the total number of adults enrolled in evening primary schools had fallen during the period. This fall in numbers was not due, as might at first appear, to the gradual elimination of the problem of adult illiteracy. The number of Qatari illiterates in 1970 was about 14,444 male and female plus 31,774 non-Qatari, over the age of 15*.¹⁰¹ The main reason for the decreasing enrolment was that the primary curriculum and textbook prepared for children aged between 6 - 12 years with limited experience, was also used for adult evening primary school. The adult who had gained experience from his job, his daily life and sometimes from travel outside the country, found such a curriculum and such textbooks childish

* The evening primary schools in Doha accepted illiterates, for example the number of illiterates in Doha schools was estimated in 1970/71 about 660 adults. Source_ Khattir, M.R. op.cit., p. 39.

Table 2.29

Growth of Adult Evening Education by Stage and Nationality, 1963/64 - 1974/75 (Men only*)

School Year	Primary Stage			Preparatory Stage			Secondary Stage			Grand Total
	Q	Non-Q	Total	Q	Non-Q	Total	Q	Non-Q	Total	
1963/64	-	-	3,483	-	-	116	-	-	161	3,760
1964/65	-	-	2,473	-	-	163	-	-	145	2,781
1965/66	-	-	2,429	-	-	197	-	-	71	2,697
1966/67	-	-	1,781	-	-	256	-	-	88	2,125
1967/68	-	-	772	-	-	179	-	-	207	1,158
1968/69	-	-	1,360	-	-	339	-	-	286	1,975
1969/70	300	872	1,172	170	172	342	104	181	185	1,799
1970/71	347	1,229	1,576	134	159	293	105	174	279	2,147
1971/72	-	-	1,301	-	-	252	-	-	227	1,780
1972/73	730	1,646	2,376	222	200	422	281	203	484	3,282
1973/74	609	1,134	1,743	265	200	454	226	208	434	2,631
1974/75	696	1,300	1,996	235	210	445	-	-	317	2,758

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report(s) series 1963/64 - 1974/75.

* The adult evening education and illiteracy programme did not include women until 1976/77.

and boring¹⁰². Another reason could be added, that the aim of evening education was "to give a chance to those who missed the education train."¹⁰³ This aim was too limited, relying as it did on the personal motivation of the students and neglecting the legitimate demands of society for a literate nation. Both reasons might explain the drop-out problems which are clearly noticeable from the table. Other facts can be observed from the table; that the rate of increase of non-Qatari students at the primary stage is higher than the rate of increase of Qataris. This was related to various factors. For example, the non-Qataris are usually less certain of keeping their jobs, because of the intense competition in the labour market, and the less qualified therefore join the evening school to protect their jobs or to get better ones when they have obtained a primary certificate. But the Qatari labourers take no notice of such competition for two main reasons. Firstly, the Qatari labourers are a minority in their country*. Secondly, the Qatari jobs were guaranteed by right of birth. In addition to primary students, the table shows there were increasing numbers of both preparatory and secondary students for both Qataris and non-Qataris through the ten years except for the two years 1965/66 and 1966/67 in which the secondary students decreased to 71 and 88 respectively. There is no available information to explain why this happened. However the reason behind the increasing numbers of non-Qataris is the same as was mentioned before. For Qatari students however it was different, in that every Qatari who has obtained a general secondary school certificate has the right to have a Government scholarship if he wishes to complete his study in a university abroad, and if he is employed in a Government post his monthly

* See Chapter I, Table 1.5.

salary is paid during his period of study.¹⁰⁴ Another reason for the increase, common to both Qataris and non-Qataris was that most of the drop-outs from day schools joined evening classes.

With increasing numbers of evening schools, the "Night Education Section" was enlarged in 1968 to become a Department, called the "Literacy and Adult Education Department" and consisting of two main branches, the "Adult Education Programme" and the "Illiteracy Eradication Programme". The Department staff in that year consisted of a Director and three clerks. The Department's budget for both programmes was estimated at QR:400,000.¹⁰⁵ In 1973/74 the staff was increased to a Director and seven clerks, with the following specialised duties: one accountant, one transportation manager, two controllers and three secretaries. The budget increased also; it reached QR:730,800, excluding textbooks, stationery and transport, which items were covered by other funds of the Ministry of Education. The budget was expended on two main items: (a) allowances for the illiteracy eradication and adult education staff and (b) allowances of the private education staff*.¹⁰⁶ The budget increased from QR:730,800 in 1973/74 to QR:1,349,092 in 1974/75.¹⁰⁷ Table 2.30 shows the number of staff engaged in both evening schools and private education in 1973/74.

The Department's responsibility was very limited, it nominated the evening schools, selected the evening and private staff and controlled the evening schools by paying visits to them from time to time and preparing the Department budget.

Although the Ministry of Education had supervised such an important field of education since 1954, unfortunately it had no clear plan until 1972.¹⁰⁸

* Private education staff are both male and female, and they teach in various houses of the ruling family for eight months at a time.

Table 2.30

Distribution of Adult Education by Staff, School and Level in 1973/74

School and Staff	Total No.	Private Education	Evening Education Level			
			Illiteracy	Primary	Preparatory	Secondary
Schools	19	-	11	6	1	1
Supervisors	9	-	1	6	1	1
Secretaries	8	-	-	6	1	1
Storekeepers	2	-	-	-	1	1
Laboratory technicians	2	-	-	-	1	1
Teachers	310	152*	16	83	35	24

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report 1973/74, pp. 326-327.

* The private education staff comprised 56 women and 96 men.

B.6.1.2 Illiteracy Eradication Programme

Officially this programme started in 1965, in the Doha Suburbs and in the rural areas. It followed the same rule which applied in evening primary schools. Usually the illiteracy eradication schools were run by one teacher for two hours in the evening for four days a week, and the schools accepted those people whose level in reading and writing was below that of the second grade of primary school. If the candidate was above that level the teacher directed him to join a primary school. There were four textbooks, two of them for reading and writing and two of them for arithmetic*. The candidate could continue his study in illiteracy schools until he could read and write.¹⁰⁹

Table 2.31 shows the enrolment in illiteracy schools from 1966/67 - 1974/75.

Table 2.31

Enrolment in Illiteracy Eradication Schools

1966/67 to 1974/75

(men only)

School Year	No. of Schools	No. of Illiterates
1966/67	16	147
1967/68	14	-
1968/69	18	249
1969/70	10	209
1970/71	11	112
1971/72	11	98
1972/73	10	135
1973/74	11	153
1974/75	19	531**

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report(s), series 1966/67 - 1974/75.

* These books were borrowed from Kuwait, and they were prepared for the Illiteracy Eradication Programme.

** The increase in 1974/75 was a result of the new system. See the following pages.

There is no information from the Ministry of Education concerning this programme, showing how many men became literate as a result of the programme. The only information which illuminates the efficiency of this programme, is in those figures already given in Table 2.31. Unfortunately those figures indicate a very slow growth for such an important field of education. If the census of 1970 can be considered as a basis on which to evaluate the illiteracy programme, the conclusion must be that the programme was inefficient. There were several reasons for the limitation of this programme. They were that when the Ministry of Education started the illiteracy programme in the country, it had no plan, no curriculum, no textbooks, no idea about the number of illiterates in the country, no training course for teachers who taught in illiteracy schools and no connection with other Ministries, such as the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.¹¹⁰ About five years, however, after starting the programme, the Ministry of Education realised that the illiteracy programme would fail unless the other Ministries and firms co-operated. Consequently the Ministry of Education in 1971/72 submitted the following suggestion to the Cabinet:

It is necessary to decide the size of illiteracy in Qatar utilizing the 1970 census. Ministries and firms would calculate numbers of illiterates among their workers to help the Ministry of Education in setting literacy programmes. Arrangements would be made to allow exterminating illiteracy among Qatar women. Alluring terms would be included to encourage eradication of illiteracy such as: (a) Literacy - ability to read and write - should be an essential qualification for appointment in minor posts of the Government and firms; (b) Establishing literacy classes at the firms to connect work with illiteracy eradication, lessons should be given during working hours; (c) Leave related to education affairs should be granted with full pay. Establishing a high committee at the Ministries and organizations level to be called "High Board of Illiteracy Eradication". Promulgation of legislation stipulating compulsory primary education to prevent increase of illiterates. Workers who obtain the certificate of illiteracy eradication should

be paid a QR:50 allowance bearing the name of the certificate. Adult Education Department staff is at present composed of a Director and a Secretary. The Department should be expanded and provided with specialist officials in research experiments, curricula and estimation in order to be able to face responsibility and achieve its targets.¹¹¹

In 1971 the Ministry of Education took another step forward when it invited two experts from the Arab Regional Centre for literacy to Doha*.¹¹²

The two experts were asked to assist the Ministry of Education in studying and solving the adult education and illiteracy problems. The experts' study concentrated on the evening primary stage and the illiteracy programme. At the end of their mission they submitted an 85 page report (excluding the appendices) to the Ministry of Education and their solution for reforming both programmes was that the Ministry of Education should prepare a clear plan for its work as soon as possible, establishing new curricula with new textbooks suitable for adults, changing the evening primary system from six years to three years, incorporating both adult education and the illiteracy programme in one programme, devising a new curriculum in the Teacher Training Institute's syllabus for both sexes, and providing the adult education department with specialised sections such as: a training section, a field pursuit section, a secretarial and accounting section and a section comprising technical research statistics and evaluation. In addition the experts included with their report several proposals for an illiteracy plan for adults together with textbooks, for teacher training courses, a motives system, and several reading, writing and arithmetic ability tests. Finally they strongly recommended that the Ministry of Education should not start the new system until they had a new curriculum and textbooks and trained teachers.¹¹³

* Two experts, Dr. M.K. Khatir and Mr. Aumar arrived in Doha on 2nd February 1972 and left on 4th March 1972.

The Ministry of Education continued to carry out its policy of strengthening the adult education and illiteracy programme. In 1974 the Education Minister issued circular No. 21 substituting for the old primary system of evening study for both adult education and illiteracy programme a new system on the lines proposed by the experts.¹¹⁴ Table 2.32 sets out the comparison between the old system and the new.

Table 2.32

A comparison between the old and the new system, by years

1974/75

New System	Old System	Year	New System Level
First Ring	Comprise First and Second P. Grade	1974/75	Illiteracy Candidate
Second Ring	Comprise Third and Fourth P. Grade	1975/76	Illiteracy Eradication Certificate
Third Ring	Comprise Fifth and Sixth P. Grade	1976/77	Primary Certificate

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Circular No. 21 dated 9th October, 1974, unpublished (A).

The new system was based on two main ideas: first, that the adult would obtain a literacy certificate after two years' study, and for the illiteracy eradication certificate he would be rewarded with QR:50 monthly allowance; secondly, that the primary certificate needed one more year's study. This, it was hoped, would encourage the adult to continue his evening study for one further year. The second point was designed to ensure that the adult who joined this system would not relapse into illiteracy.

However, the Ministry of Education took several further steps to ensure

the success of the new system. The steps taken were: increasing the weekly lesson to five days a week instead of four,¹¹⁵ increasing the salaries of the teachers who taught in evening schools, preparing the new adult textbook,¹¹⁶ and increasing the number of illiteracy evening schools. Also the al-Aurubah magazine wrote on 4th December 1975 that the Cabinet had agreed to open illiteracy evening schools for women*.¹¹⁷

In spite of its deficiencies, the old system between 1958 and 1974 produced 880 primary certificate holders, 500 general preparatory and 666 general secondary certificate holders.¹¹⁸

B.6.2 The Vocational Training and Career Development Centre

This centre was established in 1962 with the objective of providing Qatari workers with industrial craft skills in order to increase their productivity as well as to enable them to replace non-Qatari employees in the long run.¹¹⁹

During the 1960s the centre was embarking on its training programme in co-operation with, and within the Mechanical Equipment Department, the Water and Electricity Department, and the General Health Department.¹²⁰ In 1970 the Government, with the assistance of the International labour organisation, under Funds-in-Trust arrangements, reorganized the centre and made it into a large new one, equipped to serve not only Qatar's needs and demands, but also those of the Gulf region and Oman as well. The following statement sets out the main objectives of the Centre:

To fully establish the R. T. C. Doha as a unit which would serve the vocational training needs of the State of Qatar; to extend the provisions already made for the training of nationals of neighbouring Gulf states ... ; to establish training standards,

* In 1976/77 two evening schools for women were opened in Doha with 1,319 women. See Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1976/77, p.182.

skill tests and levels of certification in a wide variety of skills and occupations which would have relevance to Qatar and the neighbouring Gulf states ...¹²¹

From 1970 the centre has been called the Regional Training Centre (R. T. C.)

It is located in Doha and covers an area of about 22,000 sq. m. , with the buildings in use occupying an area of almost 4,915 sq. m. , comprising floor space accommodating six workshops, a block of five classrooms and an administration block of 12 offices. The initial cost of the buildings and equipment amounted to about U. S. \$ 404,000 and U. S. \$ 105,000 respectively.¹²²

The training activities are grouped as follows:

- 1) The mechanical group, which consists of Auto-mechanics (petrol and diesel), fitting and machine shop, and welding.
- 2) The electrical group: electricians, low voltage cable jointers, electronics (radio and television) and Refn/AC mechanics .
- 3) The building group: trowel trades (masonry, concrete work, plastering, tiling), plumbing (pipefitting, plumbing sheet metalwork) and timber trades (carpentry, joinery).
- 4) The engineering group: architectural drafting, surveying and instrument mechanics.
- 5) The clerical group: English language lessons, and Arabic and English typing courses.

These five groups run regular programme courses, the duration of training being about 24 months, although for some careers the training course is as long as 30 months.¹²³ In addition the R. T. C. offers special courses of 6 to 24 months' duration for employees in Government and public sector*.

* See Chapter I, footnote p.11).

These special courses are usually held at the request of interested bodies. For instance, from December 1970 to November 1973, the R. T. C. provided special courses for 115 employees from the Qatar National Telephone Company, the Shell Company of Qatar, the Qatar Fertilizer Company, the Civil Aviation Department, Qatar N. G. L. and the National Qatar Refinery.¹²⁴

For admission to regular courses the R. T. C. requires a primary school certificate as a minimum educational level, but as a result of low enrolment, the R. T. C. also offers places for those with less than the primary school certificate but aged between 16 and 25 years.¹²⁵ Students training in regular courses receive monthly allowances from the R. T. C. Those who come from regions other than Qatar are offered larger allowances than Qatari students. The R. T. C. provides students who complete their courses with a certificate showing their length of training, standard and their field of training. In Qatar, students who graduate from the R. T. C. are automatically offered jobs in the Government sector. From 1972 to 1974 the total output from the regular courses was 571 graduates, 342 of them Qataris.¹²⁶

The curricula of the regular courses lay considerable emphasis on practical training, nearly 80 per cent of the total time being devoted to practical training and the rest of the time used for teaching the subjects of religion, mathematics and Arabic reading and writing.¹²⁷ But although the R. T. C. is equipped with both a qualified international teaching staff and modern technological equipment, the low standard of graduates and the low status of the centre are well known. This might be the result of the low educational level of enrolment, most of the students having no education beyond the primary level. In addition it is commonly known in Qatar that most trainees who join the R. T. C. have

failed in pursuing their primary or preparatory education. This general atmosphere has created great difficulties for both students and the international teaching staff. The staff try to maintain the status of the R. T. C. by directing more students towards the mechanical, electrical, engineering and building groups, but the students show lack of ability and interest in manual careers. Table 2.33 shows the size of graduation from regular courses from December 1970 to November 1973, by nationalities and field of training. It is obvious from Table 2.33 that 49 per cent or 115 of the Qatari graduates were trained for clerical careers, for typing work in various government departments. This result simply indicates that the R. T. C. has been diverted from its object of providing the country with mechanical, electrical and engineering technicians. In addition, there has been no co-ordination between the R. T. C.'s activities and the commercial and industrial schools. For instance the R. T. C. offers many courses in mechanical, electrical and engineering trades which are more or less included in the I.S. curriculum; this has clearly resulted in a duplication of effort by the two Institutes, and has latterly developed into an unproductive competition between the two, ended by the closure of the I.S. preparatory stage. The problem here is that the R. T. C. was generous in allowing children to enrol in clerical courses which at present are not so important for Qatar's economic development as the practical skills; this could be considered a waste of human resources. Again, the R. T. C.'s curriculum is mainly designed for practical training and this means that children who have not finished the fifth grade of primary school are very poor in educational areas such as religious reading and writing, history, geography and mathematics, as was not the case in the I.S. preparatory stage.

Table 2.33

Shows the output of the R. T. C. from regular courses held between December 1970 and November 1973, by nationalities and field of training

Field of Training (F. T.)	Q	% of F. T.	No. Q	% of F. T.	T	% of F. T.
1. Automechanics (Petrol and Diesel)	15		12		27	
2. Fitting and Machining	11		11		22	
3. Welding (Arc and Gas)	7		11		18	
4. Electricians and Cable Jointers	14		17		31	
5. Refrīconditioning Mechs.	7		10		17	
6. Architectural Drafting	4		2		6	
7. Radio Servicing	3		2		5	
8. Surveying	5		2		7	
9. Building	30		8		38	
10. Carpenters	11		12		23	
11. Plumbing	15		3		18	
12. Clerical: Typing Arabic and English	115		33		148	
Total of F. T. 1 to 11	122	51%	90	73%	212	59%
Total of F. T. 12	115	49%	33	27%	148	41%
Grand Total	237		123		350	

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Training and Career Development Regional Training Centre's Prospectus 1973-1974, p.17.

However, the R. T. C. is a very important training centre and should be given more attention by the Ministry of Education as well as by the Government. This centre could play a significant role in developing a country like Qatar which greatly suffers from a shortage of indigenous skilled labour. The R. T. C. however, must keep to its vocational objectives, firstly by excluding from its regular courses the clerical one, at least for many years to come; secondly by more emphasis directed towards special courses. There is a need in this area for more co-ordination of policy between the R. T. C. and the Government in order to encourage more firms and relevant departments in the Government sector to send their semi-skilled and skilled workers for more training from time to time. At present a considerable number of children in primary schools and preparatory schools are over the normal age by at least five to eight years on average*. It would be much better for their future careers and for the country's economic needs, as well as the school educational environment, if those children were directed for training to the R. T. C. This suggestion is not easily put into practice because of the Qatari parents' generally negative attitude towards technical and vocational education; but a genuine policy carried out in co-operation with the authorities in the Ministry of Education and the administration of the R. T. C. is worthwhile and might establish a desirable change in Qatari parents' attitudes towards such an important educational sector.

B. 6.3 Non-Government Schools

The non-Government schools comprise Arabic and non-Arabic schools. The Arabic schools were originally established to provide crèche and kindergarten

* See Chapter VIII

education. They solved a serious problem for non-Qatari teachers who were mostly husbands and wives both engaged in teaching in Government schools with no-one to look after their children at home. For non-Arabic schools the objectives were different; some Asian and European parents resident in Qatar temporarily wished to see their own children educated according to their own country's educational curricula and textbooks.

Historically this kind of education started at the beginning of the 1960s, and at first ran without any control from the Government of Qatar. But in 1967 the Government issued Act No.17 concerned with the non-government schools which gave the Ministry of Education the right to control and supervise the educational activities of the non-government schools.¹²⁸ Since then, the establishment of any new non-government schools must first be confirmed by the Ministry of Education. The 1967 Act specifies that Arabic schools must follow the same system as the Government schools except for the crèche and kindergarten stage which could be co-educational. For non-Arabic schools also, co-education above the kindergarten stage was not allowed, and in addition these schools were asked to provide the Ministry of Education with copies of their school curriculum and textbooks.

Financially the non-government schools rely on monthly fees directly collected by the schools from children's sponsors. The Ministry of Education pays nothing in cash for these schools, but supports them with various kinds of help, for instance, paying their electricity bills, providing them with stationery and textbooks, all for the purpose of reducing the children's fees.¹²⁹ Fees per child are usually fixed in advance by the owners of the non-government schools and the appropriate body in the Ministry of Education.

The non-government schools in 1976 comprised two Indian, two Pakistani, one Iranian and one English, in addition to 12 Arabic schools. The Arabic schools were distributed according to their educational level as follows:

3 having kindergarten and primary education departments,

4 with kindergarten education,

3 with crèche and kindergarten education and

2 with crèche, kindergarten and primary education.

The educational level in the Arabic schools rarely went beyond the primary stage, and there was more emphasis on kindergarten education, which latterly encouraged some Qatari parents to send their children for kindergarten education. Non-Arabic schools comprised preparatory and secondary stages too, but for small numbers of children. The main emphasis in these schools was on the primary level.¹³⁰ Table 2.34 shows enrolment in the non-government schools by level of education in 1971/72, 1974/75 and 1976/77.

For financial and administrative reasons most of these schools suffer from lack of proper school buildings, equipment and facilities; they were observed to be running their educational activities in poor conditions. Teachers in Arabic schools are not prepared for the running of crèche and kindergarten education and often do their teaching in the kindergarten stage as though they were teaching primary classes. Qualified teachers in these schools are mostly limited because the owner of the N. G. S. usually pays low salaries for teachers by comparison with those paid by the Ministry of Education and that naturally attracts the less competent teachers. The chief objectives of the owners of these schools is obvious: earning more money and not creating better education.¹³¹

Table 2.34

Enrolment in the non-government schools by level of education at three different periods

Level of Education	Arabic Schools			Non-Arabic Schools		
	1971/72	1974/75	1976/77	1971/72	1974/75	1976/77
1. Crèche: age less than 2 yrs, both sexes	80	125	187	31	125	31
2. Kindergarten: age 2-5 yrs. both sexes	696	953	1,385	172	33	495
3. Primary: age 5 and over:						
Boys	169	205	397	644	890	1,053
Girls	125	190	313	577	850	877
Total of Primary Children	294	395	710	1,221	1,740	1,930
GRAND TOTAL	1,070	1,473	2,282	1,524	2,052	2,456

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report(s) 1971/72, p.234; 1974/75, p.309 and 1976/77, p.175.

Note: English school children not included.

There might be good reasons for establishing schools for non-Arabic citizens in co-operation with, and with the assistance of, the Ministry of Education; but for Arabic citizens the matter is different, because they have a right to have places for their children in the various stages of the Qatari schools. It is the Government's responsibility to establish a good kindergarten system free of charge and on a large scale, not only for Qatari children but also for all children in Qatar. For a country like Qatar the matter of finding finance for kindergarten education is not a big problem, bearing in mind that Qatar is a very rich state with a small population. To leave such an important educational sector running under commercial auspices greatly damages pre-school children's education and that is simply at odds with the international call for more expansion in pre-school education. A statement by UNESCO stresses this matter as follows:

The education of pre-school children is an essential pre-condition to any educational and cultural policy ... The development of education for pre-school age children must become one of the major objectives for educational strategies in the 1970s.¹³²

In neighbouring countries like Kuwait and Abu-Dhabi kindergarten education is a part of the educational system, it is financed and run by the Kuwaiti and Abu-Dhabi Governments, but unfortunately is restricted to children of citizens only.¹³³

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written information submitted to the writer by Kamal Nagi the present General Director of the Ministry of Education. Information then came from different sources -(Shaikh al-Salih who is a Saudi citizen and resident in Riyadh, and Kamal Nagi who is an Egyptian citizen, but has been resident in Qatar for over 24 years) - but was mostly the same; we have therefore reliable information reflecting the educational contribution of Shaikh al-Mani' in Qatar during 1918 - 1938. This source will be referred to as 'uthman al-Salih/Kamal Nagi information, except for information mentioned by one of them; then the name will be shown between parentheses.

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Chapter III

DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL BUDGET

A. Administrative Organization

A.1 Unstable Period, 1954-1964

The administrative organization of the whole Government was very simple in the mid-1950s. Cummins described the existing system in 1954 as follows:

The British adviser ... is immediately responsible to the Ruler, H. H. Sheikh Ali Abdulla el Thani, ... certain Departments are under the direct control of the adviser, namely, the Adviserate, Education, Customs, Civil Courts, Shara' Courts, Agriculture, and Religious Institutions. Others come under the control of the State Engineer's office ...¹

In 1953/54 the Educational Committee* appointed a director of Education from Egypt. Soon after, in 1954, the Department of Education was formed². In the same year a regulation regarding Qatari schools was established and approved by the then Ruler of Qatar, Shaikh 'Ali (23 November 1954). The Regulation, called Nizam madaris Qatar al-Rrasmih, consisted of 136 items and covered syllabuses, conditions for admission, the academic year and official holidays, the examination system, pupils' and students' absence, punishment system, responsibility of each member of staff, school records and children's and staff behaviour within and outside school. The regulations were designed mainly for boys' education**. In general, they are educationally very poor in many areas; for instance in the items concerning punishments, physical punishment is permitted in addition to verbal reprimand of the child in front of

* The Educational Committee was appointed by the Ruler of Qatar. For more detail see Chapter II, p. 38

** See the development of girls' education in Chapter II, p. 40.

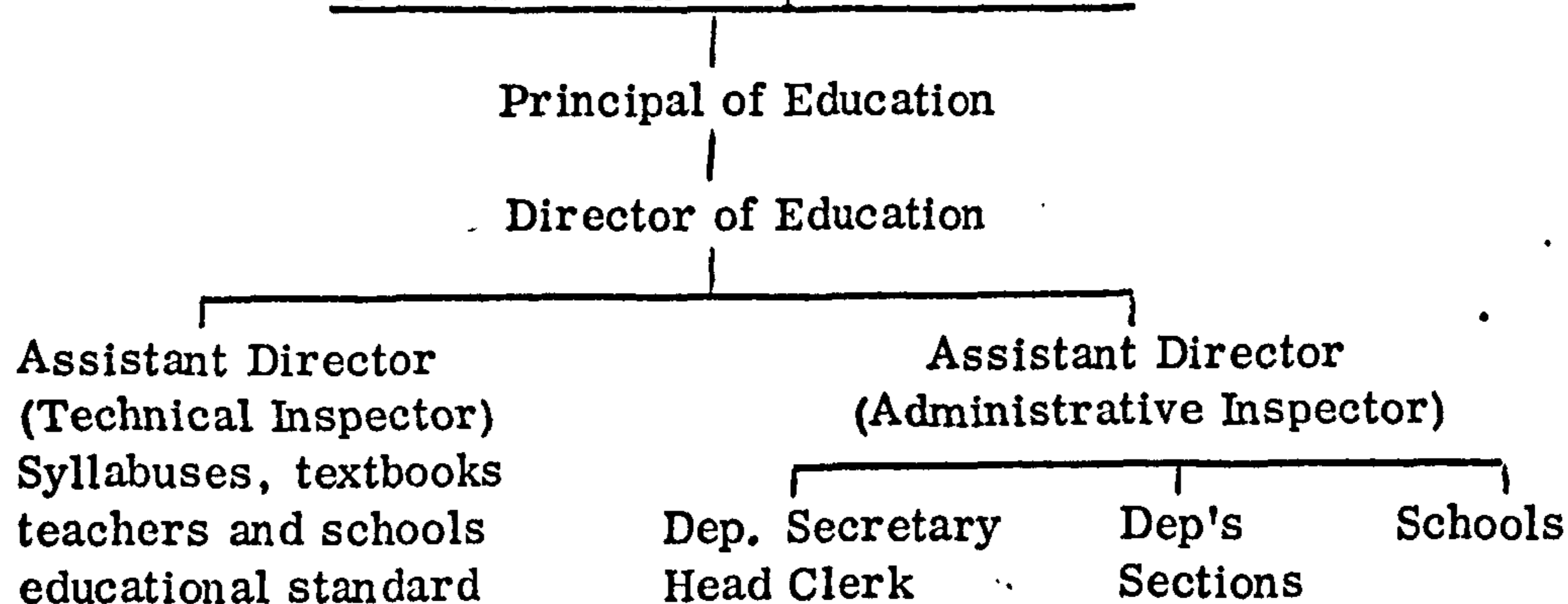
the other children; homework in school or at home may also be used as a punishment*.³

The Educational Department's staff in 1955 consisted of the Educational Committee, the Director of Education, one inspector, one secretary, one clerk, and one catering supervisor, in addition to 45 teachers⁴. The committee primarily determined educational policy, and the Director of Education saw that the policy was carried out. The inspector was responsible for ensuring that headmasters and teachers were both able to and did, in fact, keep to the syllabuses set in different subjects⁵.

During 1956/57 and 1957/58 major changes took place; firstly, the committee was replaced by a Principal of the Education Department, secondly, a Syrian Director of Education took over from the Egyptian Director, and thirdly, a basic administrative structure was established. The structure is set out in Chart 1.

Chart 1

The First Administrative Structure of the Education Department 1957



Source: Department of Education, Qatar. Circular No. 1, dated 2nd October 1957 (unpublished Arabic).

* The 1954 School Regulation was in operation for nearly three years and then frozen until 1964 when the Ministry of Education established a new set of School Regulations. The reason for suspension of the old regulations was both the inadequacy of the 1954 regulations and the fact that the educational department had 6 different educational directors from 1954-64. See the text of this chapter.

According to the new administrative system the responsibility for education was distributed as follows: the Director of Education is in charge of all departments concerned with education and their administrative functions, including the supervision of teaching staff in schools and other institutions. He is directly responsible to the Principal of the Education Department. The Director has two assistants; an administrative inspector, whose responsibility is divided between two main jobs, one as a director of the sections within the department and supervisor of the department's administrative affairs, the other to inspect the schools and to be sure that the headmasters are carrying out their administrative jobs properly. The second assistant is the technical inspector, who, in addition to his regular job, which has been mentioned before, is responsible for selecting syllabuses and textbooks and collecting educational statistics on students, teachers and schools⁶.

In 1957/58 the Principal of the Education Department left for another post in the Government sector and another Principal was appointed as Minister for the Education Department. In 1958 the Syrian Director left the Education Department too, and a new Egyptian Director was appointed. After one year the Egyptian Director resigned. From 1959-61 the Director of the Education Department was from Jordan. However, for ten years from 1954 to 1964 the educational system was unstable, and during this time six Directors of Education rapidly succeeded each other. Table 3.1 shows the period which each Director spent in the Qatari Educational Department from 1954 to 1964. Unfortunately this instability also extended to the school teachers and the headmasters. The education of children was affected by the unstable administrative atmosphere, but the quantitative development, owing to the small number of children, did not show signs of any serious collapse.

Table 3.1

Name, Period of Time and Nationality of the Directors
of Education who succeeded each other during 1954 to 1964

Period	Name	Nationality
1954 to 1957	Mr. Abd al-Badia Saqr	Egyptian
1957 to 1958	Dr. Abdulla Abd al-Daim	Syrian
1958 to 1959	Mr. Abd al-Rahman Samrah	Egyptian
1959 to 1961	Mr. Mustafa Murad al-Dabagh	Jordanian
1961 to 1963	Mr. Abd al-Rahman Autban	Syrian
1963 to 1964	---	---
1964 to 1979	Mr. Kamal Nagi	Egyptian

Source: Information taken from the Personnel Department of the Ministry of Education, Qatar.

There was, however, a complex political and ideological background behind the rapid changes which are shown in Table 3.1. The political atmosphere in northern Arab countries such as Egypt and Syria during the 1950s was strongly dominated by the Egyptian revolution, the ideology of Arabic nationalism and unity, and above all the call for liberation of the Arab nation from western colonialism. Qatar as well as the rest of the Arabian Gulf States was, at that time, under the British Crown; they had been isolated for a long time from contact with northern Arab countries. But the need for educational expansion in the 1950s had broken their isolation and opened wide the door between them and the advanced Arabic countries who were committed to supplying the Gulf States with teachers, directors, textbooks and curricula. Through educational

channels many political ideas were brought into these countries. Hence the Gulf States Authorities found themselves with problems of two kinds; they needed to import education to develop these countries but at the same time they were concerned at the possibility of recruiting by chance undesirable teachers. Sir Rupert Hay, the British political resident in the Gulf illustrates the dilemma as follows:

The oil producing shaikhdoms keep a very jealous eye on their education departments and their aim is to employ their own nationals exclusively. As, however, there are at present not nearly enough of these sufficiently educated and willing to undertake employment in their schools, they have imported a large number of teachers from Egypt, the Lebanon and elsewhere in the Middle East. The Rulers are well aware of the dangers of this policy and take prompt steps to deal with any of these teachers who encourage subversive activities.⁷

In Qatar the unstable period of the educational system was mostly influenced by the political setting in the northern Arab countries as well as the internal political conflict which occurred between the then Ruler of Qatar, Shaikh 'Ali and his nephew Shaikh Khalifa*.⁸ As was shown in previous pages, Shaikh 'Ali handed responsibility for education over to the Education Committee and to the British Adviser.

The head of the educational committee was loyal to the rule of Shaikh 'Ali, so when he went to Cairo in 1953 on a mission to recruit a director of education, he consulted his old friend, the well-known Muslim Shaikh Muhib al-Ddin al-Khatib, the owner of the Salafiih bookshop in Cairo for help in choosing a Director of Education of known Islamic faith and behaviour. Mr. A. Saqr was recommended⁹. It seems that Shaikh 'Ali had been influenced by the Director of Education's Islamic cultural background, and this paved the way for the later suggestions of certain names to be recruited as teachers and headmasters. For a period of three years

* The present Amir.

(1953/54 to 1955/56) most of the teachers who were brought in to run the Qatari schools were ideologically in favour of the Muslim Brotherhood Party, and in particular politically against the leadership of President Nasser*. They stamped the educational system with their Islamic ideology since the education department of Qatar was under their control.

Through the Director of Education, who acted as a cultural adviser to Shaikh 'Ali, the pro-Muslim Brotherhood Party was gradually engaged as a political supporter of Shaikh 'Ali's rule¹⁰. This, however, added to the internal conflict a new power with a distinct intellectual pattern and political experiences, so through this channel the education department was brought into the ruling family's internal conflict, as a means of achieving power and various political objectives¹¹. The schools expansion and the educational service with the various inducements it offered to children was seen in a small country like Qatar as more than generous and was considered a credit to Shaikh 'Ali's rule.

* The Muslim Brotherhood Party was founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hasan al Banna. Their Islamic ideology is in general to create one single Islamic state comprising all the Arab countries as well as non-Arab countries which have a Muslim majority such as Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, etc. The party was involved in politics, its history in Egypt was full of political activities against British troops, the Monarchic regime and then the Nasser regime. The party political conflict with the Nasser regime during the 1950s greatly damaged the party's status in Egypt as well as in most Arab countries, later on. In 1954 the party had attempted to assassinate Nasser but that failed. As a result a Revolt Tribunal was held and sentenced to death about six men of the Muslim Brotherhood Party and imprisoned more than a thousand. This crucial period in their history made the Party encourage its members to leave Egypt for other Arab countries (the Gulf area was included) in order to work there for the same objectives; aiding financially the party branch in Egypt, establishing new branches and attacking the Nasser regime with every possible accusation in order to put more pressure on it. For more detail about the Muslim Brotherhood Party see Mitchell, R. P., The Society of the Muslim Brothers, Oxford University Press, London, 1969.

Shaikh Khalifa* and his allies within and outside the schools felt that their silent resistance to Shaikh 'Ali's rule was becoming too difficult, bearing in mind that Shaikh 'Ali was supported by the oil wealth too. But the dramatic conflict between the Muslim Brotherhood Party and President Nasser in Egypt in 1954, destroyed the status of the Muslim Brotherhood Party and brought the party under severe attack by Cairo Radio and the newspapers, as follows:

The daily reports of arrests and confessions were accompanied by a detailed and gory elaboration by the Government of the conspiracy. The substance of the thousands upon thousands of words which comprised this story - which was elaborated out of the many confessions of the Brothers about what they hoped, anticipated, and dreamed as well as actually planned, was that the society intended to come to power by means of a well conceived plan to destroy the two capitals of Alexandria and Cairo, dynamite all the bridges and factories in the country ... and assassinate not only all the members of the army junta ... and all the heads of the Arab Governments ... Evidence, sometimes old, and sometimes new, was produced to show that the Brothers were agents and lackeys of the monarchy, the old ruling classes, the British ... Charges of a personal character were also directed at the society in general ... Underlying all this was the charge that the leaders of the society were 'merchants of religion' either using their trusting followers for their own personal advantage or guiding them towards a primitive, barbaric 'religious state' which would be in alliance with the imperialists and capitalists.¹²

In return the pro-Muslim Brotherhood Party in Qatari schools as an example, started publicly attacking President Nasser as well as his ideology of Arabic nationalism, but they went too far in their attack when they categorized the call for Arabic nationalism as no more than one of many dangerous diseases which had been introduced by Western culture to weaken the call for an Islamic State**.

* Shaikh Khalifah during the 1950s was classified as a progressive reformer with faith in President Nasser and the ideology of Arabic nationalism. He saw that his uncle's rule was deeply conservative. He was supported by some members of the ruling family as well as a number of the elite who had been influenced by the progressive movement in Bahrain in the 1950s. Shaikh Khalifa succeeded by a coup to the rule of Qatar on 22nd February 1972.

** One of the Muslim Brotherhood Party's leaders, who actively participated in the political conflict in the Ministry of Education, Qatar, during the 1950s and mid-1960s, told the writer in 1977 that their reaction against Nasser in Qatar was a big mistake which cost them much later on. (He is now working in the Gulf area and presents himself as an ex-member of the Muslim Brotherhood.) The writer will refer to this source as "ex-member".

That act on the part of the pro-Muslim Brotherhood produced an environment full of misunderstanding and hostility between them and their students in the schools as well as the elite of Qatar, people who truly believed in Islam and Arabic nationalism and saw that there was no conflict between the two. Again, the majority of people in Qatar saw President Nasser as a national Arab hero, especially during and after the Suez crisis¹³.

These events encouraged the opposition members of the ruling family and their allies who put the whole responsibility for the state of affairs on the head of the educational committee and the ruler of Qatar, Shaikh 'Ali. However in order to terminate the dispute, the ruler dissolved the educational committee and named his nephew from the opposition, Shaikh Khalifa abn Hammad al-Thani, as Educational Principal in 1956/57¹⁴, as was mentioned before. The new Principal immediately dismissed the Egyptian Director of Education (Mr. A. Saqr*) and issued a circular warning teachers who might be involved in political activities. The circular included the following statement (translated):

With our appreciation of the teachers and their education role we would like to inform them that their career in this country is purely educational. We shall take severe steps against those who interfere in politics and are connected with political parties which operate against our internal policy.¹⁵

Then he engaged a well-known Syrian Director of Education (Dr. A. abd al-Daim) who was ideologically pro-Arabic nationalism as well as pro- the leadership of President Nasser. The principal of education gave him full authority in planning and directing the general policy of the Education Department with complete power over the Department's activities. As Mr. Saqr did, Dr. abd al-Daim brought in

* Mr. A. Saqr, when he was dismissed from his post as Director of Education, joined Shaikh 'Ali (the Ruler) as cultural adviser and a Director of the Doha public library, which was under the Ruler's control. Then he became the Director of the Public Library which was established in 1962. Mr. Saqr was loyal to both the Rule of Shaikh 'Ali and then the rule of Shaikh Ahmad. He was bloodily expelled from Qatar in 1972 when Shaikh Khalifah abn Hammid assumed power by the coup of 22nd February 1971.

teachers to the country but they tended to be pro- the socialist Arab Ba'th party, whose members were extremely anti-colonialist. Tareq Y Ismael wrote about some of the party's objectives as follows:

1. The struggle against foreign imperialism for the complete and absolute liberation of the Arab homeland.
2. The struggle to bring together all Arabs in a single Arab state.
3. The overthrow of the existing corrupt order by a revolution that shall embrace all aspects of life - intellectual, economic, social and political.¹⁶

The educational atmosphere in Qatari schools rapidly changed from conservative to progressive; all the teachers were instructed by the Director of Education to devote the first lesson of 1st February 1958 to describing to the children the importance of Egyptian-Syrian Arab unity, which was established between Egypt and Syria on 1st February 1958¹⁷.

These actions on the part of both the Education Principal and the Director of Education were not welcomed by the British Adviser who, as was mentioned, was responsible to the Ruler and who, on the Ruler's behalf, controlled the general policy of a number of the Departments, including Education. As a result of the British Adviser's interference, the Director of Education resigned within a year and left the country, while the Principal was transferred from the Education Department to State Financial Affairs. Following these changes, the ex-Minister Shaikh Jasim* abn Hamad al-Thani was appointed Minister of the Education Department towards the end of 1957/58¹⁸.

Even after the Director of Education and the Principal had left the Education Department, education in Qatar was strongly dominated by a progressive

* Shaikh Jasim is the brother of Shaikh Khalifa (the Amir). He ran the Ministry of Education, Qatar, from 1957/58 to 1975/76. He died in 1976. From then until now (1978) the Ministry of Education has had no new Minister appointed, but has come under the direct control of the Amir.

trend from 1956/57 to 1960/61. The Education Department, in 1959 and 1960, held in public, two political celebrations of Egyptian-Syrian Arab unity, in which the people of Qatar heard for the first time speeches directed against colonialism, calls for democracy, freedom and Arab unity. In schools as well as in the capital the climate grew more radical; a group of secondary students, all of them Qataris, established a cultural club in 1959 called Nadi al-Tali'ah, its activities influenced by political objectives directed against the primitive rule of the Shaikhs and towards a call for more development and reform. The club grew rapidly in membership and activity and this led to its closure in 1960 by the Government and imprisonment of a number of its members. In addition, unrest grew widely during the 1960s, led by enlightened Qatari people calling for more justice and social and economic development. Al Kuwari wrote the following:

This movement started by the end of April 1963, when the government imprisoned about 50 leading citizens, an action that resulted in a general strike for more than a week. However, the movement achieved none of its aims directly, and most of the leaders were exiled, some of them not being allowed to return until 1972.¹⁹

In fact the Education Department, from 1956/57 to 1960/61, was influenced by opposition control, whose main objective in regard to the ruling families was to bring more pressure to bear on Shaikh 'Ali's rule, so that the opposition should have a bigger share in the country's rule. However in 1960 the main dispute within the ruling family was solved when Shaikh 'Ali abdicated (on 24th October) in favour of his son Shaikh Ahmad as Ruler and his nephew Shaikh Khalifa as Deputy Ruler. The post of British Adviser was abolished and his responsibility passed to the ruler's deputy²⁰.

Following these changes in the country's rule, the government strengthened its control over the Education Department, and the objective of limiting the

progressive trend became very clear. In 1961 Egyptian-Syrian Arab unity collapsed, severe political disputes occurred between President Nasser and supporters of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party in northern Arab countries, and schools in Qatar were again seriously influenced by their teachers' differences of ideological background. So the government of Qatar made this an excuse to dismiss both extreme conservative and extreme progressive teachers and headmasters.

The result of the period of unrest is that the political system now ensures that schools do not encourage again political attitudes which might be directed against the role of the shaikdom; educational development in general has been strictly and narrowly controlled, and education's share of the national oil wealth has been directed for two decades towards an educational formality which is simply found politically desirable. We have shown, then, that most of the educational problems which have been presented in various chapters of this thesis were influenced in one way or another, by the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, by political factors and manoeuvres. At present the obvious signs that the previous history of political conflict still occupies the Government authorities, is that the Ministry of Education for nearly three years from 1976 to 1978 has been run without a Minister of Education, not because there was no qualified minister available but because there has again developed (from 1972) an internal political conflict within the ruling family.

A.2 Strengthening of the System, 1964-1976

In 1962 the Department of Education was converted into a Ministry²¹, and further divisions were added to cope with the increasing numbers of students, schools and teachers. In 1964, the Ministry of Education reorganized

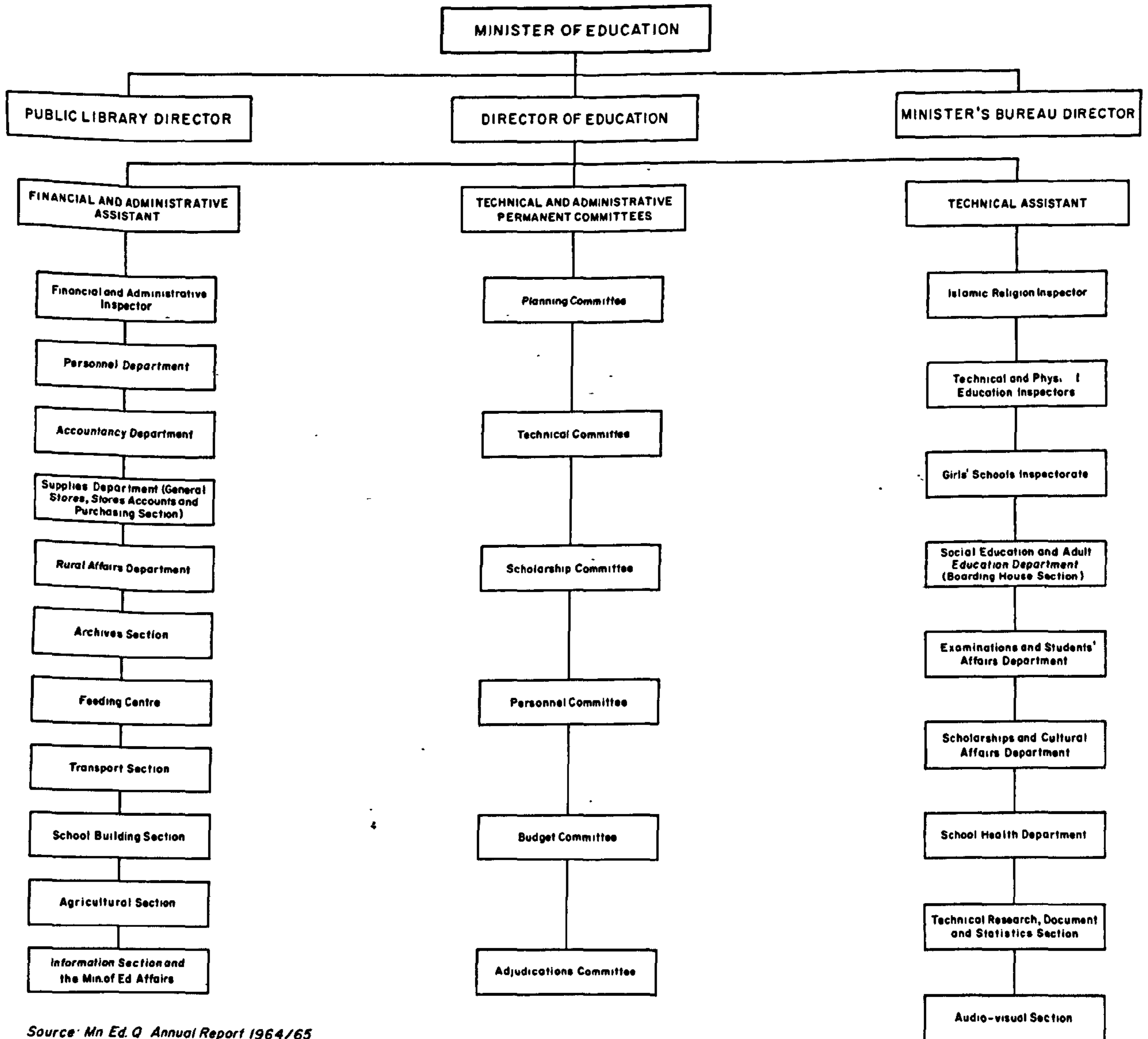
its administrative structure as shown in Chart 2. The responsibility of each department and section was also decided upon. As is shown in Chart 2 the Ministry of Education activities were divided into two columns, one of them devoted to technical affairs and the other devoted to administrative and financial affairs. Technical affairs were directly controlled by the technical assistant to the Director of Education, and administrative and financial affairs were controlled by the administrative and financial assistant to the Director of Education. In this administrative structure both technical inspectors and administrative and financial inspectors became independent units concentrating exclusively on inspection. The administrative structure also included the public library director, the Director of Minister's Bureau, in addition to the technical-administrative permanent committees. There are six committees, as Chart 2 shows, and they were set up by the Minister of Education to take decisions on the following important educational and administrative matters: the Planning Committee is in charge of setting out proposals for developing education; the Technical Committee is concerned with school curricula, syllabuses and textbook composition and improvement; the Scholarship Committee is concerned with students' and employees' candidacy for studying in universities abroad; the Personnel Committee is in charge of recruitment of teachers and other staff, their promotion and discipline; the Budget Committee is in charge of preparing and controlling the general educational budget; the Adjudications Committee is in charge of supervising the Ministry of Education's general purchases. Each committee usually consists of the following members: the Director of Education as Chairman, the Technical Assistant and the Administrative and Financial Assistant and Director of the Minister's Bureau, in addition to some Inspectors and Directors

of Departments. However the resolutions of each committee meeting are submitted to the Minister for his final approval.

During the period 1964/77 many changes in the administrative structure took place. Some sections grew into departments, others were combined into one department and some new departments were established. (See Appendix 3.1 and Chart 3).

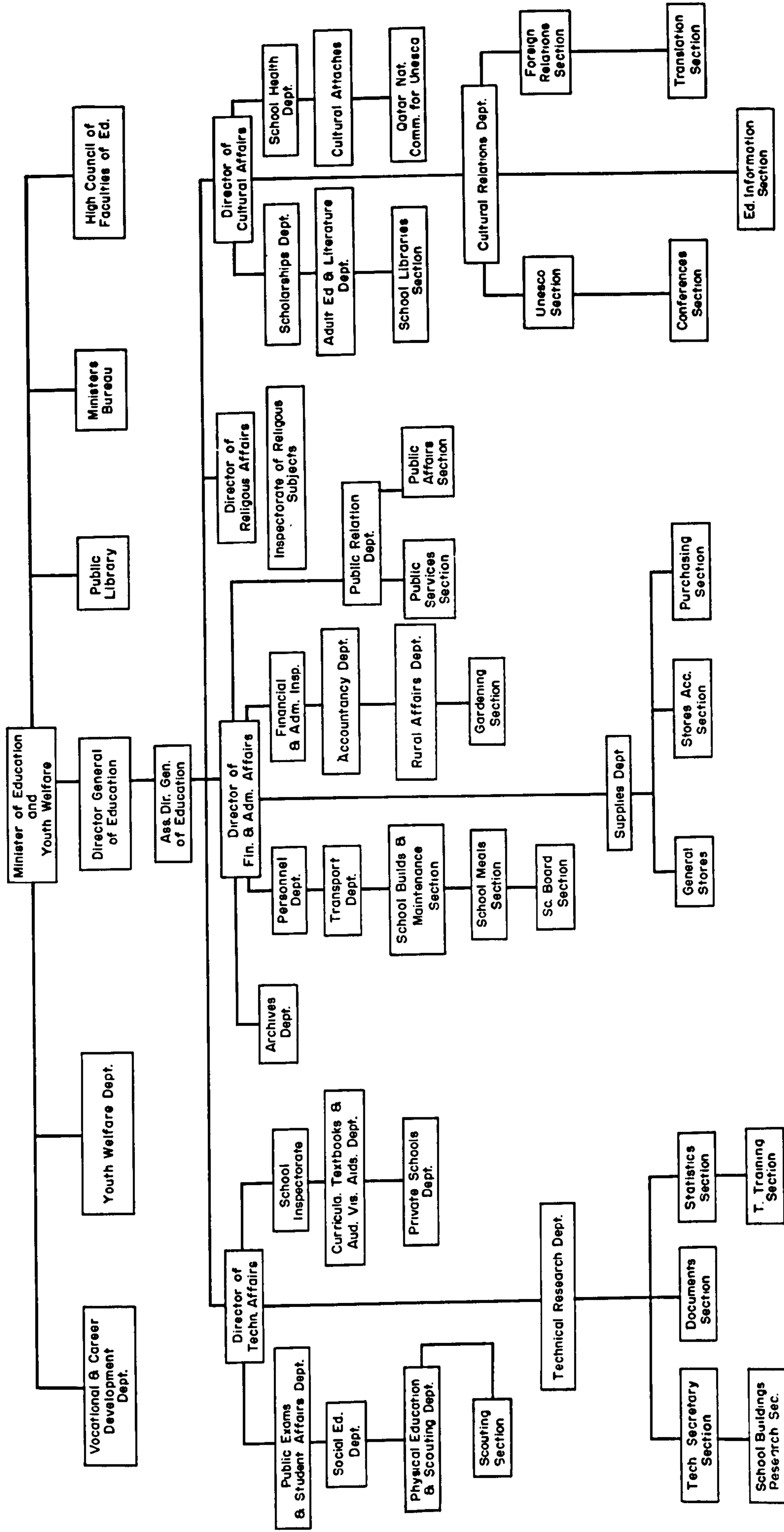
On 1st June 1970 the Government of Qatar established the first Council of Ministers, with the responsibility of establishing and organising Government departments. The Council issued decree No. 4 in 1970 forming a committee whose terms of reference required them to study proposals submitted by the Ministries for administrative reform. The Ministry of Education suggested in its report to the committee that its own administrative structure should be modified again to meet the changes in educational requirements. Later, in 1971, the Prime Minister issued decree No. 8, which reorganized the administrative structure of the Ministry of Education as shown in Chart 3. It divided the activities of the department under four Assistant Directors of Education instead of two, each one responsible for a particular sector. The Director of Technical Affairs is responsible for school inspectors (men and women), for examinations and student affairs, for the curriculum department and audio-visual aids, for physical education and boy-scouting, for technical research, social education and non-formal education. The Director of Administrative Financial Affairs is responsible for the administrative and financial inspectorate and the personnel, accounts, transport, supplies, archives. The Director of Cultural Affairs is responsible for the departments of cultural relations, scholarships, adult education and adult literacy, school health and hygiene and school libraries.

Chart 2_ Administrative Set-up 1964



Source: Mn Ed. Q Annual Report 1964/65

CHART 3: ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP 1977/78



Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report 1977/78

The Director of Religious Affairs is responsible for the religious inspectorate, religious subjects and rural area affairs. The permanent technical-administrative committee was also reorganized with the Minister as chairman and the Director of Education and his assistants and the Director of the Minister's Bureau as members.

In addition to the Education Department the Ministry of Education was made up of three different departments namely, the Department of Youth Welfare, the Department of Training and Vocational Careers, and the Public Library, with their directors under the Minister's direct control, and in 1973, when the high council of the two faculties of education was formed, this also came under the Minister's direct control. Consequently the name of the Ministry of Education was changed to the Ministry of Education and Youth Welfare, and the Director of Education became the General Director of Education. Later, about five cultural attachés were sent to Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, U.K. and U.S.A. to be responsible to the Director of Cultural Affairs for Qatari students studying in those countries.

A.3 Administrative System

Theoretically, the executive and legislative policy of the government administrative system was carried out in co-operation between the Ruler and his Deputy. The Deputy was usually responsible before the Ruler for preparing and executing through the Government administrative bodies, proposals concerned with the country's economic, social and cultural development²². As far as the Ministry of Education was concerned during the 1960s the general education policy was set up by the Deputy and executed by the Minister of Education. But during the 1970s general educational policy has been established through the

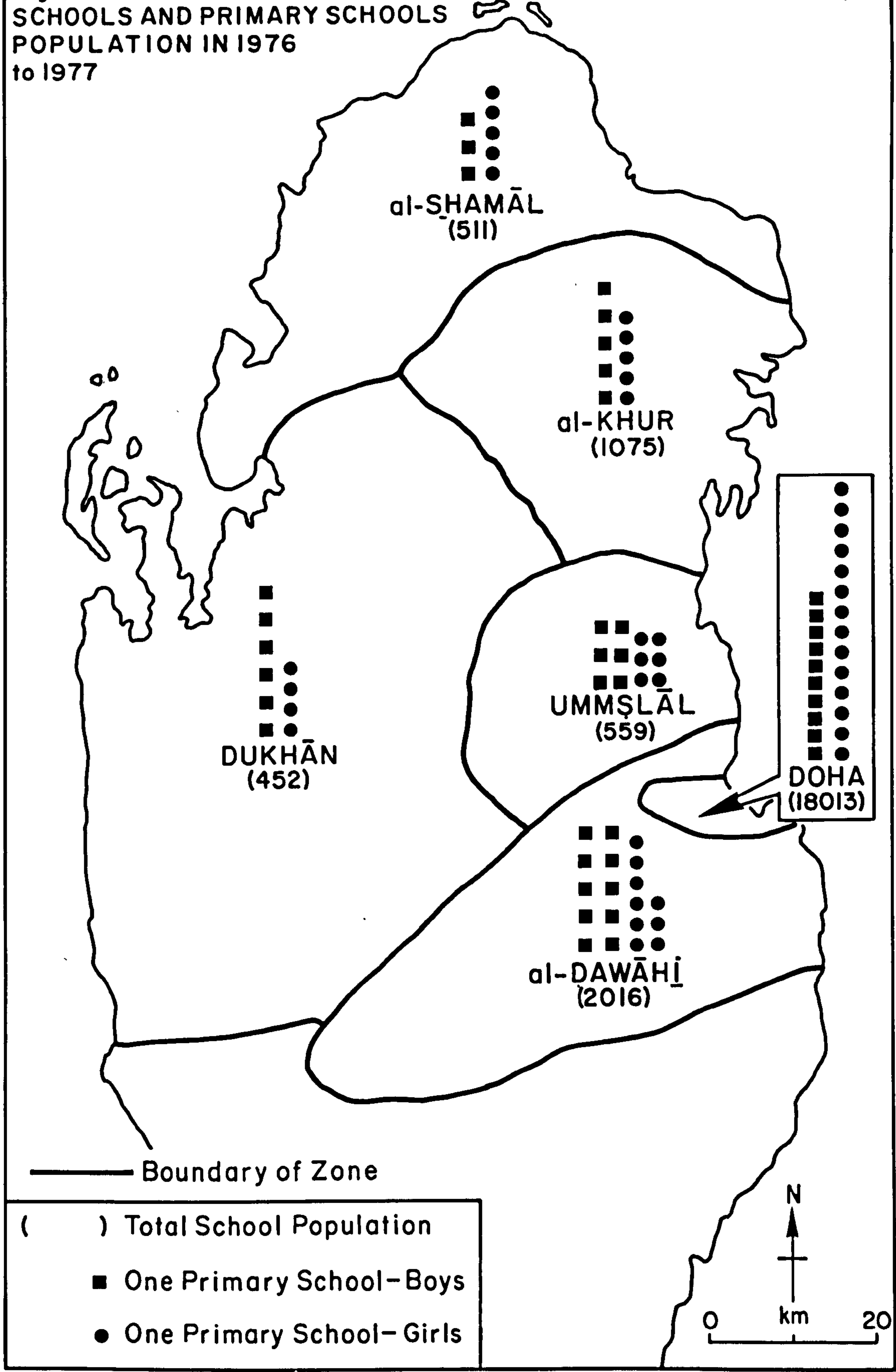
Council of Ministers. However, within the Ministry of Education the administrative system is a centralized one with all decision-making in the hands of the Minister and the General Director of Education. The Ministry of Education directs the schools from its central office, through ministerial decrees and circulars from the General Director, instructing the inspectors, the headmasters and the teachers on what they should do, in all situations from general policy to every detail of daily routine²³.

In 1964 the Ministry of Education tried to follow the recommendations of the 2nd Conference of Arab Educational Ministers on decentralizing administrative systems²⁴. But even so departments and schools were given very little autonomy; they have the right to contact each other about routine work only. Even then the Ministry of Education authorities issued two circulars, No. 156 dated 1964 and No. 204 dated 1965 stating that the new system gave rise to many complications, confusion and abuse. In fact the Ministry of Education administrative system is considered officially decentralized, but in practice it is a rigidly centralized system. The UNESCO expert who studied the Qatari educational system wrote in November 1973 in his report that:

Education in Qatar, as in most of the Arab states, especially in the Gulf areas is almost completely centralized. Policies, curricula, textbooks, plan for expansion, examination, all emanate from the central office in Doha. Provincial directors take their orders from the central office and exercise no influence on the shaping of education and policy. Their job is to execute the orders of the central office and to see that those subordinate to them apply them literally.²⁵

Qatari schools for both sexes are organized in six educational zones, namely Doha Zone, al-Dawahi Zone, Ummslal Zone, al-Khur Zone, al-Shamal Zone and Dukhan Zone. Figure 3.1 shows the distribution of educational zones by

Fig. 3-1 DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ZONES BY LOCATION, SCHOOLS AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS POPULATION IN 1976 to 1977



location and primary school population in 1976/77. Doha Zone is controlled directly by the Ministry of Education's headquarters, while the other zones are directed by supervisors, each one of them, according to the Ministry of Education regulations, responsible for the technical, financial, social and administrative affairs of the schools in his zone²⁶. In practice the supervisors are unable to implement Ministry of Education regulations. For example, it is recommended in the Ministry of Education's rural schools report 1974, that it should give some administrative and technical autonomy to the Educational Supervisors in the rural area²⁷.

A.4 Girls' Schools Administrative System

In general there is no difference in the administrative system between boys' and girls' schools, except that girls' schools do not allow the male authorities, even from the Ministry of Education, to observe girls' education from within.

A.5 Development of Personnel

The expansion in educational services in schools has led to a similar expansion in teaching staff as well as in administrators and clerical employees. But because the education of boys and girls is organized separately the number of teaching staff of both sexes is large by comparison with administrative staff who provide services for both boys' and girls' schools from one main centre. There are, for instance, the personnel department, the accountancy department and supplies department etc. which are mainly run by male staff and are designed to serve both men and women staff. This arrangement, even though it might reduce the cost of administrative services, as Table 3.2 shows, has created enormous difficulties for education in the women's sector. For social reasons*

* See Chapter VI.

Table 3.2

Development in numbers of Employees in both kinds
of School and in Departments and Sections within the
Ministry of Education by sexes

Year	Department and Section Staff		
	Male	Female	Total
1957/58	43	-	43
1958/59	68	2	70
1959/60	80	2	82
1960/61	95	2	97
1961/62	125	6	131
1962/63	146	5	151
1963/64	175	5	180
1964/65	188	5	193
1965/66	206 (14.5/)	6	212
1966/67	196	8	177
1967/68	163	8	171
1968/69	174	11	185
1969/70	182	14	196
1970/71	177	28	205
1971/72	182 (19.7/)	31	213
1972/73	195	32	227
1973/74	231 (22.5/)	32 (6/)	263
1974/75	221	32	253
1975/76	286 (20.6/)	52 (4/)	338
1976/77	336 (20.5/)	58 (7/)	394

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1976/77, p. 65 and Annual Report(s) 1965/66, 1971/72, 1973/74, 1975/76 and 1976/77, p.211, 181, 138, 145 and 81 respectively.

Note: Figures between parentheses show the percentage of Qataris to non-Qataris. The share of Qataris in teaching staff is set out in detail in Chapter VI.

the women staff, whether they are teachers or head teachers, are unable to go to the headquarters of the Ministry of Education as the men do, for direct contact with the staff concerned with any educational personnel matter. In practice, then the women in education are not equal to the men and always present their educational role as a satellite activity by the side of boys' education.

Gradually the women's inspection centre has been provided with numbers of female typists and secretaries for carrying out the necessary clerical jobs and collecting statistical information about girls' education. In 1974 the Ministry of Education took a revolutionary step when it allowed women inspectors to attend the regular meetings which were held in the main building of the Ministry of Education and usually attended by all technical inspectors, the General Director of the Ministry of Education, the Director of the Minister's Bureau and the Director of Technical Research²⁸. This participation of all women technical inspectors may gradually decrease the isolation in which girls' education finds itself. It will be much better for the qualitative objectives of girls' education if the Ministry of Education establishes a women's technical department controlled by a women assistant to the General Director of the Ministry of Education.

In general the percentage of Qatari staff in educational departments and sections is small. For instance, in 1965/66 the total Qatari staff was 30 males out of 206 male employees or 15 per cent out of the total, in the 1970s the number of Qataris has shown slight growth, it increased from 36 or 20 per cent out of the total in 1971/72 to 52 or 23 per cent and to 59 and 69 or 21 per cent out of the total in 1973/74, 1975/76 and 1976/77 respectively. Table 3.2 shows

the general development of staff in the administrative sector for both males and females from 1957/58 to 1976/77.

In the 1970s a major change was noticeable in the staff of the higher administrative posts. In the 1950s and 1960s the senior positions in various departments in the Ministry of Education were mostly occupied by employees recruited from northern Arab countries. But in the 1970s the Qataris started receiving senior promotion. For instance, within seven years (1970 to 1977) about 12 departments out of 14 were controlled by Qataris²⁹. Also senior positions in most primary schools were occupied by male and female Qataris in 1976-78. Nevertheless replacing non-Qataris by Qataris could produce poor results if experience and qualifications are neglected.*

B. Educational Budget

Education in Qatar has been nearly completely financed by Government funds from 1951³⁰. Between 1951 and 1953 the educational budget was limited, it was about QR:100,000³¹. But since 1954 the fund for education has risen proportionately to the increase in oil revenue and the expansion of education. For instance the state income from oil revenue rose from QR:5 million to QR:260 million between 1950 and 1960³². The educational budget increased from QR:1 million in 1955 to QR:13 million and QR:25 million in 1958 and 1960 respectively, see Table 3.4.

The educational budget is mainly divided into two items, capital and current expenditure. Capital expenditure comprises school buildings, school furnishings and equipment, school buses and the Ministry of Education's

* Unfortunately most of the Qataris appointed as headmasters in primary schools in 1977/78 lacked experience in both teaching and practical administration because they had just graduated from T. T. Colleges in Doha.

other buildings. Current expenditure comprises salaries, wages and allowances of the Ministry of Education employees, school maintenance, text books and stationery, in addition to other educational services. Table 3.3 shows the distribution of the educational budget in 1954 and in 1955, excluding capital expenditure*.

The educational services in Qatar have provided free education at all levels, supplying children with free textbooks, stationery and sports material, and with winter and summer clothes, and providing children at Doha school with a full meal daily. The children are also offered complete medical care, transport to and from school by Government vehicles and are provided with board and lodgings in Doha when it is necessary (i. e. for village boys in preparatory and secondary stages). In addition all Qatari children, boys and girls, are provided with monthly subsidies, there is social assistance for needy children and a food allowance to children at village schools.

From 1954 to 1960 the main projects relating to school buildings and the Ministry of Education capital building were completed. For instance, primary schools for boys and girls were established in Doha and in most villages, the Ministry of Education headquarters building was established, the feeding centre and students' boarding house was built³³. Consequently capital expenditure increased rapidly from about QR:2 million to QR:6 million and to QR:10 million in 1957, 1958 and 1960 respectively, see table 3.4.

The current and capital expenditure of the education budget was clearly influenced by both state financial problems and the allocation pattern of oil revenue within the ruling family during the 1960s³⁴. School daily meals,

* Capital expenditure of the Ministry of Education before 1957 was included with the total Government budget. See Table 3.4.

Table 3.3

Allocation of the Educational Budget of the
Department of Education in 1954 and 1955
Current Expenditure only

Item	1954	1955
	QRs	QRs
A. Employees:		
Salary and wages	196,980	372,715
Allowances	54,796	100,000
Total	251,776	472,715
B. Educational Services:		
Books and stationery, schools and offices	53,000	90,000
Office furniture and equipment (Administrative)	3,000	10,000
Postage and telegrams	500	1,000
Telephones	1,000	2,000
School furniture and equipment	11,000	100,000
Grants for outside higher education	5,000	3,000
Feeding students (or cash allowance)	38,500	315,000
Assistance to pupils and students	17,500	42,210
Clothing for boys	15,000	22,400
Contingencies	-	4,150
Reserve	5,000	-
Total	149,500	590,260
Grand Total	401,276	1,062,975
Percentage of: Employees	63/	44.5/
Educational services	37/	55.5/

Source: Modified from Cummins, J. W., Government of Qatar Budget Estimates 1375, State Budget and General Budget 1955, pp.10, 11.

winter and summer clothes, boys' and girls' monthly subsidies were cut. Capital expenditure was reduced to a minimum figure. The Ministry of Education, in order to cope with this reduction in current and capital expenditure, in addition to cutting educational services, changed the policy for small primary schools to a plan for bigger ones. The six Doha schools in 1956/57 grew bigger and bigger in physical size and pupil size. For instance, Madrasah Salah al-Dain in 1965/66 consisted of 1,086 pupils, which represented about 99 per cent of all Doha schools enrolment in 1956/57*. This development may financially have solved the problems of school and teacher shortage in the 1960s but it also had detrimental effects on educational quality in the late 1960s and in the 1970s. The state income from oil revenue was considerably increased in the 1970s, accordingly the educational budget, current and capital expenditures, was rapidly increased again. It rose from QR:42 million in 1969 to QR:109 million and to QR:489 million in 1974 and in 1978 respectively. Table 3.4 shows the educational budget growth from 1953 to 1978 by current and capital expenditure and average cost per child. Even though Table 3.4 shows that capital expenditure has recovered since 1970, in practice the school building programme faced many difficulties which resulted in a great problem of school shortage in Doha zone (see Chapter VII). Moreover in spite of an enormous increase in current expenditure, some educational services cut in the 1960s were not restored. It may be that there is no need to supply children with winter and summer clothes, or provide them with monthly subsidies as an inducement to attend schools, but the daily meal should not have been stopped from the beginning, because of its importance for children's health and energy. Table 3.5 shows the educational budget allocation in 1976.

* See Chapter II, Table 2.4 and 2.5 and Chapter VII, Table 7.1 and 7.2

Table 3.4

Growth of the Education Budget, 1953/54 - 1974/75QRs

School Year		Current Expenditure	Capital Expenditure	Total	Average Cost per Child
<u>Hjri</u>	<u>A. D.</u>				
1373	1953	128,692		128,692	274
1374	1954	401,276		401,276	716
1375	1955	1,062,975		1,062,975	1,038
1376	1956	2,185,400		2,185,400	1,448
1377	1957	3,898,857	2,537,143	6,436,000	2,762
1378	1958	7,492,014	5,927,985	13,420,000	4,492
1379	1959	9,064,606	7,325,504	16,390,100	3,512
1380	1960	15,707,929	10,173,500	25,881,429	4,339
1381	1961	23,091,392	4,699,208	27,790,600	3,938
1382	1962	21,783,223	4,571,267	26,354,490	3,267
1383	1963	22,886,082	3,173,000	26,059,082	2,736
1384	1964	22,874,303	4,624,100	27,498,403	2,534
1385	1965	29,976,250	2,650,000	32,536,250	2,558
1386	1966	31,339,426	2,647,000	33,986,426	2,480
1387	1967	29,018,444	2,375,372	31,393,806	2,190
1388	1968	34,980,503	287,500	35,268,003	2,253
1389	1969	37,690,032	4,844,000	42,534,032	2,470
1390	1970	41,429,330	3,300,000	44,729,330	2,443
1391	1971	45,912,628	5,168,000	51,080,628	2,434
1392	1972	59,523,580	8,845,940	68,369,520	2,923
1393	1973	79,815,524	14,690,000	94,505,524	3,709
1394	1974	87,738,564	21,190,000	108,928,564	3,917
1395	1975	145,488,212	50,000,000	195,488,212	6,529
1396	1976	211,806,230	60,000,000	271,806,230	8,392
1397	1977	283,543,400	106,400,000	389,943,400	12,640
1398	1978	338,849,400	105,211,100	489,070,500	14,430

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report(s) 1963/64, pp.17-18, and 1977/78, p.24.

Table 3.5

Allocation of the Educational Budget in 1976/77
Current and Capital Expenditure

Items	Allocated Sums
	QRs
1. Current expenditure:	
a) Employees:	
Salary and wages	90,732,576
Allowances	30,938,654
TOTAL	131,671,230
b) Educational services:	
Stationery and office equipment	3,500,000
Textbooks, scientific magazines and documentation	8,000,000
Electricity and water services	750,000
Feeding (boarding house)	3,200,000
Clothing for office messengers	100,000
Maintenance of office buildings and manufactures	2,000,000
Maintenance of gardens	2,500,000
Hostel services	220,000
Cost of buildings rent	1,500,000
Postages, telephones and telegrams	420,000
Rent of cars	8,000,000
Religious activities	150,000
Sport activities	1,500,000
Cultural activities	1,000,000
Rewards and students' monthly subsidies) (Vocational and technical schools) incl. village pupils and students))	6,000,000
Students abroad and cultural attachés	20,000,000
Other educational and administrative services	1,390,000
Assistant for Arab countries	6,500,000
TOTAL	66,735,000
2. Capital expenditure:	
School buses	3,400,000
Office and schools furniture and equipment	7,500,000
Clinic equipment	1,500,000
Electric equipment	1,000,000
New schools and other manufactures	60,000,000
TOTAL	73,400,000
GRAND TOTAL	271,806,230

Source: Slightly modified from Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report, 1976/77, p22.

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Note: Mitchell, R.P. in his book The Society of the Muslim Brothers published 1969, mentioned on pp.7-8 that Shaikh Muhib al-dain al-Khatib was the editor of the Mijalah al-Fath, the Director of the Salafiih bookshop. The connection between Shaikh Qasim Drwish, the Head of Educational Committee and Shaikh Muhib al-dain al-Khatib before 1953, as the writer has been told by the "ex-member", was through the Mijalah al-Fath.
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CHAPTER IV

LACK OF EDUCATIONAL STRATEGY

During the last two decades the Ministry of Education has not made public any form of educational strategy either for the long term or the short term.¹ Economically and socially they have not defined clearly what they want their schools to do. Al Hafidh wrote in November 1973 the following statement:

As far as I know, there has not been any prospective comprehensive plan for the development of the educational system in the state of Qatar for years to come.²

It is true there were different types of school in the country; and also true that Qatar is very generous in the matter of providing considerable numbers of secondary school graduates with scholarships for further education in Arab, U.K. and American universities, but all this is largely the consequence of a policy copied from other countries and encouraged by the oil wealth. Making use, however, of the successful educational experience of other countries would greatly assist the country, if only it were to adopt an organised policy with systematic adaptation of methods and taking into consideration the urgent needs and demands of the particular society.

The lack of a scientific approach in Qatar as well as in the rest of the Arabian Gulf region has been noticed not only in the educational field but also in the economic sector.³ Sinclair wrote the following:-

In our three countries, it is the task of the Government to ensure that economic and educational policies are at least not contradictory, as, in some cases, they are now.⁴

Recently (mid 1970s) it has been noted that the Ministry of Education was under

pressure both from within the country and from outside to establish some form of educational strategy. The main external pressure is exerted by UNESCO and by the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO).

UNESCO has been concerned about educational planning in the Arab States since 1958⁵. As a result UNESCO established in 1960 the "UNESCO Regional Office for Education in the Arab States"⁶. This office plays an important role in developing the education systems in the Arab States,⁷ particularly in the Arabian Gulf Region and in Oman.⁸ Between 1973/1975 the office* supervised several major educational projects in the Arabian Gulf Region and Oman. In Bahrain for example, there were the teacher training project, the in-service training project, the educational planning project and the project for curriculum and evaluation⁹. In the United Arab Emirates, in addition to projects similar to those which operated in Bahrain, the office assisted the national committee in the formulation and implementation of long-term and short-term educational strategy¹⁰. In Oman, the Office helped the staff of the Ministry of Education to identify the main elements of a viable strategy for educational development in Oman¹¹. In Qatar the office assisted with the organization and operation of a training course for school headmasters on school administration¹². And during the office's mission in Qatar 1973, the possibility of developing a training course in educational planning for Qatar was discussed with the Minister of Education, the General Director and the Director of Technical Affairs. The subsequent report stated that:

* There are other U.N. agencies like UNICEF and UNDP involved with educational projects in the Arabian Gulf Region and Oman besides the UNESCO Regional office.

One of the major outcomes of the course should be the development of literature on the prospects of education in Qatar up to the year 2000 A. D. *¹³

The office, however, strongly encouraged the Arabian Gulf Region in establishing their educational strategy on the basis of new educational methods instead of following the traditional methods of education of the Arab States, because the Arabian Gulf Region is in general characterized by features which are both new and unique such as small populations, great wealth and a very recent development of an educational system. Moreover in 1966, 1970 and 1977 the Arab Educational Ministers and the Arab Economic Planning Ministers strongly recommended at their regional conferences, supervised by UNESCO, that the Arab countries should increase their efforts to achieve comprehensive educational planning.¹⁴

The second external body exerting pressure for planning in Qatar as well as in the rest of the Arab countries is ALECSO. For instance, in 1972 the fourth conference of the Arab Educational Ministers took a major decision to establish "Strategy of Developing the Arab Education".¹⁵ To implement that decision ALECSO formed a specialized committee.¹⁶ Two members of this committee visited Qatar in January 1975 to collect information about the educational strategy in the participating nations¹⁷. During their meeting with Ministry of Education senior staff, they asked to be provided with a copy of the existing educational strategy, but the reply was that the Ministry of Education had no written educational strategy except the general educational aims which were indicated in the provisional constitution¹⁸. In January 1978 the Council of Ministers issued a decision to establish a committee

* Unfortunately the Ministry of Education, without showing reasonable justification, has changed its mind toward that course.

consisting of the Ministry of Education, Qatar university and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and Petroleum, the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture, the Technical Centre for Industrial Development, and the Vocational Training and Career Development Centre, in order to study the final draft of "the Strategy of Developing the Arab Education", which was submitted by ALECSO to all the Arab countries.¹⁹ Even though most members appointed by their Ministries were not key figures in their Ministries, sharp criticism made itself felt at the first meeting when some members realized that education in Qatar was run without any written strategy.²⁰

The pressure from within the country for a comprehensive strategy has increased recently as a result of several factors. The increasing amount of oil revenue encouraged the Government to establish several projects which required qualified Qataris to run them*. Consequently the necessity of establishing Government strategy emphasizing economic and educational planning is growing among some educated Qataris. From within the Ministry of Education the idea of educational planning arose among those facing the daily problems of the schools; also the Ministry of Education senior staff felt that in the changed economic situation, there was no justification for continuing the old ad hoc methods of running the schools, and that a comprehensive educational strategy was essential.

However, until the Qatari authorities produce their comprehensive strategy, their educational future will be no better than that which is described in the following statement:

* See Chapter I.

Failure to adhere to the logical process, moving from policy to strategy and from strategy to planning, ensuring the continuity and relevance of decisions made from one level to the next is responsible for education having been too often oriented by chance, guided blindly and developed in anarchic fashion.²¹

Although the "Strategy of Developing the Arab Education" was approved by the Educational Ministers in 1978, and had produced elaborate proposals for the Arab countries to develop their educational and economic system on scientific principles,²² nevertheless there is no doubt that an implementation of a sound integrated strategy for accelerating economic and social development in Qatar is not an easy task because of political, social and administrative factors*.²³ However, at the same time, leaving education without any reasonable strategy will lead again to waste of time, money and human resources, the basic elements of social development. Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII, have tried to answer the following question: What has been the impact of the lack of educational strategy on the magnitude of the educational problems and on the quality and efficiency of the educational system in Qatar within the last two decades?

* See Chapter I, p.26 , III, pp.121-8 and VIII, pp. 257-9.

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Chapter V

CURRICULUM PROBLEMS: SYLLABUSES, TIMETABLE ORGANIZATION, AND METHOD OF EVALUATION

Recently it has become common for writers of curriculum studies to define the school curriculum in terms of the whole learning situation¹.

J. F. Kerr, for instance, has described the educational curriculum as follows:-

All the learning which is planned and guided by the school whether it is carried on in groups or individually, inside or outside the school.²

However, the Qatar school curriculum is the traditional one, which stresses knowledge in terms of disciplines and focuses on school subjects³.

In general the traditional curriculum dominates the educational system in the Arab countries⁴, even though it is observed that there has been considerable resistance to it, inspired by the Arab Educational Organisation (ALECSO), and the Regional Centre for Educational Planning and Administration in Arab countries which on different occasions has declared that the traditional curriculum is not appropriate, and is not fitted to cope with the rapid economic and sociological transition experienced by the Arab countries.⁵ But in spite of such dissent, the traditional curriculum is still firmly defended by the conservatives who, both for psychological and political reasons, are anxious to hinder or at least to interpret the new educational ideas and projects to suit and preserve their own ideas and interests.⁶

The general aims of the educational system in Qatar are taken in modified forms from the covenant of Arab cultural unity, which describes the purposes of education as follows:-

The aim of education is the creation of a nation of citizens who are strong in body, mind and character, believing in God, possessing good morals, proud of their Arabic-Islamic heritage enlightened with knowledge, aware of their responsibilities and mindful of their rights.⁷

However, the general aims can be satisfied only if they are translated into specific objectives.⁸ These aims are put in very general terms and because of this they leave scope for serious arguments among those trying to translate them into practical objectives. For example, if we analyse the last two aims which emphasize that the students should be "aware of their responsibilities and mindful of their rights", they are found to be very ambiguous. Are we to understand that the school should train the students to be aware of their political, economic and sociological responsibilities, and how far? Are all these responsibilities to be developed or one or two, and why? The same difficulties will arise in the matter of students' rights, and so on for the rest of the general aims. In addition the Ministry of Education gave no satisfactory answer to the question as to when the pupils and the students should be educated in such aims. Is it at the end of the primary stage or at the end of the preparatory stage, or is it at some point beyond that? This will not be known until the state clearly determines the upper age limit for compulsory education. In addition to this, the curriculum's content was not very efficient and has been found to be inadequate to develop pupils and students to achieve the proposed educational aims. Curriculum efficiency in primary schools as well as in preparatory and secondary schools has been explored on different occasions since 1972⁹. The result in general shows that the curriculum is overloaded and in many areas not suited to the pupils' abilities, needs and interests. The studies called for urgent revision of the whole curriculum in general and the science curriculum in particular, emphasising that the curriculum revision should be based on sound educational and psychological principles. The textbooks were also found to be in need of revision, so that more attention was devoted to pupil level, subject integration and the social environment.¹⁰

The reasons could be categorized under the following heads: Firstly, that the Ministry of Education in 1964/65 did not establish its curriculum on the basis of empirical studies of pupils and students, their abilities, needs and interests and the social demands to be made on them. The fact was that the Ministry of Education did no more than reprint the curriculum proposed in the statement from the Arab cultural unity organisations which was established in 1957/58*. The time and the money spent on the so-called Qatar educational curriculum was wasted because nothing new was provided for the pupils and students. Secondly, a similar criticism could be made of the textbook which was composed in Qatar during 1965/71, because the Ministry of Education entirely neglected to invite specialists in textbook composition to assist and also neglected to have regard to the local environment. The result was that the subjects taught before were similarly taught afterwards with the new textbooks, but with more complexity. Thirdly, the curriculum as well as the new textbook was devised without the participation of the native people, owing to the shortage of capable Qatari authors. Moreover the errors attending upon the establishment of the curriculum, syllabuses and textbooks in Qatar during the 1960s were compounded by the lack of qualified teachers**, over-large schools (both as to physical size and pupil numbers***), and lack of administrative autonomy for school staff. These elements gradually interacted with each other and caused serious problems for the internal and the external efficiency of the educational system in the late 1960s and the 1970s¹¹. It was not an exaggeration for the General Director of Education to say before the Advisory Council in 1977 that schooling in Qatar is beset with enormous problems; our schools just provide children with the minimum education and we are not satisfied with that result.¹²

* See Chapter III.

** See Chapter VI.

*** See Chapter VII.

A proposal for developing the whole curriculum in general and the science and mathematics curricula in particular, has recently been discussed and agreed upon at several meetings attended by educationists and administrators from the Ministry of Education and Qatar University. Revision was put in hand for the following educational areas: the development of the mathematics syllabus by introducing modern mathematics into the general preparatory and general secondary schools; the development of the science syllabus and textbooks for the primary stage; developing a social studies syllabus including textbooks; and an English language syllabus and textbooks. Besides this a partial revision has been carried out of the Arabic language syllabus and textbooks, and the religious syllabus. Timetables also have been modified and short in-service training courses for teachers have been held¹³.

It is very early to evaluate the efficiency of the proposed curricula and syllabuses because most of them are still being elaborated and might not be put into practice in all schools before 1980/81¹⁴. But in comparison the blueprint reveals that the proposed curriculum seems more advanced than the 1960s curriculum, because it has been established to provide children with better education, unlike the 1960s curriculum and textbook which was simply established for the sake of stamping the name of Qatar on the various school publications.

A. Syllabus and Timetable Organization

Whether in primary school or secondary school, in town or in village, the daily educational programme focuses on school subjects¹⁵. Teaching knowledge prescribed in school textbooks dominates the whole learning situation. Syllabuses and timetable organization leave no room for other school activities such as playing music, visiting interesting places, woodwork and metalwork

activities, etc. Swimming lessons are entirely neglected in the school programme, children are backward at swimming which is very important for their safety as well as their physical health and pleasure. Excluding swimming and sea activities entirely from the school programme has proved a great mistake during the last two decades. Culturally and economically the sea environment plays a vital role in the life of the society; consequently the school must involve itself in depth in the sea environment. For instance, the Youth Welfare Department could play an important role in such matters by including in its physical activities sea activities such as rowing, sailing, diving, swimming, etc. The practice of such things as a part of school programme would help to change the school back again to being a normal part of society and that naturally would enrich the school's social and educational environment, which in its turn would help pupils and students to perform in a more productive atmosphere. Knowledge could be presented to children in many different ways, not only by textbooks or by teaching what is written in the textbook as our schools do now. It seems that the narrow educational role played by Qatari schools is more or less harmonized with the trend in learning activities in most of the Arab countries.

El-Koussy writes appositely:

Further examination of school curricula and equipment reveals the dearth of active learning possibilities. Provisions for gardening, animal husbandry, scientific or artistic work are extremely rare. Teachers trained in modern teaching methods are rarer. Learning means listening to teachers, watching blackboards, and memorizing statements to be reproduced in examinations. Even when the timetable provides for practical or artistic work, these subjects tend to be neglected in favour of subjects in which written examinations are given.¹⁶

Nevertheless theoretically the Qatar Primary School syllabus was established to equip both boys and girls with fundamental knowledge and skills. The syllabus indicates that school subjects should have to do with religion, nationality, society, economics, science, hygiene and amusements.¹⁷

However, the syllabus emphasizes three main subjects; Arabic language, Islamic religion and mathematics. The total percentage of time devoted to these subjects in the first, second and third grades is 76.6 per cent and in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades is 70 per cent. In general, the percentage of time devoted to these three subjects is too large by comparison with the remaining subjects to which less attention is given even though they are important for the children also. For example, the percentage of time allocated for each subject in the first two grades is distributed as follows: 40 per cent for Arabic language, 20 per cent for Islamic religion, 17 per cent for mathematics, 10 per cent for physical education, 10 per cent for arts and 3 per cent for science and hygiene. (See table 2.14). The emphasis on the Arabic Language and the Islamic Religion from an early stage in the pupil's life in the school, has created great difficulties for both teachers and pupils. Pupils who join the school at first have their own problems too, which usually arise from their separation from their mothers, from the noise, strange adults, huge buildings, long day, and large numbers of children either in the classroom or in the school courtyard¹⁸.

The Doha primary schools have large buildings and overcrowded classrooms*, the teachers seem strange to the 6 and 7 year old Qatari pupil, not because they are adults, but rather because they are from a different Arab country, wearing different clothes and speaking with a different accent. In addition, the schools and the teachers fail to use any kind of method to ease the problems of pupil transition from home to school, and instead, force their pupils from the beginning to read and write the Arabic alphabet and syllables, to memorize the Quran, etc. These various sources of anxiety compete with each other and put enormous pressure on the pupils, so making their school life more than miserable. R. Palmer writes appositely:

* See Chapter VII.

Transitions in education are of vital importance. Whether they are made with ease and confidence and the eager anticipation of a new challenge, or with anxiety and distress, can colour for a long time a child's response to his new environment.¹⁹

Furthermore the learning situation has been worsened by both the lack of school activities and the method of teaching. The rote teaching method dominating all learning at all levels leaves pupils and students little chance to participate in the classroom. Teachers admit that this method of teaching is not wholly desirable, but their justification is that the syllabus subjects are too extensive and numerous, the time allocated for each lesson too short (40 - 45 minutes). The teacher is not free to stay longer because another teacher of a different subject will be waiting his turn outside the classroom. The examination system encourages this method of teaching. The Headmaster, whether he is a very active and creative man or an ordinary one will have only a limited influence in improving the school educational standard. For instance the Headmaster cannot encourage teachers to take children for environmental observation outside school because they have no right to extend activities beyond the fixed timetable, textbooks and syllabuses prescribed in advance by the Ministry of Education for all schools in the whole country.

Consequently the educational instruction provided by the inspectors for their teachers, has gradually lost its influence, because the inspectors themselves have seen that the problem of low educational efficiency in Qatar is not to be solved by introducing more and more in the way of educational instructions and asking teachers to be more and more engaged in creative activities while the schools are overcrowded and lacking essential equipment. For example, there is a great shortage of science laboratories, and there are not enough libraries. Nor are there adequate facilities for drawing, geographical practice, acting, film shows, physical education and so on*.

* See Chapter VII.

These deficiencies not only greatly encourage rote learning, but also make the school day very long and boring. The students rebel against this life in many ways, some of them showing no respect for their teachers, and no spirit of co-operation either with their teachers or with their fellow pupils, often losing their textbooks, breaking school windows and chairs, absenting themselves from school for days or weeks or even leaving their schools for good. There is also the growing habit of tearing and throwing away textbooks outside the school doors, as soon as the end of year examinations are finished.

The Ministry of Education authorities are anxiously observing the growth of such behaviour in their schools, and they have issued a series of circulars asking their teachers and headmasters to pay more attention to their students and to make proper use of the 45 minutes period devoted to pupils' and students' own activities²⁰. Even if this were done, probably no change for the better would occur because school size is fast increasing, so that the teachers and the headmaster are less able to communicate satisfactorily with the school children as a group and as individuals. The result is that many schools use that provisional time as a breaktime for pupils and students²¹.

Moreover, the inflexibility of timetable organization would affect the efficiency of the proposed curriculum. For example, let us examine the modified science syllabus of the primary stage. This syllabus is designed as an integrated science environmental study approach. Theoretically it is well organized; the textbook is presented in a modern way; a textbook guide for teachers has been produced. In practice this syllabus, in order to achieve its objectives, needs creative methods of teaching, more environmental observation outside classrooms, more work and more pupils' and students' participation in the classroom.²² All this naturally requires sufficient time for such activities.

Reaching this point means that you are demanding reorganization of the fixed timetable. But such demands usually meet with considerable dispute, most of it not for purely educational reasons but to do with subject status and subject priority. Teachers and inspectors unconsciously develop a kind of loyalty towards their own school subjects, and each one of them sees that his school subject is very important for children's education, and consequently should have more attention from the Ministry of Education. Gradually co-operation among teachers and inspectors of different subjects has become too weak, so introducing any change in timetable organization always produces misunderstanding between the inspectors. For instance in late 1974 the science inspectors proposed to increase their weekly timetable in order to meet the new changes in the science syllabus, but even though their demand was moderate, it faced resistance and each inspector made it too difficult to reduce the time devoted to his own subjects in favour of the science subjects²³. In such an atmosphere, teachers and inspectors often forget that their ultimate educational objective is the child, how to help him overcome his various problems, in reading and writing, in communicating positively within and outside school, in satisfying his needs and his curiosity, and in general, in ensuring that he is happy in his school life. Unfortunately the whole present organization of the educational system shows little effort is made to attain most of these educational objectives.

Children who pursued their studies in general preparatory and in general secondary schools, felt that there was no great change from what they had been used to in the primary school environment. Even those who joined the science stream found themselves practising their science lessons in nearly the same way as those who joined the literary stream. No comprehensive attempt had been made to strengthen secondary education. Teachers' qualifications were far from

satisfactory. School buildings differed in no way from primary stage buildings. Educational objectives were vague, except that secondary education was concerned with preparation of students for academic studies which were linked with university education. Nevertheless instructions for both students and school staffs are observed, first the instruction about non-involvement in political activities under any circumstances and secondly, the instruction about studying textbook subjects for examination purposes. The matter of distinguishing between political and non-political school activities seems very hard for the teachers in secondary schools. For example, the educational inspectors stated in their meeting on 7th November 1974 with the Ministry of Education senior officials that one of the several obstacles which hindered school activities was the misunderstanding on the part of teachers as to which activities are allowed in schools and which are not²⁴.

This state of affairs creates serious problems for the whole educational system in secondary schools; it rouses fears in the newly recruited teachers who are usually advised by their old colleagues in an exaggerated way to avoid discussing any matter related to local society, which might irritate the people or the political authorities. It is also the cause of apprehension among students who feel that there is somebody in their schools spying on them²⁵.

This anxious atmosphere has encouraged both staff and students to concentrate on school subjects mainly. The latter result harmonizes with the nature of the traditional curriculum. At the same time, it does not offend the attitudes of the majority of the citizens, whose educational background derives from the kuttab schools.

The effects of these policies have been far-reaching. Firstly, an environment was produced that encouraged lazy, inadequate and conservative staff, that

gave them great power to fight and oppose any attempt to modernize the educational curriculum or teaching methods. Their legal justification for this was that it fulfilled the authorities' instruction (non-involvement in political activities). Secondly, the aspiring and innovative spirit among teachers and students was inhibited. Thirdly, neither students nor teachers had any enthusiasm for establishing school social clubs and the result was a weakness in the social life of the schools. Fourthly, there was exaggerated emphasis placed on school textbooks and examinations²⁶.

All these various pressures make the educational aim of creating a nation of citizens who are "strong in ... mind and character"* , theoretical rather than practical, because in the case of students in secondary schools, this aim will not be fulfilled unless certain fundamental conditions are present. Studying of textbook knowledge and facts is half the battle and the other half is to create an educational setting in which students are able freely and securely to discuss and take decisions in matters related to their future as well as their school's social and academic life. Failure to do this has already resulted in great difficulties and confusion in achieving the stated educational aims. The educational climate is a matter of concern for both educationists and sociologists. Experiments in this respect have proved that the democratic climate in comparison with an authoritarian and laissez-faire climate is more fruitful for learning and for developing the child's personality²⁷.

Nevertheless close observation shows that there was a very big gap between the stated theoretical policy and objectives on the one hand and the actual practice on the other. Both the Ministry of Education and the Government's general publications stress that science and technical and vocational studies are very important for wise social and economic development. In practice, vocational

* See this chapter, p. 152.

and technical education is poorly treated. Furthermore the trend towards science among Qatar students in general secondary schools is far from satisfactory. Qatari students often choose the literary stream rather than the science streams. This is not because the literary curriculum is more efficient than the science curriculum, but because it is better suited to the students' educational background, because their previous education, through the primary and the preparatory school has emphasized literary subjects more than science subjects (see Tables 2.10 - 2.18). Again literary subjects are easier to memorize for examination purposes than science subjects which require more practice and more time if they are to be understood and then memorized for the same purposes. These, however, are not the only reasons for the popularity of the literary curriculum; there is also a lack of appreciation of scientific values on the part of students, their parents and their society, which is encouraged by the lack of any sociological, economic and educational counter-strategy from the Government. Hardly surprisingly, then, the majority of Qatari students from 1963/64 to 1971/72 joined the literary stream, (see Table 5.1). Among non-Qatari students (boys), by contrast, the importance of science was clearly appreciated.

Although the number of male Qatari students who enrolled in the science stream between 1972/73 - 1976/77 gradually became greater than the number who enrolled in the literary stream, it still fell far short of the level reached by non-Qatari students. Nevertheless, the trend was in the right direction, but unfortunately it collapsed again in 1977/78, (see Fig. 5.1).

However, from 1973/74 the Ministry of Education started to encourage Qatari students to enrol in the science stream, by introducing a monthly allowance for those who followed the science stream, plus a 20 per cent increase in their salaries upon graduation from science faculties²⁸.

The question which might be asked here is whether it is the right approach to use the monthly allowance as a means of increasing the number of Qatari students in the science stream. The writer certainly doubts that such financial inducements will influence the majority of Qatari students or will easily turn them towards the science stream. This is for the following reasons:

- a) Needy students by law receive a monthly allowance²⁹.
- b) Most of the Qatari students are not needy, for example in 1974/75 only 42 students out of 782 qualified for the allowance made by the Government to needy students³⁰.
- c) The most needy students usually attend the vocational and technical schools which provide them with a monthly allowance and ensure them employment within a shorter period than is possible for students of the general secondary schools, who are generally intent upon a university education³¹.

Nevertheless, let us consider the matter from a positive angle, let us assume that the encouragement of a monthly allowance will have its effect among the needy students - what then of the better provided and the rich students, shall we neglect them? Moreover, will the needy students attracted to the science stream in this case really have any interest in science subjects, or will they just enrol for the money? And finally, how far will this kind of encouragement affect the enrolment of students in both vocational and technical schools, which mostly use the device of the monthly allowance to attract needy students?

These considerations suggest that the problem of the lack of interest in science which we have observed among Qatari students is not a simple one which might easily be solved by providing more monthly allowances for students or by the promoting or excluding of some school subjects from time to time, as the

Fig.5.1 COMPARISON BETWEEN ENROLMENT OF QATARI AND NON-QATARI BOY STUDENTS IN BOTH THE SCIENCE AND THE LITERARY STREAM OF SECOND GRADE, FROM 1967/68 TO 1977/78

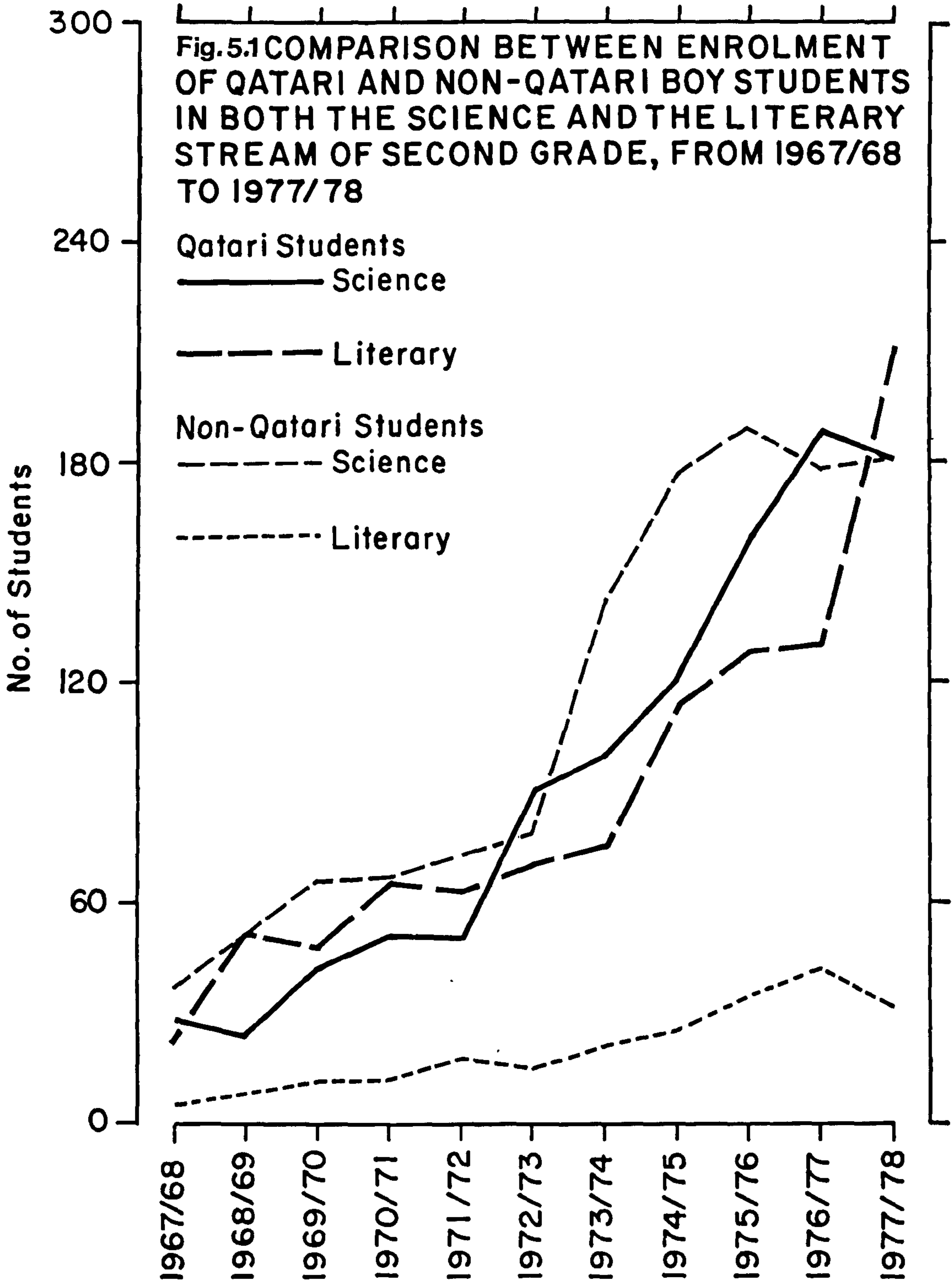


Table 5.1

Shows the development of Science and Literary Students, in General Secondary Schools, by sex and nationality from 1963/64 - 1974/75

Academic Years	Second Year						Third Year									
	Science			Literary			Science			Literary						
	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Qatari	Non-Qatari				
1963/64	6	-	12	-	9	-	2	-	9	-	15	-	10	-	10	-
1964/65	6	-	18	-	11	-	11	-	8	-	19	-	15	-	20	-
1965/66	13	-	28	3	18	2	13	13	10	-	23	-	10	-	5	9
1966/67	29	-	34	8	34	5	5	6	12	-	29	4	20	2	9	13
1967/68	28	6	38	10	23	11	5	13	29	-	49	13	36	4	14	16
1968/69	25	1	52	18	53	12	9	21	35	6	58	19	24	10	9	25
1969/70	44	-	65	20	49	21	12	40	30	2	63	22	55	12	16	27
1970/71	54	13	65	19	65	25	11	27	51	-	65	19	54	21	14	34
1971/72	53	10	76	28	62	48	19	37	58	13	71	22	72	30	14	29
1972/73	90	15	80	30	71	55	15	22	69	13	94	31	82	63	21	43
1973/74	100	34	146	49	77	75	21	45	93	15	87	35	74	61	23	23
1974/75	121	42	179	54	116	111	25	53	106	35	154	51	77	77	38	48
1975/76	161	88	190	53	128	120	38	50	118	40	188	60	118	117	35	57
1976/77	188	86	179	93	130	210	43	61	141	81	215	54	134	127	45	58
1977/78	181	106	182	106	234	280	32	68	172	85	177	98	139	208	40	60

Ministry of Education has done. The problem is obviously more intractable and is concerned with the educational, political and sociological systems of the country as a whole. An effective solution must deal directly with the problem at its roots and tackle its causes as they have been described in this and the previous chapters.

Money could, for instance, be utilized for the benefit of all students in secondary school, whether they are Qatari or non-Qatari science stream or literary stream students, instead of being devoted to a limited number of students. The main objective must be to improve the school environment as a whole by transferring the money into education and social services. Rough calculation shows that the total sum allocated as pocket money for the second and third year science stream students in 1977/78 was QR:3 million*. This is one of many examples showing how the administrators of the Ministry of Education tackle their serious school problems and how they spend money in unwise ways.

B. Method of Evaluation

Evaluation in education is mostly defined as a continuous process concerned with objectives, curriculum efficiency, standard of teaching and child development, in learning, in personality, in intellectual abilities and in attitude³².

Systematic evaluation is not practised yet in Qatari schools. The educational measurement which is commonly used by inspectors, teachers, headmasters and children, as well as administrators and parents is the school examination. Examinations in use in Qatari schools are the traditional ones (essay-type examinations) which are mainly designed to measure pupils' and students' attainment in textbook subjects.

This kind of examination is of central influence in the educational system for two main reasons. Firstly, pupils' and students' movement from one class

* Qatari students in the second year of the science stream are provided with QR:500 per month; when they get to the third year of the science stream the sum increases to QR:550 per month. See Ministry of Education, Qatar, Annual Report 1977/78, p. 30.

to another and from one stage to another is dependent upon passing successfully a promotion and public examination respectively. Failure to pass one subject means repetition of the whole year. Secondly the level of school certificate determines the employee's salary in the government sector. So obtaining a higher school certificate means enjoying a better chance in the competition for salary and social prestige irrespective of the period of employment and length of experience and talents. Hence studying subjects directly related to examinations becomes an obvious objective for pupils and students at all levels. A good teacher, in the view of children, is one who makes textbook subjects easy to memorize. The meaning and values of subjects is not so important. For instance, in a subject like geography, most primary pupils observed in the fifth and sixth grades could hardly define locations on a map but they could easily tell you the locations by heart.

The inspectors' judgement of pupils' and students' educational standard is always evaluated according to their attainment in textbook subjects. If pupils' and students' answers satisfy the inspector, that means their teachers will consequently be rewarded with an excellent report at the end of the academic year. Moreover headmasters and their schools' educational standards are evaluated too on their pupils' and students' final results in the end of year examination.

Gradually the examination has become an objective more than a means. Parents who are wealthy merchants and the Ruling families have sought coaching for their children. Coaching for children of the Ruling families is provided and paid for too by the Ministry of Education. In 1977 a special report by the Ministry of Education showed that there were 221, or 9 per cent out of the total male and female teachers teaching children of the Ruling families. Personal observation shows that the coaching fees per hour for teaching subjects such as English language,

mathematics and science exceeded QR:100 for each subject at the secondary stage. Coaching has become big business for teachers, but for the Ministry of Education it is a kind of nightmare. Headmasters and inspectors have criticised the practice and report that pupils and students who receive private lessons have been noticed paying no attention to their lessons at school, and disturbing their fellows in the classroom. Also, teachers who give private lessons mostly seem less energetic during the school day. In addition to this, some schools have lost confidence in such teachers, and do not allow them to prepare their final examination classes. In 1976 the inspectors did ask officially in their regular meetings with the General Director and other members of the Ministry of Education senior staff that private lessons be abolished but the reply was that this matter was not within the competence of the Ministry*. ³³

The coaching phenomenon, which is encouraged by the examination system, occurs in most of the Arab countries (see as an example coaching in Egypt). ³⁴

Although examinations have a serious influence on the attitudes of children, teachers and parents, as well as on educational standards, technically they have attracted less attention. The Department of Public Examinations and Student Affairs is mainly engaged with the examination regulations, school certificates, mark distribution on different syllabuses, supervision of the public examinations, etc. ³⁵

A technical unit or section for evaluating and improving the examination system is not established yet, either in the Department of Public Examination and Student Affairs or in the Technical Research Department or in the curriculum, textbooks and audio-visual aids Department. Inspectors and teachers try, on a very limited scale, to improve examination questions, but within the confines of the traditional pattern.

Whether the examination is for pupils in the fourth grades of Primary School

* See the effect of coaching on teachers' status in Chapter VI.

or for students in Secondary Schools, the model of the examination is the same: (three to six questions for each subject). In the Primary stage the difficulty of understanding the examination questions is a matter of complaint among most children. Children who cannot read or write Arabic properly consequently fail to answer satisfactorily examinations dealing with subjects such as geography, history and science. As a result, a high percentage of candidates re-sit examinations in the lower grades of the Primary stage*. Candidates for public examinations at the Preparatory and Secondary stages are prepared much better in terms of question clarity, but the examinations bring with them enormous pressures. Various sources of anxiety derive from the method of supervising students attending public examinations. They are gathered in two to four schools, watched suspiciously by considerable numbers of teachers and inspectors who are appointed as a committee for public examinations; in addition, frequent visits are made by the Educational Minister, the General Director of Education and some other senior Ministry of Education staff, in order to make sure that public examinations are conducted under sufficient supervision. Students in such an atmosphere do their examination nervously, uncomfortably and are less able to think properly**. Figure 5.2 shows the third grade students at general secondary school sitting their public examination while the Educational Minister and the General Director are making their normal visit.

The call to reconsider the methods used in the present examination system in the Arab countries has arisen on many sides, at the conferences of Arab educational ministers, and at Arab educationists' official meetings and seminars³⁶. Recommendations always stress the necessity of having a method of evaluation

* See Chapter VIII.

** The writer observed this situation during his work as an inspector and as a member and supervisor of the public examination committee in 1972 and 1973 respectively.

Figure 5.2. shows the third grade students at general secondary school sitting their public examination while the Educational Minister and the General Director are making their normal visit.



Figure 5.2 shows the third grade students at general secondary school sitting their public examination.

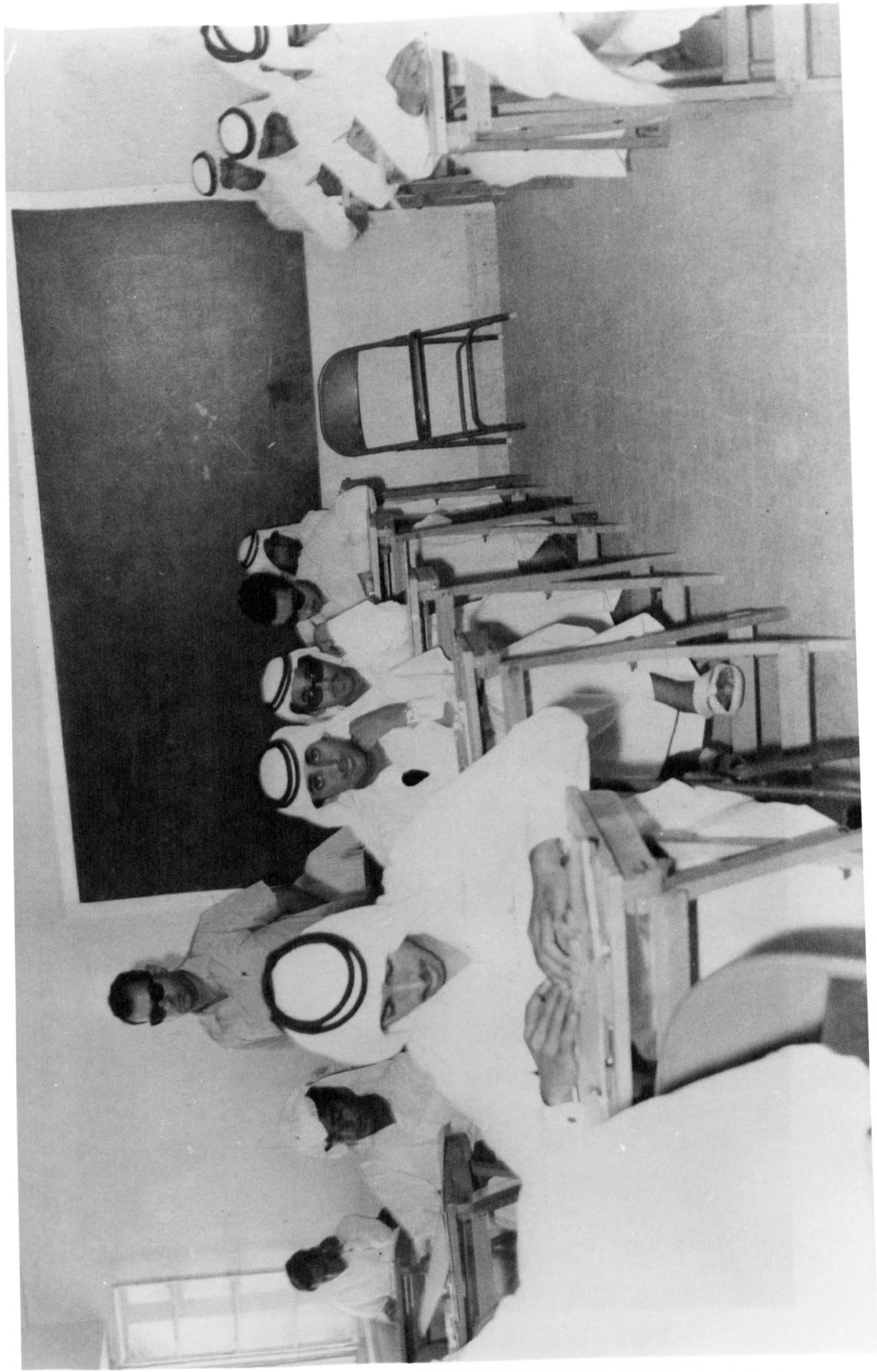
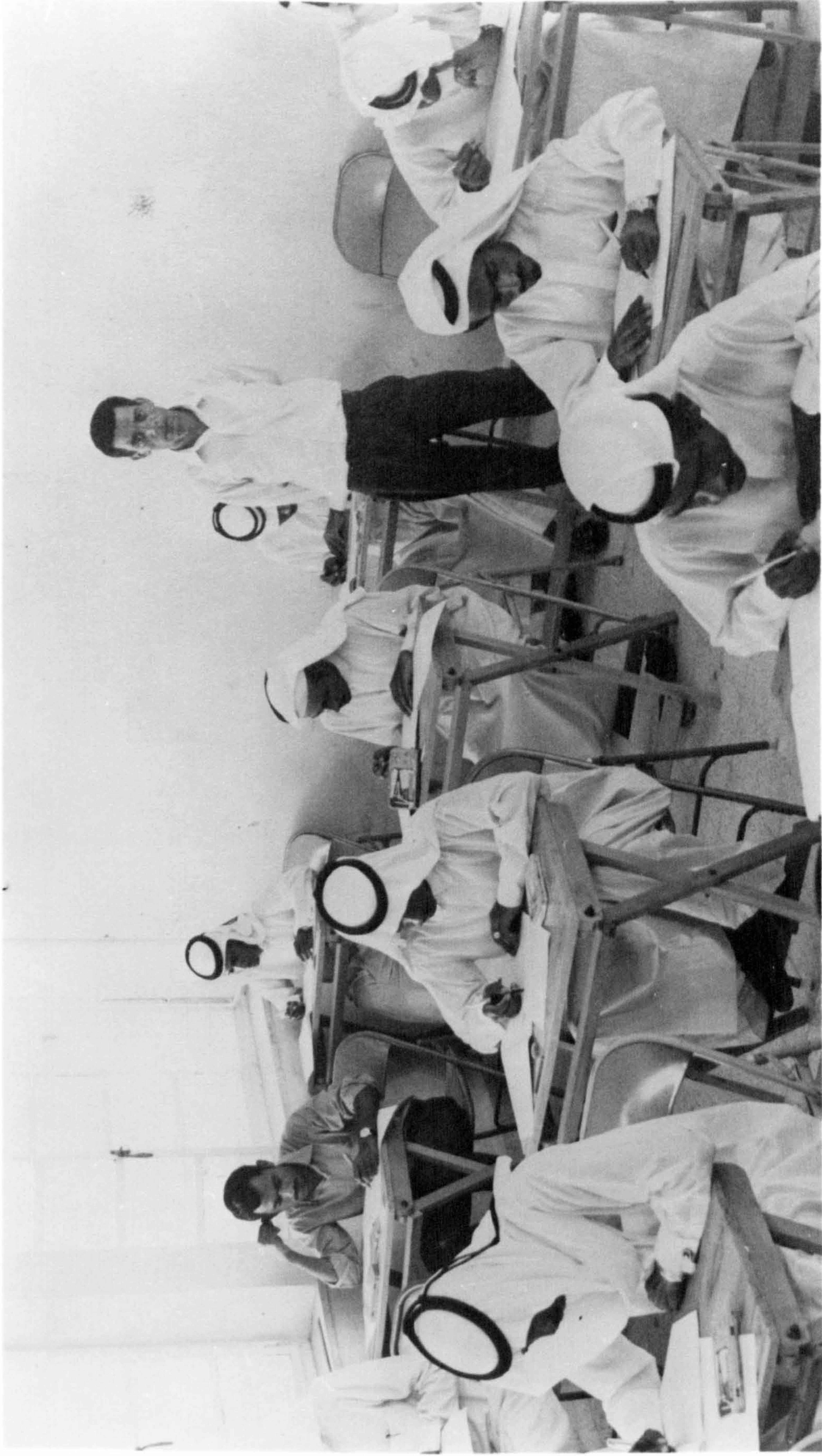


Figure 5.2 shows the third grade students at general secondary school sitting their public examination.



sufficient to cover all aspects of education. Theoretically, most Arab educational ministries have aspired to this ideal, but in practice too little progress has been made in developing the traditional examination system. In Qatar, for instance, most teachers, headmasters, inspectors, children and senior staff of the Ministry of Education are not satisfied with their examination system. At the same time no improvements have been made. The reasons are obvious; they are not financial but rather a matter of curriculum attitude and curriculum organization, administrative autonomy and teachers' qualifications. So introducing an adequate method of evaluation in school would require a vital sequence of changes in the present educational system. For instance, child-centred education might be emphasized more than subject-centred education; also the necessity for qualified teachers might be stressed, and for a productive school environment, flexible curriculum organisation and creative methods of teaching need to be maintained as part of the educational system. However, it seems that the educational administrators at present are not ready to shoulder the responsibility of evaluating the results.

The dilemma is that the present examination system covers only a very limited range of educational objectives. Even so it fails to distinguish clearly whether the child who passes his examination successfully, for instance in religious subjects, has acquired any sense of the meaning and the values described in the religious syllabus, or whether he has simply memorized the subject by heart. Controversy in this matter always ends in favour of subject memorization. It is suggested that a minimizing of rote learning could be achieved by introducing some objective test or by improving the standard of the essay-type examination or by using them both to explore children's attainment in different school subjects. Implementation of these suggestions would give better results in the passing of

examinations; but still there would be large and important educational objectives left untouched.

A method of accurate evaluation must be adopted because it will create a continuous challenge for the whole educational system. However harsh and painful its results, in the end it will lead to a well-organized educational system with staff really enthusiastic about children's education and administrators generously open-minded about educational changes.

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Chapter VI

PROBLEMS OF TEACHERS

As a result of the small size of the school population in Qatar, the total number of teachers is relatively small. In 1977/78 the total number of both male and female teaching staff in all Qatari schools was 2,490*. This figure is quite high as far as the teacher pupils and student ratio is concerned. The ratio of teachers to pupils and students is, in general, about 1 to 14; in primary schools it is 1 to 19 for boys' schools and 1 to 13 for girls' schools, in preparatory and secondary schools it is about 1 to 10 for both boys and girls¹. In Doha zone the teacher pupil ratio in primary school is higher than in the village zones, and it varies from school to school². However this unique ratio of teachers to pupils and students in Qatari schools was mostly countered by factors related to curriculum, examination system, method of teaching, school environment and lack of qualified teachers (see Chapters V, VI and VII).

A. Lack of Qatari Teachers

Modern education in Qatar is characterised by a lack of Qatari teachers, especially for preparatory and secondary schools**. Teaching is mainly done by recruited and borrowed teachers from different Arab countries. Table 6.1 shows the nationalities of teachers in the Qatari schools in 1977/78.

It is obvious from Table 6.1 that the proportion of Qatari teaching staff was 29 per cent of the total. Also the participation of Qatari women teachers in teaching activities is much higher than that of Qatari male teachers. Qatari women teachers represent 56 per cent out of the total of female teaching staff in primary schools. One should bear in mind that the male Secondary T. T. I. was

* School administrative staff are included.

** For the cause of this phenomenon refer to Chapter II, pp.81-82, also this Chapter.

TABLE 6.1
Distribution of Teachers, by nationalities and sex, in Primary,
Preparatory and Secondary, 1977/78

Level of School	Nationalities of Teachers*											Total of non-Q	Grand Total	% of Q
	Q	E	J	P	Sy	S	L	G, C and Y	ON					
Primary:														
Male	156	144	144	129	8	26	6	15	10			482	638	24
Female	479	67	146	139	7	2	1	5	2			369	848	56
Preparatory and Secondary:														
Male	25	195	120	115	16	43	-	1	13			503	528	5
Female	61	233	73	67	9	14	2	2	15			415	476	13
TOTAL	721	639	483	450	40	85	9	23	40			1,769	2,490	29

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1977/78, p. 85. (A).

* Key for nationalities - see Table 2. 8.
In this table (S) for Sudanese.

established 6 years before the establishment of the female Secondary T. T. I. (see Chapter II, pp. 78-79). Furthermore both Qatari male and female teachers represent a very low percentage among preparatory and secondary teaching staff.

As far as Qatari participation in teaching activities is concerned, the situation in 1977/78 seems more encouraging than it was in the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. In 1956 there were about 13 male Qatari teachers in primary school, their qualifications were described as follows: one teacher held a secondary school certificate, two teachers had received primary education and ten teachers less than primary education³. Trained primary school teachers were observed in the field in 1965/66 when 14 male Qatari teachers had graduated from the men's secondary T. T. I. Since then the percentage of Qatari teachers in the Primary school has gradually increased for both sexes. For instance, the percentage of Qatari teachers in primary schools increased from 8 per cent for male and 2 per cent for female teachers in 1965/66 to 38 per cent for male and 41 per cent for female in 1974/75 out of the total respectively. Table 6.2 shows the participation of both male and female Qatari teachers at three different periods of time.

Comparison between Table 6.1 and Table 6.2 clearly reveals that the number of male Qatari teachers in primary schools decreased from 190 to 156 between 1974/75 and 1977/78. If we calculate the total number of teachers who graduated from the men's Secondary T. T. I. between 1965 and 1976 it amounts to 264 teachers⁴. This suggests that a considerable number of Qatari male teachers who trained for teaching profession, either entered teaching only temporarily or directly sought jobs outside the teaching profession. By contrast, the number of Qatari female teachers increased proportionately to the numbers trained.

TABLE 6.2

Comparison between Qatari and non-Qatari teachers,
by level of school, number, percentage and sex, at
three different periods of time

Level of School	1965/66		1969/70		1974/75	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary teachers						
(1) Male : Qatari	29	8.0	81	21	190	38
: Non-Qatari	333	92.0	303	79	317	62
(2) Female : Qatari	4	2.0	22	7	227	41
: Non-Qatari	208	98.0	284	93	334	59
Total	574		690		1068	
Preparatory teachers						
(1) Male : Qatari	zero	zero	1	1	16	8
: Non-Qatari	62	100	73	99	175	92
(2) Female : Qatari	zero	zero	1	2	7	4
: Non-Qatari	25	100	45	98	180	96
Total	87		120		373	
Secondary teachers						
(1) Male : Qatari	zero	zero	1	3	3	3
: Non-Qatari	28	100	39	97	97	97
(2) Female : Qatari	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero
: Non-Qatari	zero	zero	29	100	40	100
Total	28		69		140	

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report(s), 1965/66, p.211;
1969/70, p.143; 1974/75, p.145.

The decreasing trend of male and the increasing trend of female citizens who enter the teaching profession is commonly noticed in Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait⁵. As a result of this imbalance a form of boys' primary school run by female staff had emerged in the late 1970s. In 1976/77 Kuwait chose a boys' primary school with 573 boys aged 6 to 11 years to be run by women teachers as an experimental project⁶. The Director of the Kuwaiti primary education department stated, too, that the project would extend to take in another three primary schools in the next year, and so on, until the end of the experimental period in 1979/80. If the project was successful, then all the primary schools would come gradually to be run by women teachers. He added that one of the main reasons for the Kuwaiti Education Ministry's project was the increasing number of Kuwaiti female teachers and the decreasing number of Kuwaiti male teachers⁷.

Nevertheless, the Kuwaiti project has not escaped objections from some Kuwaiti citizens who have described the project as synonymous with co-education or at least a clever step towards a co-educational system. In response the Kuwaiti Educational Ministry stated in public (translated):

Our project is far from a co-educational system; it is no more than the teaching of boy pupils aged 6 - 11 years by women teachers, instead of by men teachers.⁸

In Qatar the Education Ministry established in 1976/77 a committee of five members whose terms of reference required them to study the possibility that boys aged 6 to 9 years might be taught by female staff, and to clarify many important points, such as whether the teaching would be carried out in girls' schools or in boys' schools and how, or whether it would be carried out in independent schools on the Kuwaiti model⁹.

It seems that the committee's investigation and the initial success of the Kuwaiti project encouraged the Qatari educational authorities with their similar project, for in 1978/79 the Ministry of Education established three schools for boys aged 6 - 9 years, staffed by women teachers in independent schools¹⁰.

The idea of teaching boys with women teachers in the Arabian Gulf Region is not entirely new because such a system was known in many kuttab schools* before the modern educational system was introduced. This Islamic heritage probably worked to prevent any effective resistance from the majority of the people towards the project, in particular concern about the upper age of boys in the school. However, the upper age of boys in these schools was given considerable attention by Ministries of Education in both Kuwait and Qatar. Conditions made clear that a boy who reached 12 years, in the case of Kuwait and 10 years in the case of Qatar must transfer to a Primary school staffed by men teachers.

In both countries the main objective of the project was to provide a solution for the problem of lack of indigenous male teachers. However, even the objective of self-sufficiency in female teachers has not yet been reached for the primary school sector or for the preparatory and secondary school¹¹. Nevertheless if the present large schools continue as well as the present teacher pupil ratio, that means Qatar will need at least between 5 and 7 years to reach self-sufficiency in female teachers in primary schools. If a small size of school is adopted without increasing the teacher pupil ratio, it will need more than that time. If Qatar is to establish a kindergarten educational system that will certainly increase the demand for women teachers. Consequently the decision to close the women's Secondary Teacher Training Institute was at odds with the idea of self-

* See Chapter II.

sufficiency in Qatari female teachers, and it did not help the policy of teaching boys with women teachers. The estimated number of additional teachers required annually for primary, preparatory and secondary schools is shown in Table 6.3.

The annual output of the women's secondary T. T. I. was quite sufficient to cover the additional annual female teacher requirement in primary schools. For instance in 1974/75, 1975/76 and 1976/77 the annual output of the T. T. I. was 49, 86 and 69 female teachers respectively¹². Also the enrolment average in the women's secondary T. T. I. was, until 1977/78, high enough to cope with the increasing demands for female teachers. So the policy of covering the shortage of Qatari male teachers by Qatari female teachers obviously required an increase in enrolment numbers of women in the secondary T. T. I. and not a closing of the institution.

The Ministry of Education must think seriously of using the positive trend of Qatari women towards the teaching profession. The idea of women teaching boys aged 6 to 9 is fruitful and meets the people's desire and also produces a solution to the problem of male Qatari teacher shortage in the long run. This form of school should be largely encouraged. Furthermore the decision to close the women's secondary T. T. I. should be reversed and new branches of the women's secondary T. T. I. should be established in small towns like al-Khur and Madinat al-Shamal, otherwise the following results could be predicted: it would take more years than expected to reach the objective of self-sufficiency in Qatari female teachers in primary schools; there would need to be recruitment of more Qatari female teachers originally not trained in the teaching profession as teachers for primary schools; there would need to be a limit to the numbers of schools for boys aged 6 to 9 run by women staff.

TABLE 6.3

Numbers of additional Teachers required annually for Primary, Preparatory and Secondary Schools,
by sexes from 1975/76 to 1979/80

Academic Year	Primary			Preparatory			Secondary			Total		Grand Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	
1975-76	60	65	125	44	27	71	27	18	45	131	110	241
1976-77	62	68	130	45	29	74	29	21	50	136	118	254
1977-78	75	72	147	52	31	83	37	24	61	164	127	291
1978-79	85	73	158	59	31	90	44	24	68	188	128	316
1979-80	95	78	173	69	34	103	50	25	75	214	137	351

Source: Sir James Cook and Professor H. Bowen-Jones, The University of Qatar and the Gulf, 1971, Table 9B, p. 28.

As regards the problem of lack of Qatari teachers for preparatory and secondary schools, the Ministry of Education, in co-operation with the UNDP and UNESCO established in 1973 the two T. T. Colleges, one for male and one for female teachers, aiming thus to staff both general preparatory and general secondary schools with qualified Qatari teachers.¹³

The enrolment trend in the two colleges shows that female outnumbered male enrolment. Table 6.4 indicates the enrolment of new male and female students into the two T. T. Colleges for a period of four years.

TABLE 6.4

New Student Enrolment into the two T. T. Colleges
from 1973/74 to 1976/77, by sex and nationality

	Qatari			Non-Qatari			Total		Grand Total
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	
1973/74	48	72	120	9	21	30	57	93	150
1974/75	48	56	104	18	40	58	66	96	162
1975/76	24	69	93	21	57	78	45	126	171
1976/77	67	157	224	37	41	78	104	198	302

Source: Taken by the writer from Men's T. T. College Statistics Record in February 1977.

From this table it could be predicted that the percentage of female Qatari teachers in both preparatory and secondary schools will considerably increase in the few years following 1976/77. But with male teachers there is some doubt. Again it seems, then, not unlikely that the same problems which faced the Ministry of Education in the primary school sector before would be repeated for preparatory schools in the coming few years. Early evidence of this can

be noted in the factual distribution of the first group of men and women who graduated in June 1977. 60 out of 92 Qatari graduates were women; only 42 out of the total went to the Ministry of Education and most of them were women¹⁴.

Furthermore, the establishment of Qatar University in 1977 (comprising six faculties, namely the Faculty of Education, the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, the Faculty of Administration and Economics, the Faculty of Engineering and the Faculty of Communication and Information¹⁵) will affect the enrolment numbers of both Qatari men and women into the Faculty of Education. The result will be again extra years needed in order to achieve self-sufficiency in Qatari trained teachers for Preparatory and Secondary schools. The UNESCO Mission comments as follows:

During its visit, the Review Mission found there were some reservations about the feasibility of founding a university. There is no doubt that Qatar has adequate resources for the task, but many people wonder if there is a need for a full university. The number of Qatari Secondary School graduates foreseen in the next decade is limited and their desire for a university experience in Qatar is far from certain. Moreover similar institutions exist or are being planned in Kuwait, Bahrain and the Emirates. Unless a pattern of specialization emerges for each country, few students from other parts of the Gulf might be expected. Additionally it seems certain that the University will have to rely on expatriate staff for a very long period before Qatari Nationals are available to staff the institution.¹⁶

B. Lack of Qualified Teachers

Qatari schools are not only suffering from a shortage of Qatari teachers, but also, more seriously from a lack of qualified teachers in general.

The term "qualified teacher" comprises all teachers holding certificates, from Secondary T. T. I. s or T. T. Colleges, or those teachers who have trained for one year or more for the teaching diploma. The term is generally used by the Ministry of Education to distinguish between qualified and non-qualified teachers¹⁷.

The phenomenon of non-qualified teachers in Qatari schools, has been widely observed in the field since the 1960s, when the provision of primary schools for both sexes was considerably increased. The percentage of qualified teachers, both men and women, in the primary schools was 18 per cent out of 516 teachers in 1963/64. In 1968/69 the percentage was down to 11 per cent out of 666 teachers. During the period 1969/70 to 1974/75, the percentage of qualified teachers grew from 17 per cent out of 690 teachers to 32 per cent out of 1,068 teachers (see Table 6.6).

As regards the preparatory and the secondary schools, the percentage of qualified teachers is very low. In 1968/69 it was 29 per cent out of 231 teachers, gradually decreasing to 21 per cent out of 620 teachers in 1974/75 (see Table 6.7).

The great shortage of qualified teachers in the Qatari schools is the result of many causes, competing with each other. Externally there is firstly the scarcity of qualified teachers in the Arab countries in general, and the increasing demand for them in those countries which traditionally supply Qatar with teachers¹⁸. Secondly, there is the open competition there has been between the Arabian Gulf states for teachers from northern Arab countries, particularly Egypt, Jordan and Syria¹⁹. This competition allows qualified teachers to choose the best salary, along with the other advantages provided by Arabian Gulf states. Referring to this competition, the Director General of Education in Qatar stated in his seminar in the T. T. College for men, in December 1974, that the Ministry of Education was facing a shortage of qualified teachers in mathematics and the sciences because the Government of Qatar paid a comparatively lower salary than that offered in Kuwait and in the United Arab Emirates²⁰. Internally, the major reason for the high percentage of non-qualified teachers in Qatari schools is to be found in the considerable change in recruitment policy. The

Ministry of Education traditionally had access to two main sources of supply for non-Qatari teachers; it borrowed teachers from Arabic countries and it recruited Arabic teachers through direct contract. Teachers who came through the borrowing method are mostly qualified, but the Ministry of Education found in this method some disadvantages, resulting from the duration of the borrowing period, which was limited to four years. In addition Qatar experienced some difficulty in obtaining the required teachers at the right time owing to circumstances in other countries. This method produced 9 per cent out of the total of non-Qatari teachers in 1963/64. This percentage remained practically unchanged until 1970/71; from then to 1974/75 the percentage grew from 10 to 20 per cent of the total*. For teachers recruited directly by the Ministry of Education, the method operated in two different ways: external and internal recruitment. Teachers recruited through the external method had their teaching qualifications and teaching experience examined by an authorised committee established by the Ministry of Education for this purpose, and yearly sent to Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, to offer teaching contracts. This committee was usually well placed to choose qualified teachers or those who had taught for many years in Government schools. At the beginning of the 1970s, a change occurred; the committee was abolished and its responsibility locally was transferred to the Director of the Technical Research Department. Possibly that step was taken for financial reasons because teachers recruited by external contract cost more than teachers internally contracted. Also the former cost more than the latter in terms of accommodation and other allowances (see note in Table 6.10.). Probably as a result of this change, the percentage of teachers recruited this way dropped from 73 per cent of the total of non-Qatari teachers in 1963/64 to 43 per cent in 1974/75. On the other hand, the internal direct contract

* The reason for the increase was that Qatar had latterly borrowed teachers from more than one Arab country, such as Egypt, Jordan and the Sudan.

method was used with Arab citizens already resident in Qatar who wished to enter the teaching profession. Historically this method was introduced in order to cover the demand for jobs as teachers in girls' schools by those women who lived in Qatar with their husbands. This method was practised on a limited scale because most of the teachers recruited in this way are not qualified or experienced. Unfortunately the proportion of teachers internally recruited has grown recently for both male and female teachers, and on a large scale. For instance, in 1963/64 the teachers recruited in this way represented 19 per cent; there was an increase in 1974/75 to 38 per cent. This policy was unwisely implemented, especially in 1975/76 and the year after, when the Ministry of Education announced that it wanted non-Qatari teachers to teach Modern Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and other specialised subjects on the following conditions: that the applicants should have relatives in Qatar; that they should arrange their own accommodation; and lastly that they should pay their own fare and other expenses when attending for interview in Qatar²¹. The reason for such unattractive conditions was that the Ministry of Education was suffering the consequences of a high rate of inflation in accommodation rents in Doha town in 1974 to 1977. That accommodation crisis not only ensured that the Ministry of Education was unable to staff its secondary schools with newly qualified teachers but created an atmosphere of anxiety among teachers already recruited, some of whom were unable to bring their families to live with them in Doha because of the high rents. Table 6.5 shows the distribution of non-Qatari teachers according to their kind of contract, by numbers and percentage from 1963/64 to 1974/75, male and female teachers.

There is no doubt that such an atmosphere will make teaching in Qatar even less attractive to the Arab qualified teachers, and consequently this measure

TABLE 6.5

Distribution of non-Qatari teachers according to their sort of contract,
by numbers and percentage from 1963/64 and 1974/75,
male and female teachers

Years	Internal con- tracted teachers		External contracted teachers				Grand Total
	Direct contract		Direct Contract		Borrowed		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1963/64	117	18.5	461	72.8	55	8.7	633
1964/65	138	20.9	491	71.0	62	9.0	691
1965/66	172	22.7	529	69.7	58	7.6	759
1966/67	246	30.2	512	62.7	58	7.1	816
1967/68	269	31.8	514	60.8	63	7.4	846
1968/69	314	34.1	537	58.3	70	7.4	921
1969/70	319	34.1	534	57.0	82	8.8	935
1970/71	358	36.9	533	53.0	102	10.1	993
1971/72	369	41.0	567	49.0	117	10.0	1053
1972/73	387	35.5	538	49.0	171	15.5	1096
1973/74	401	36.2	532	46.7	195	17.1	1128
1974/75	468	37.6	531	42.6	246	19.8	1245

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report(s) series from 1963/64 to 1974/75
pp. 205, 187, 213, 153, 223, 223, 144, 145, 182, 200, 138, 146 respectively.

TABLE 6.6

Distribution of Primary School Teachers, by Nationality and Qualifications - 1963/64 - 1974/75

Year	Nationality			Percentage of Qatari	Qualification		
	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Total		Qualified teachers	Non-qualified	Percentage of qualified teachers
1963/64	30	486	516	5.8	95	421	18.4
1964/65	31	497	528	5.8	99	429	18.8
1965/66	33	541	574	5.7	97	464	16.9
1966/67	39	565	604	6.5	98	506	16.6
1967/68	48	576	624	7.7	86	538	13.8
1968/69	64	602	666	9.6	76	590	11.4
1969/70	103	587	690	14.9	118	572	17.1
1970/71	152	621	773	19.7	173	600	22.4
1971/72	107	688	795	13.5	192	603	24.2
1972/73	299	620	919	32.5	254	665	27.6
1973/74	367	612	979	37.5	316	663	32.3
1974/75	417	651	1068	39.0	344	724	32.2

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report(s) 1963/64 to 1974/75, pp. 203 and 204; 185 and 186; 211 and 212; 149 and 150; 214 and 221; 217 and 222; 141 and 143; 142 and 144; 179 and 181; 197 and 199; 135 and 137; 143 and 145 respectively.

TABLE 6.7

Distribution of Preparatory and Secondary School Teachers, by Nationality and Qualification - 1968/69 - 1974/75

Year	Nationality			Qualification			
	Qatari	Non-Qatari	Total	Percentage of Qatari	Qualified teachers	Non-qualified	Percentage of qualified teachers
1968/69	2	229	231	0.9	67	164	29.0
1969/70	4	262	266	1.5	56	210	21.0
1970/71	10	311	321	3.1	62	259	19.3
1971/72	13	372	385	3.4	86	299	22.3
1972/73	16	439	455	3.5	88	367	19.3
1973/74	27	509	536	5.0	142	394	26.5
1974/75	26	594	620	4.2	127	494	21.4

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report(s), 1968 to 1974/75, pp. 217 and 222; 242 and 143; 142 and 144; 179 and 181; 197 and 199; 135 and 137; 143 and 145 respectively.

must in the long term increase the percentage of non-qualified teachers, which is already very high. Table 6.6 and Table 6.7 shows the numbers and the percentage of qualified teachers in Primary and Upper Primary Schools respectively.

The percentage of qualified teachers in Qatari schools, indicated in Table 6.6 and Table 6.7 could be considered in the educationist's view a kind of disaster for the whole educational system. The following statement clearly shows how important qualified teachers are:

... the strength of an educational system depends upon the quality of its teachers. However enlightened the aims, however up-to-date and generous the equipment, however efficient the administration, the value to the children is determined by the teachers.²²

In the previous chapters it has been made clear that the Qatari schools are not only suffering from a lack of adequate teachers, but also from other major educational problems, which represent a great challenge for experienced qualified teachers.

However, in spite of all this and particularly in spite of the high percentage of non-trained teachers, the writer noticed that the Ministry of Education has made no serious attempt to improve the performance of these teachers for a long period of time, almost from 1960 to 1972²³.

C. Lack of In-service Training

In 1972 the Ministry of Education invited the Director of Jordan's In-service Training Centre to study and plan a comprehensive project for in-service training for primary school teachers²⁴. The report submitted to the Ministry of Education stimulated their enthusiasm, and consequently a committee of five members was established. Their terms of reference required them to study carefully the experts' proposals in order to carry them out.

But the committee from the beginning found it very difficult to do so, not because they were not practical proposals, but because the money set aside for the in-service training programme was not sufficient²⁵. The result was as usual, enthusiasm flagged and the report met the fate of other previous expert studies and reports.

However, two kinds of in-service training programmes were observed in operation in 1973 and in 1974. From 1973 the idea of short term, in-service training courses was started under the inspectors' supervision for teachers of Modern Mathematics, followed by English Language teachers and Science teachers²⁶. These courses had a certain definite purpose, and were particularly concerned with recently introduced ways of teaching these subjects. In 1974 the Minister of Education issued two important decrees, aimed at qualifying all the non-qualified teachers in primary, preparatory and secondary schools²⁷. Accordingly, special arrangements were made between the Ministry of Education and the T. T. College, to establish two evening in-service training programmes, one for male teachers and one for female teachers, under the T. T. College supervision²⁸. In general, the teachers were categorized into two groups according to their level of education. One group, of primary school teachers, comprised the holders of general secondary schools certificates and their equivalent. This group was to be trained for 82 weeks, nearly three academic years, in order to obtain the "diploma of qualified teachers". The other group comprised the holders of university degrees who were without teaching qualification, and who taught in preparatory and secondary schools. Their training course was to be of about 32 weeks, nearly a year and a half, and to lead to the "general diploma in education".²⁹ Table 6.8 shows the numbers of teachers accepted for the in-service training programme in 1974/75.

TABLE 6.8

Primary, Preparatory and Secondary Teachers enrolled into the In-service Training Programme held under the T. T. College Supervision in 1974/75, by numbers, nationality and sex

Year	Primary teachers/ all Qatari			Preparatory and secondary teachers/ Qatari and non-Qatari			Grand Total
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	
1974/75	131	98	229	58	96	154	383

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Circular No.276 dated 9th January 1975 (A).

Although the Minister of Education's decrees made no difference between the Qatari and non-Qatari teachers without teaching qualifications, it was clear that non-Qatari primary school teachers were excluded from the in-service training programme held in the T. T. College*. Thus the problem of the high percentage of unqualified teachers in the primary schools remained unsolved, because the majority of the Qatari teachers who attended the in-service training programme had graduated from the two T. T. I. s, and were theoretically categorised as qualified teachers. It is true that most of the teachers graduating from the T. T. I. s, tend to deteriorate within a year or even less, and these qualified teachers become indistinguishable from those categorised as unqualified, as a result of the lack of refresher training and school facilities. But in spite of this, they might with a little help through regular short term in-service training make some better showing because they have already been trained as teachers for three years**. It makes little sense to train them for three further

* See p.195 (the argument concerning non-Qatari teachers).

** See Chapter II, pp.79-81

years, while there is still a considerable percentage of quite unqualified teachers.

The teachers who need to be qualified by a long-term of in-service training are those not originally trained as teachers.

The argument heard from a considerable variety of different people in the Ministry of Education about the problems of unqualified teachers in Qatari schools could be illustrated in the following way. There were some authorised staff in the Ministry of Education who realised that there was no use in training unqualified teachers unless the Ministry of Education could solve many other serious educational problems, such as the shortage of school buildings, the high number of pupils in each school, the over-crowded classrooms, the unreformed curricula, syllabuses and textbooks, and the inefficiency of school administration. Only then was it useful to concentrate on qualifying the teachers. Some other Ministry of Education staff considered that it was unwise to spend time, effort and money in training non-Qatari teachers* who might leave the country at any time for any reason, and preferred that attention should be devoted to the Qatari teachers. Others were of the opinion that there was no urgent need to train unqualified teachers, because they were doing well in controlling their classes and were capable of transmitting faithfully to their children the content of the school textbooks, which was what those teachers called qualified also did. The inspectors themselves have little enthusiasm for encouraging regular in-service training programmes because it is they who will be asked to take on the burden of them. Finally most of the teachers had no great interest in in-service training, for many reasons, the main one being that they exercised no influence on the shaping of educational policy, and that

* Unfortunately this point of view which discriminates between Qatari and non-Qatari teachers has grown lately among many senior officials in the Ministry of Education.

they had little confidence that the Ministry of Education would radically alter its attitudes³⁰.

There is no doubt that the problems of teachers in Qatar have become very complex and very dangerous, to the extent that children's education is seriously jeopardised. The Ministry of Education authorities have recently been struck by two unpleasant facts about their teachers. The first one came to light when the Ministry of Education tried (from 1975) to improve the quality of its school education. It found that there was a considerable number of teachers who scarcely worked hard at all, and a high percentage taking sick and casual leave during the academic year³¹. It found, secondly, that many teachers asked to be released from teaching and to be given easy jobs in the Ministry of Education's various departments or sections, on account of their old age and their health. Hence the Ministry of Education was faced with a problem on two fronts, one related to humane considerations of both children and teachers, and the other related to the reputation of the Ministry of Education and the country.

However, as far as the writer knows, the Ministry of Education has taken no major action which could be considered effective as a remedy for the teachers' problems.

Whatever the self-justifying arguments of the Ministry of Education, the problems of the teachers in Qatar schools should not be problems to do with lack of numbers of qualified staff. The total number of teachers in all Qatari schools is small, (2,490 male and female teachers, 1969 of them male and female non-Qatari teachers). Since such a relatively small number of non-Qatari teachers is needed, they can be chosen from among the best teachers of the Arab countries, and can be provided with good salaries, good accommodation, and pleasant social surroundings, as far as is required, because the country's

annual income from oil is very high in comparison with the total population. But there seems to be little realization of the importance of qualified teachers on the part of some of the staff in the Financial Departments in both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance and Petroleum, which has made it very difficult to allocate money for in-service training programmes. Such projects are generally thought a waste of Government money. Thus there is indirect encouragement for the policy of recruiting teachers under internal contract, for the purpose of reducing the cost of education. But this ignores the fact that the failure to provide schools with highly qualified and ambitious teachers means in the long run a greater failure and repeating rate, more waste of money, and above all, the producing of a society weak in manpower, but high in cost. The writer is confident that the Ministry of Education is financially and technically capable now of solving the problem of the low percentage of qualified teachers in the primary schools as well as in the preparatory and secondary schools*. Urgent measures should be employed to reduce the high percentage of unqualified teachers: the Ministry of Education should, firstly, cease recruiting unqualified teachers under any circumstances; secondly, it should establish a short-term plan for in-service training of existing unqualified teachers, without discriminating between Qatari and non-Qatari teachers; thirdly, it should establish a highly equipped in-service training centre with clear objectives, for trained teachers, in order to train them in up-to-date educational methods and techniques, in the use of audio-visual aids, etc; fourthly, there should be no discrimination between Qatari and non-Qatari teachers in salaries and allowances for those who hold the same qualifications; fifthly,

* Financially the Ministry of Education has no problem. See, for instance, the development of the educational budget in Chapter II. Also see Chapter V, p. Technically the present staff of the Ministry of Education is mostly poor. But with the cooperation of the Faculty of Education's technical staff, the Ministry of Education could solve many of the technical and educational problems.

an incentive system should be established for all teachers, in order to reward the more active and more productive of them. These measures should not be considered as a sort of luxury to be provided lavishly by a great wealthy oil country, but should be thought of as a basic necessity for the educational system, and as basic for the rights of teachers as well as of children³².

D. Some Factors Influencing the Status of Teachers

Historically, the status of teachers in Qatar has been very high, for many reasons such as that the teachers recruited or borrowed during the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s were mostly qualified and highly interested in teaching. The children in each school in Doha Zone were few in number at that period by comparison with the numbers in the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, so that there was easily created a good understanding relationship between the teachers and their pupils. Most of the teachers had the feeling that they were participating in changing the old society of Qatar, because at that time they represented the best educated group in the government sector, and they came from countries relatively more advanced than Qatar. All this encouraged them to work hard with great enthusiasm and spirit.

Unfortunately, the former high status of teachers in Qatari schools had now greatly deteriorated. Various major factors competing with each other have led to this result. Firstly, teachers suspected of being untrustworthy: from the beginning the Qatar authorities suspected the teachers borrowed or recruited from the northern Arab countries of undesirable political inclinations, whether they were secretly connected with political parties or not and because it was not easy to discover which teachers were rightly suspect, they suspected all the active educational staff. As a result many teachers were asked to leave the country because they were categorized as enemies of the Qatari political regime*.

* See Chapter III, pp.

Some teachers have remained behind but with apprehension. Secondly, the employment cadre: the Ministry of Education categorized its teachers on a scale varying from (4 - 8)*, according to their qualifications and years of experience. In practice, however, the Ministry of Education negotiates individually with teachers about salary, and as a result unequal salaries and allowances were found among teachers who in fact had the same qualifications and years of experience. For instance, the teachers recruited or borrowed and financially categorized as externally contracted, were mostly remunerated at scale 4 and 5, which gave them higher salaries with other advantages, while those non-Qatari teachers who were recruited as internally contracted teachers were usually paid smaller salaries. Both externally and internally contracted teachers were discontented with the better salaries paid to the Qatari teachers, who were provided besides with the best additional allowances. For example, the Qatari teachers were latterly paid 20 per cent of their salaries as an additional incentive allowance. Table 6.9 shows the basic salaries of all teachers, and Table 6.10 shows the different kinds of allowance made to teachers in 1974/75. Thirdly, the promotion system: most of the teachers claim that the Ministry of Education is not objective in this matter, because there are many teachers who have been deprived of promotion for more than 10 years, while others have been promoted from one scale to another once or twice in the same period, for one reason or another, but not as a consequence of their qualifications or their performance. For many years the Ministry of Education operated a dangerous policy of promotion, that policy was that if the Ministry of Education wanted to reward a primary teacher because he had

* 4 is the highest scale and 8 is the lowest scale.

obtained a university degree or had taught for a long time without promotion, with his record showing that he was a good teacher, the Ministry of Education promoted him, and transferred him from primary to preparatory school teaching. This procedure affected the status of the primary school teachers and made them feel less important. At the same time, when the Ministry of Education transferred a teacher from secondary or preparatory school to teach in the primary school, it was always clearly as a punishment. The Ministry of Education abolished that policy in 1973/74 but its effects remain. Fourthly, the high percentage of non-qualified teachers: this factor has seriously lowered the status of teachers in Qatari schools, because the experienced and qualified teachers silently resent this proportion of non-qualified teachers and accordingly they have no respect for them. On the other hand, the non-qualified teachers have found it very difficult to cope with complex school curricula, syllabuses and textbooks and with overcrowded classrooms. Naturally they explain away their failure in one way or another. Their pupils pay too little attention, the experienced and qualified teachers give them no assistance, the Ministry of Education leaves them without in-service training or any kind of encouragement, and so on. Fifthly, the inspection methods: the teachers saw that the inspectors' methods were not helpful, because their visits were too short and infrequent. Even then, the recommendations usually made by them were mostly traditional and almost unchanged and consequently not of much directly practical use to those facing daily classroom problems. The result of these visits was often a long list of recommendations and warnings angrily written in the teachers' records. Sixthly, the social atmosphere of school: the Qatari schools in general were staffed by different sorts of teachers, from different nationalities, with different levels of education and experience. For instance, it is common now to observe

in one school, Egyptian, Palestinian, Jordanian, Qatari, Sudanese and British teachers*. These teachers, as was explained in the previous pages, are not treated equally in many areas. All this, together with a lack of any democratic atmosphere within and outside the school, has caused an unhealthy social atmosphere, which is easily noticed in the following ways. There is a lack of team spirit among the teachers, there is a weakness of social relationship between the teachers themselves and between them and their head teachers and inspectors; most of the teachers are very sensitive to criticism of their work or their behaviour; and finally most of the qualified teachers have gradually lost their abilities, their zeal and interest, and become lazier and more careless³³. Seventhly, the coaching: this phenomenon has seriously influenced the status of teachers, not only those directly engaged with coaching but all the teachers. Parents of merchant families and the Ruling family choose private teachers from among those who teach their sons in school. This has aroused great suspicion concerning the teacher's behaviour in the classroom. Whether the teacher treats his pupils equally or not, he is always accused of giving less attention to those children whose parents cannot afford coaching fees. Further, teachers who, for one reason or another, are not engaged themselves with coaching, often describe those who are as opportunist and unfaithful to their teaching profession. In the eyes of society the role of teachers has become undistinguished, and consequently their former high status has virtually gone.

It is no surprise then, that it should be commonly said that teachers in Qatari schools in general do very little but are always complaining of being unjustly treated.

* See Table 6.1.

This dispiriting picture of things explains why the status both of the schools and of the teachers has declined in the eyes of the school children as well as of society at large.

In the light of the previous analysis of the position of teachers in Qatari schools, one question could naturally be asked; Why do so many teachers continue to teach? The writer realizes that there will be many individual reasons which cannot be investigated, but there are also common reasons applying to each group of teachers, as follows:

E.1. The Female Teachers

The main reason has to do with women's status as employees in Qatar. Even though there is no article in the Qatari provisional constitution excluding women from working with men, the participation of women in the labour force has been determined by social factors which strongly persuade women to avoid working with men. It is not surprising then that many Government and non-Government sectors are largely without women employees. This clearly gives no chance for Qatari and non-Qatari women teachers to think of challenging social factors by working with men under the same roof when they have decided to leave teaching and this largely explains why those Qatari females who graduate from general secondary school, from the women's secondary T. T. I. and from Qatar university, apply for jobs only in the women's sector within the Ministry of Education or in Qatar university in the women's division.

E.2 The Male Teachers

E.2.1 Qatari teachers (especially those who have graduated from the Secondary T. T. I.)

This group in general are categorised as a middle and low income group. The reason for their continuation in teaching is mainly financial, because the

Ministry of Education provides them with higher salaries than other Government sectors. The Qatari teacher represents a minority group among the total of teachers and this perhaps explains their favourable treatment by the Ministry of Education. But the Qatari teachers with university degrees often mourn the bad luck which led them to the teaching profession and anxiously wait for any chance to leave the school for a higher class of job either in the headquarters of the Ministry of Education or at any of the other Ministries.

E. 2. 2 Non-Qatari teachers

- E. 2. 2. 1 These are Arab teachers who have spent a long period of time in Qatari schools. This group of teachers will often have taught from their youth, in Qatari schools; and they have psychologically become part of Qatar society, so that even though they are not happy with the present situation of the schools, they have little choice other than to wait and hope for better times in the future.
- E. 2. 2. 2 The borrowed teachers: this group is small in number, they teach in Qatari schools for short periods of time, of about four years duration. Because they are not in Qatar for long, because they are paid high salaries in comparison with the salaries they could command in their own countries, and because of their high status among the other groups of teachers, they are naturally encouraged to stay in schools.
- E. 2. 2. 3 The externally contracted teachers: the entry and residence conditions in Qatar require visas and sponsors within the country for those wishing to enter for employment³⁴. This group of teachers has been sponsored by the Ministry of Education, and their residence in Qatar depends on the Ministry of Education's agreement³⁵. And because there is

a better chance for them to earn a good income in Qatar than in their own countries, they are perhaps prepared to tolerate the condition of things in the schools.

E. 2. 2. 4 Internally contracted teachers: this group will have entered the country originally as visitors or as employees in non-Government sectors. For them the interest is that the Ministry of Education, as a government sponsor, offers them a better guarantee than non-Government sponsors. For the Ministry of Education, on the other hand, the interest is that the internally contracted cost less than the external and borrowed teachers.

Table 6.9

Basic Salary for Primary, Preparatory and Secondary
School Teachers of Qatari Schools in 1974/75
Both male and female teachers

Qualification:	University degree or above	Above secondary degree	General secondary degree	Less than secondary degree	
Scale:	4	5	6	7	8
Experience					
-		QR: 1755	QR: 1287	QR: 975	QR: 663
1		1833	1365	1037	725
2		1911	1443	1099	787
3		1989	1521	1162	850
4		2067	1599	1224	912
5		2145	1677	1287	975
6		2223	1744	1365	1037
7		2301	1833	1443	1099
8		2379	1911	1521	1162
9		2457	1989	1599	1224
10	1. Qatari teachers. 2. Borrowed teachers. 3. Some, external employed teachers.	QR: 2346	2067	1677	1287
11		2484	2145	1755	1365
12		2622		1833	1443
13		2760			
14		2898			
			Most of external teachers.		
				For Qatari and non-Qatari teachers	

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report, 1974/75, p. 360.

Note: In 1976 the salaries of teachers were increased. See Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1977/78, p. 19.

TABLE 6.10

Monthly allowances made to Qatari and non-Qatari teachers
in 1974/75. according to their basic salaries

Allowances	Basic salary QR: 468-778		Basic salary QR: 663-973		Basic salary QR: 780 and over		Basic salary QR:975 and over		Basic sal QR: 2346	
	Mar- ried	Bach- elor	M.	B.	M.	B.	M.	B.	M.	B.
Social, for Qatari only	255	220			310	210			800	600
Local, for non-Qatari only			100	75			150	75		
Transport, Qatari and non-Qatari	(Government transport)								400	400
House, non- Qatari only									40%*	40%

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1974/75, pp. 357-361, and the State of Qatar.

- (1) The Civil Service Law. (Decree = Law No.9 of year 1957 and later amendments).
- (2) The executive rules of the Civil Service Law (Decision No. 20 of year 1967 and later amendments). 1974, pp.55-59 and 77-78.

- Note: *
1. Housing allowance: is obtained on the following conditions -
 - (a) that a teacher is employed on an external contract, and on a scale of not less than M4,
 - (b) that he has been in the Government service for a period of not less than one Hjri (lunar) year,
 - (c) that he has acquired a total of twelve points. Each point is equivalent to QR:120 - or one year's service,
 - (d) the maximum rate for the housing allowance is not to be more than QR:700 and QR:580, for those who are employed on scale M4 and over and scale M5 and less, respectively.
 2. Furnished accommodation is provided free to the educational inspectorate and the other senior staff of the Ministry of Education.

3. Round trip tickets are provided to the externally contracted staff, as follows:-
 - (a) staff who are employed on scale M4 and over, are provided with yearly return trip tickets from Doha to their country of origin (a wife and up to three children aged under 18 years are included), and
 - (b) staff who are employed on scale M5 and less are provided with a return trip ticket once during the first appointment and at the end of the period of service.
4. Local allowance, is mainly for the internally recruited staff (non-Qatari).
5. Internally contracted staff are mostly deprived of incentives (1, 2, and 3).

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CHAPTER VII

SCHOOL BUILDINGS PROBLEM

Since it has been demonstrated that there is an important interaction between factors of heredity and environment, educationists have been greatly concerned to improve the educational setting as a whole, in order to pave the way for the normal development of pupils' and students' abilities, skills, and personalities. The following statement strongly expresses the educationist's common view:

Since a child grows up intellectually, emotionally and physically at different rates, his teachers need to know and take account of his "developmental age" in all three respects. The child's physique, personality, and capacity to learn develop as a result of continuous interaction between his environmental and genetical inheritance. Unlike the genetic factors, the environmental factors are, or ought to be, largely within our control.¹

The school as an educational environment has been considerably developed in both its architectural and educational aspects². Such an integration of genetic with environmental factors has been widely achieved in the advanced countries, but the matter is different in the under-developed countries. For instance, the school environment in most Arabic countries considered from many educational view points is still discouraging for both children and their teachers³, not only because of a great lack of adequate school buildings, equipment and facilities but also because of the methods of teaching used⁴.

In the Arabian Gulf states, where the school population is low in comparison with most of the Arabic countries, the situation is much better. Attempts have already been made in countries like Kuwait and Abu-Dhabi to modernize school buildings, but even though the Kuwaiti and Abu-Dhabi school buildings, as regards design, equipment and facilities, are considered as good as those

found in the advanced countries⁵, nevertheless the children have not sufficient opportunity to make use of the facilities and equipment provided, because of the traditional educational curriculum, lack of administrative autonomy and lack of advanced methods of teaching⁶. Figures 7.1 to 7.4 show different views of standard schools in Abu Dhabi and Kuwait.

In the case of Qatar the school environment has been prevented from contributing fully to the satisfactory development of the child's intellectual, emotional and physical potential, because of many educational problems, which will be illustrated in this chapter.

A. School Buildings in the Doha Zone

A.1 School building: general shape and contents

There was in Doha zone one standard design for primary, preparatory and secondary school buildings. Its general shape looks like three sides of a square. The buildings of the primary schools mainly consisted of classrooms, administrative offices, stores, lavatories and washing facilities. In addition there was a long verandah located alongside the classrooms, which served as an entrance into them and as a shaded corridor. Preparatory and secondary schools, in addition to the primary school facilities were provided with a standard kind of ordinary science laboratory and a kitchen for domestic science in the girls' schools. Figure 7.5 is a sketch of the general shape of the dominant design for a school building in the Doha zone.

The location of school buildings was usually in the middle of a school courtyard, surrounded by a four metre high wall made of bricks and concrete into which is set a large iron gate (see Figure 7.6 and Figure 7.7). Within the perimeter wall of each school there was, in addition to the main building, a

Figure 7.5

STANDARD SCHOOL, FIRST FLOOR

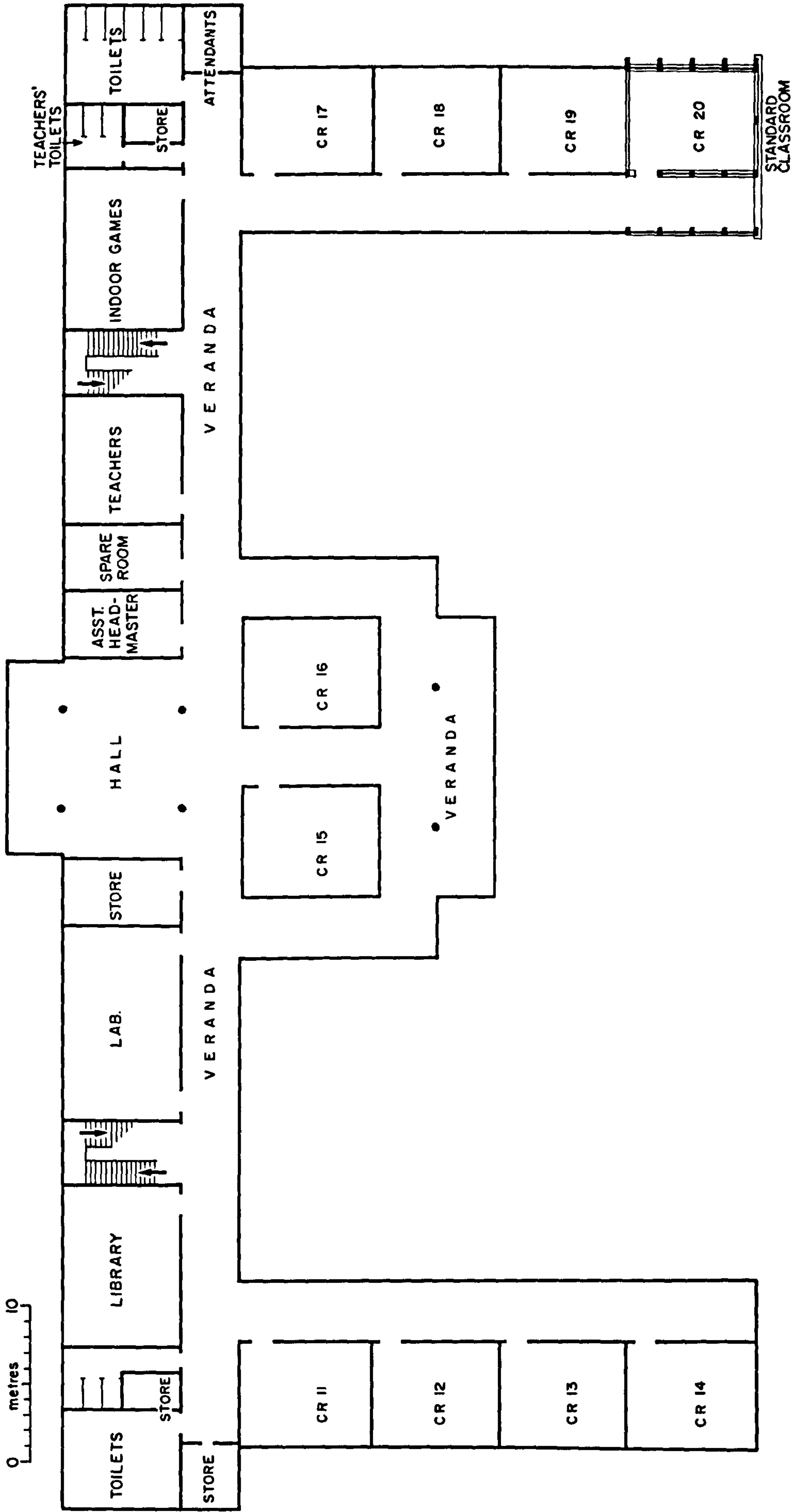


Figure 7.5

STANDARD SCHOOL, GROUND FLOOR

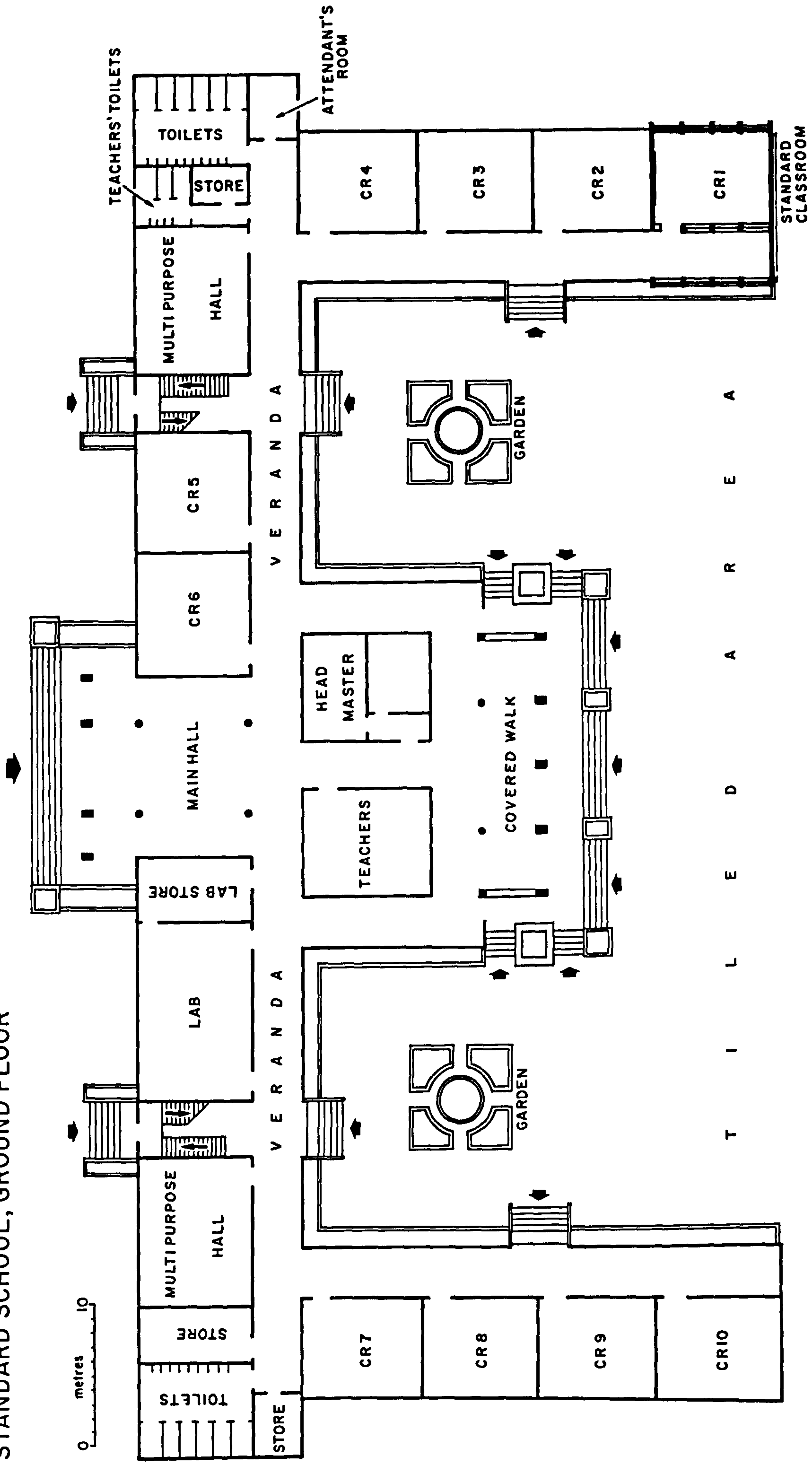


Figure 7.6 General view of Qatar School in Doha Zone



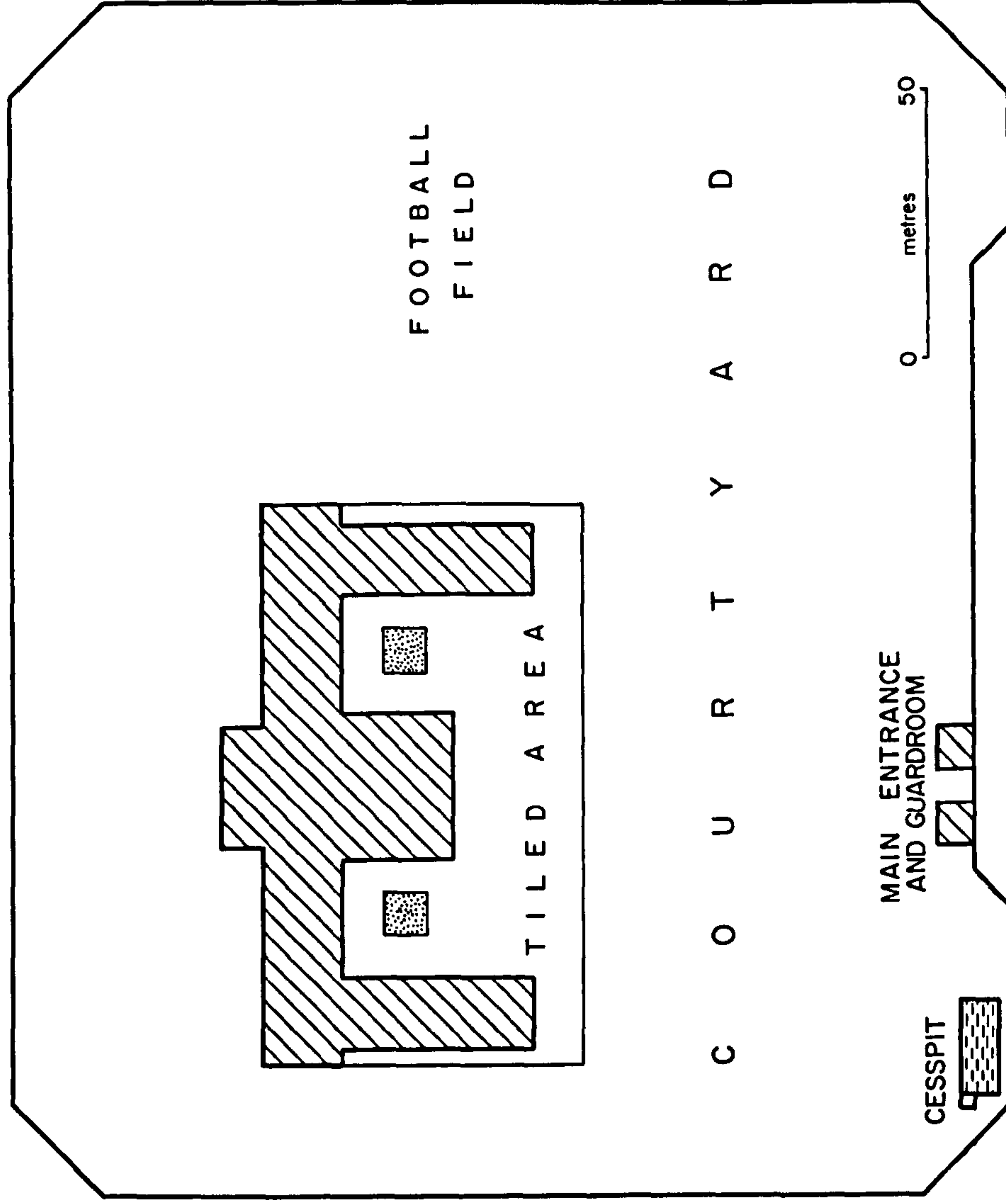
School gate and the guard rooms

Secondary School



School wall

Figure 7.7. STANDARD SCHOOL, SITE PLAN



wide courtyard about 12,651 sq. m. in area. It was observed that in most schools the courtyard was left unpaved, except for a small area located in front of the building, and that most schools lacked gardens and green areas. This made the school courtyard very ugly, and unsuitable as a playground.

The design left the middle of the building free for administrative purposes and distributed the classrooms into two wings separated by the administrative rooms. An examination of the siting of the classrooms and their relation to the sun makes it clear that if the school building faces north, the classrooms located in the east wing suffer from the morning sunlight while those in the west wing suffer from it in the afternoon. If we bear in mind that the temperature in Qatar during October and November, and April and May is high, then it is clear that the classrooms will become very hot and the heat will hinder the pupils' and students' activities. Unfortunately, the design not only fails to protect the children from hot sunlight and dust, but also fails to organize properly the relationship between the location of the administrative rooms and their external activities. It is obvious that the angle of the school building to the main gate is exactly the reverse of what it should be, with the result that any visitor for the headmaster or his staff, or any supplies for the school have to cross through the heart of the school, under the eyes of the children and their teachers (see Figure 7.7).

This analysis shows clearly that the educational efficiency of the school design is very poor and demonstrates that the designer had nothing more in mind except that a school simply needs classrooms, whether it be a primary or secondary school, for boys or for girls. But if we look to the efficiency of the design from a traditional point of view it matches well the traditional curriculum and the traditional method of teaching, which in fact largely excludes

various activities from the daily life of the school*. The Ministry of Education has used the same traditional design for at least the last two decades without any major change.

A.2 School building: the classroom, its equipment and organisation

The classrooms in the primary, preparatory and secondary school were, in general, equipped with old-fashioned heavy wooden desks, blackboard, ceiling fan, electric lights, large glass windows, and a table for the teacher. The desks were organized in three straight rows, facing the fixed blackboard, and the teacher's table always occupied a position near the blackboard. Figure 7.8 shows a typical first grade primary classroom. The traditional equipment and organization was used in classrooms ranging in size from 45 sq. m. to 50 sq. m. for primary and secondary use respectively, and for 35 pupils and 30 students⁷. In practice the classroom became overcrowded as Figure 7.9 and 7.10 show, and this made it very difficult for the children to move about and to concentrate satisfactorily. As a consequence they tended to behave badly, to learn little, and to suffer in health. The situation looks worse when it is added that the Ministry of Education has provided no meals or milk for the children since 1965/66⁸. From that date till 1978 the Ministry of Education allowed each school to establish a small shop called Mqsaf to sell the children soft drinks and sandwiches⁹.

A.3 School building: size

In general the present primary, preparatory and general secondary schools are housed in large two storey buildings giving room for from 12 to 32 classrooms. In 1974/75 there were seven boys' primary schools out of a total of ten primary schools, their size varying from 21 to 28 classrooms, and the schools having between 842 to 1162 pupils each. Table 7.1 and 7.2 both show the

* See Chapter V, p.

Figure 7.8. Qatari School: First Grade Primary Classroom. 1976/77

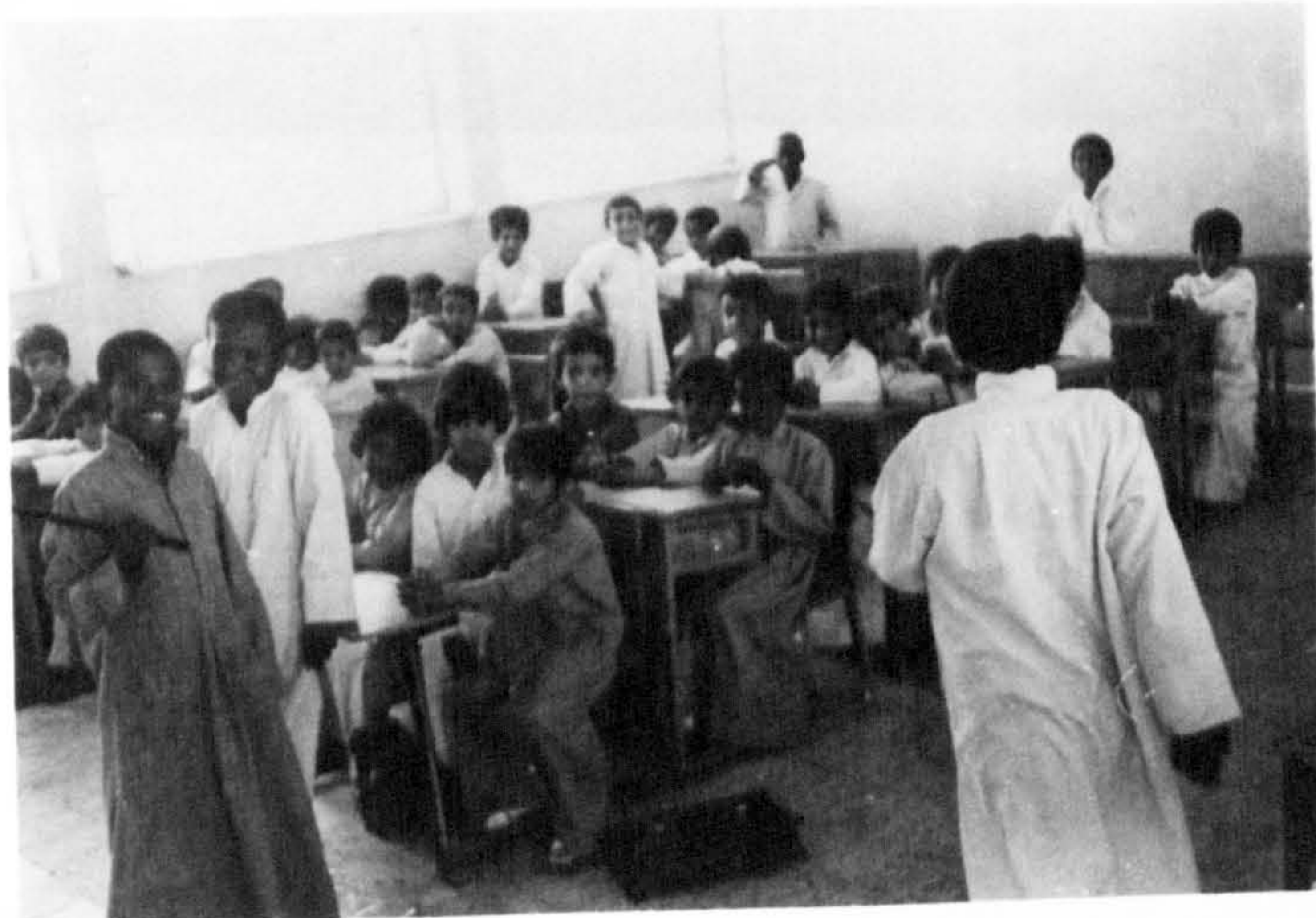


Figure 7.9

Qatari Primary School: Classroom Organization in Doha, 1976/77



Drawing room



Classroom



Classroom

Figure 7.10 Primary Classrooms in Doha 1976/77



size of schools in Doha zone in 1964/65 and 1974/75. A comparison with school size in England and Wales in 1970 indicates clearly how large the schools are in Doha zone (see Table 7.3)

TABLE 7.3

Primary school organization in England and Wales (1970)

Type of school with ages taught	No. of schools or departments with following no. of pupils registered									
	up to 25	26 to 50	51 to 100	101 to 200	201 to 300	301 to 400	401 to 600	601 to 800	801 to 1000	Total
Junior with infants (5-11)	580	1884	2478	2545	2520	1373	843	72	6	12,301
Infants (5-7)	50	109	479	2035	2228	560	63	1	-	5,525
Juniors with- out infants (7-11)	2	16	104	718	1554	1514	993	56	3	4,960
Total	632	2009	3061	5298	6302	3447	1899	121	9	22,786

Source: Modified from Lowe, R. and Seaborne, M. The English School. Its Architecture and Organization. Vol. II, 1870-1970. 1977, p.156.

It is obvious from Table 7.3 that the large schools, especially those of between 801 to 1000 pupils, account for the lowest percentage, about 0.04 per cent out of the total, and schools of between 101 to 200 and 201 to 300 pupils, the highest percentage, 23.3 per cent and 27.7 per cent respectively of the total. There is a certain educational philosophy behind these figures for school size¹⁰.

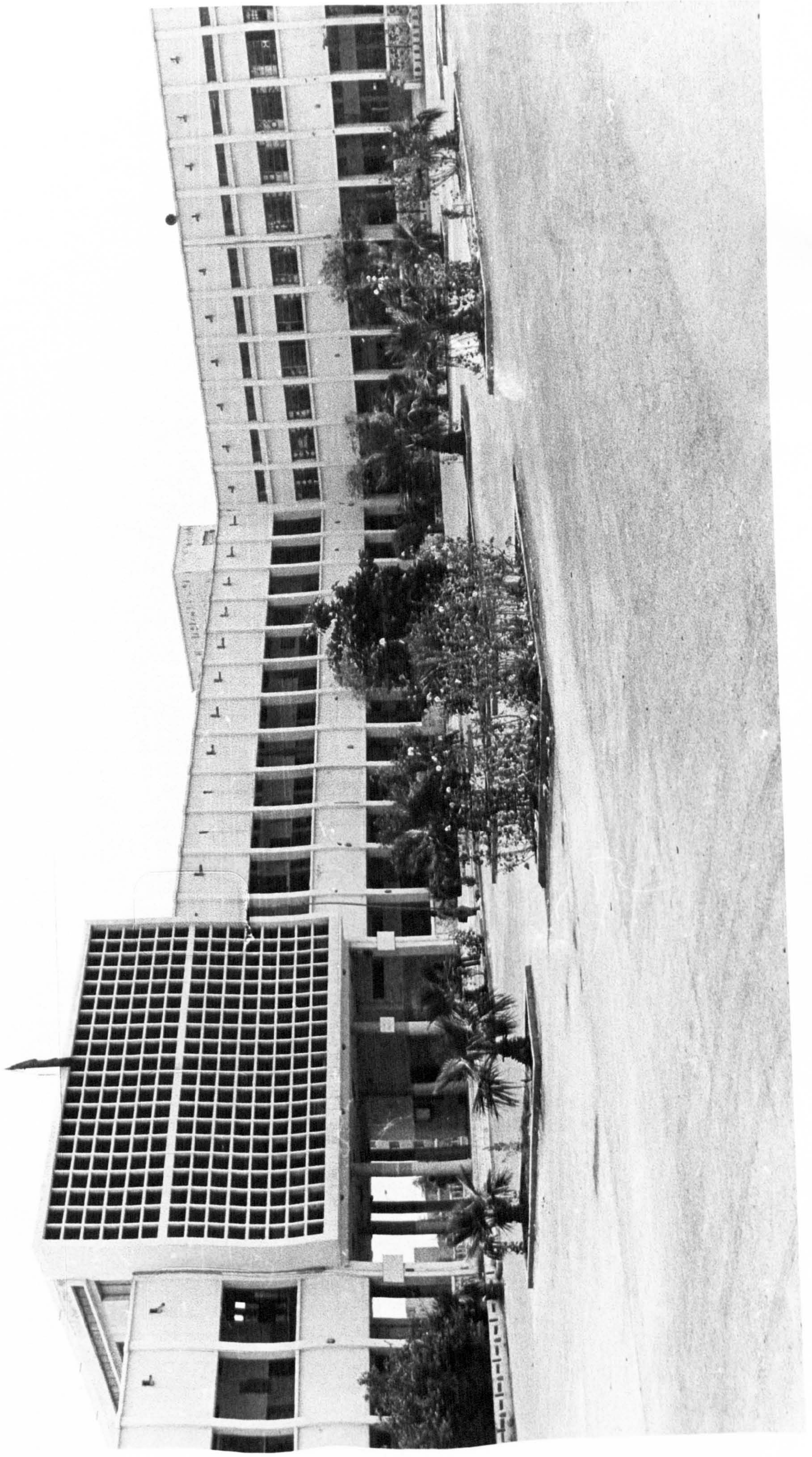
The phenomenon of large school buildings has been generally observed in the Arabian Gulf states. School building in Kuwait, Abu-Dhabi and Qatar

in general lays stress on the ample size of the school's external appearance¹¹. This phenomenon is to be explained in traditional rather than educational or economic terms. The general government policy in these countries usually emphasizes the impressive external appearance of the various state buildings and enterprises, and the schools as state property have been influenced by such an attitude. Figures 7.11, 7.12, 7.13 and 7.14 clearly show the external view of some schools in Qatar.

A.4 School building: shortage

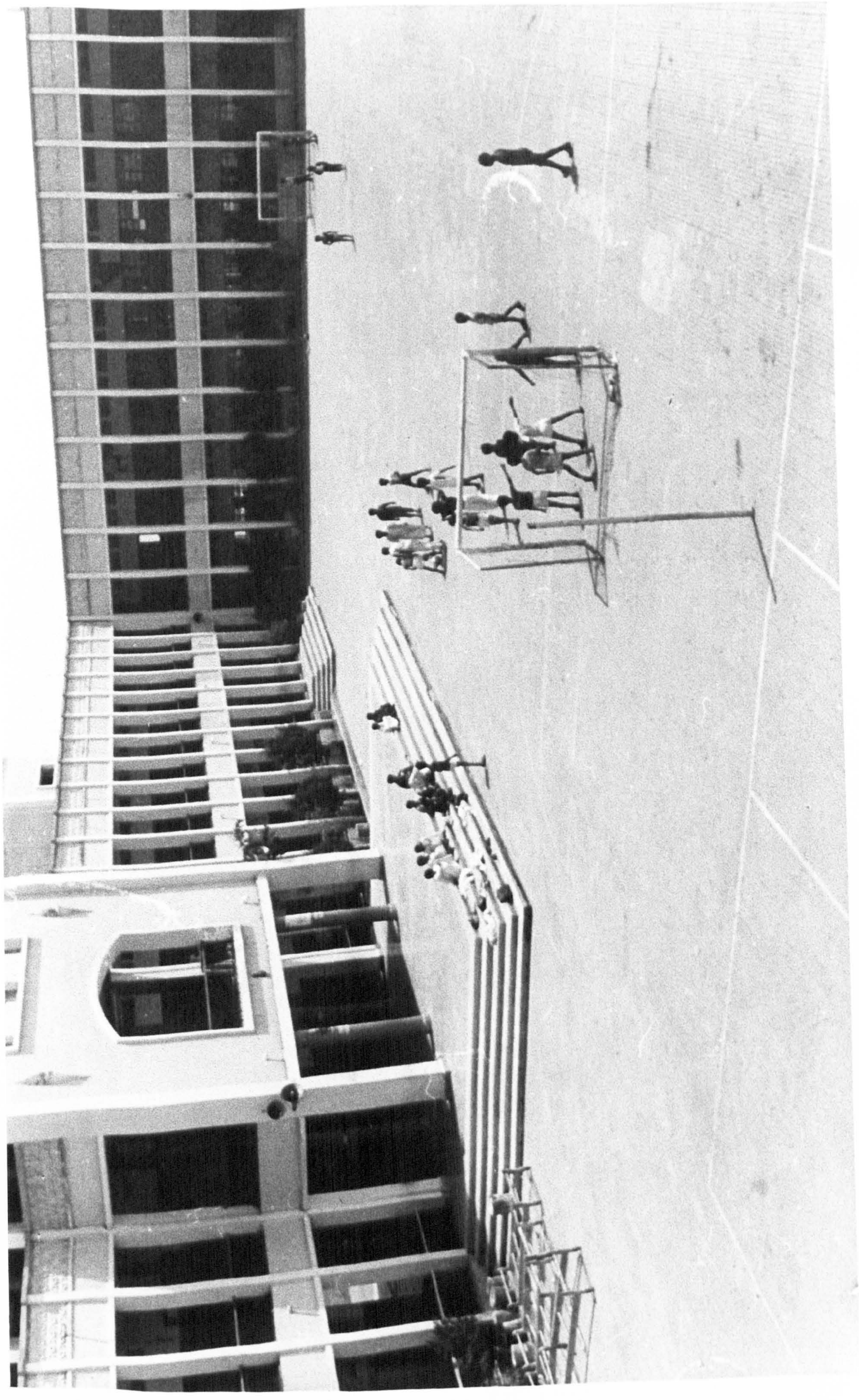
However, the trend towards big schools has interacted with economic and administrative factors and caused slow growth in numbers of school buildings in Doha zone, and encouraged the policy of adding additional storeys and additional classrooms to the already existing school buildings instead of building new ones. A comparison between schools built in the period 1965/66 to 1974/75 and growth in pupil/student numbers clearly shows a big gap between the increase in pupil and student numbers on the one hand, and the expansion of school buildings on the other. For instance, there were in 1965/66, 17 primary school for both sexes comprising 238 classrooms, accommodating about 8,340 pupils, with an average of 35 pupils per classroom. From 1965/66 to 1974/75 about 6 primary schools were built, with 121 classrooms; in addition, 86 new classrooms were added to other schools, which made the total number of primary schools in 1974/75 23 schools, with 453 classrooms. By comparison, the number of primary pupils grew from 8,340 in 1965/66 to 16,940 pupils in 1974/75. Consequently, the average size of a class increased from 35 to 37. The expansion in general preparatory and general secondary school buildings during the same period did not match the growth in pupil numbers. Table 7.4 shows the primary, general preparatory and general secondary school and class

Figure 7.11 External view of Qatari School, 1976/77
General Preparatory School



Madrasah al Doha al A'dadih

Figure 7.12 External view of Qatari School, 1976/77 - Primary School



Madrasah Salah al-Ddin

TABLE 7.4

Expansion of both schools and classrooms in comparison
with the growth in pupil and student numbers between
1965/66 and 1974/75, by sex and level of school

Level of School	1965/66			1974/75		
	B.	G.	T.	B.	G.	T.
<u>A. Primary schools</u>						
schools	8	9	17	10	13	23
classes	134	104	238	215	238	453
pupils	4869	3471	8340	8442	8498	16940
<u>B. General preparatory</u>						
schools	1	1	2	3	2	5
classes	23	11	34	51	45	96
students	750	261	1011	2031	1681	3712
<u>C. General Secondary</u>						
schools	1	-	1	2	1	3
classes	9	-	9	39	16	55
students	268	-	268	1338	521	1859

Source: Summarized from Table 7.1 and Table 7.2.

For more details about the size of each school and the average of pupils and students per classroom in 1965/66 and 1974/75, refer to Tables 7.1 and 7.2

expansion which took place between 1965/66 and 1974/75, in comparison with pupil and student growth.

The Ministry of Education, however, in order to meet the problem of school shortage in future, prepared in 1972 a rough plan of school buildings needs from 1972 to 1978. The number estimated as required was 18 primary schools with 216 classrooms, 10 general preparatory schools with 124 classrooms, and 6 general secondary schools with 72 classrooms, in addition to other buildings¹². The plan did not show the cost of the buildings, but it was noticed that the Ministry of Education building budget was raised from about QR: 9 million in 1972 to QR:50 million and to QR:105 million in 1975 and 1977 respectively¹³. It would appear that the plan did not run according to its yearly schedule. For example, the General Director of the Ministry of Education, pointing out that the needs of education had been seriously neglected, gave as an example that the Ministry of Education had not received a single new school building in 1974/75¹⁴. In 1977 again, in the presence of the Advisory Council members, he mentioned in order to stress the gravity of the school building shortage, that the Ministry of Education had only received three of the expected 20 schools¹⁵.

The reason for the school shortage has often been explained by the Ministry of Education as being delay and carelessness on the part of the Ministry of Public Works which has been responsible for the school building department since 1965. Historically, the school building section was established in 1958 under the Ministry of Education's direct control¹⁶, but in 1965/66 it was transferred to the Ministry of Public Works¹⁷. Since then the Ministry of Education has been trying to get the section back, but without success. In 1970, for instance, the Council of Ministers established a committee consisting of four members, their terms of reference requiring them to study proposals submitted

by the Ministries for administrative reforms, and the Ministry of Education suggested in its report that the school building section be returned to them. The committee rejected the proposal after questioning the director of the school building section and the deputy of the Engineering Department in the Ministry of Public Works¹⁸.

The problem of the school building section is still (1977) unsolved and the difficulty seems likely to persist for a long time, because the Ministry of Public Works saw that the problem of short fall in school buildings would be solved if the school buildings sections were supplied with more employees¹⁹.

In the writer's opinion the main reasons for the school shortage in the 1960s and 1970s are very different and deeper than those always mentioned by the Ministry of Education authorities. In the 1960s the reason was a state financial problem. Alkuwari wrote as follows:

... the state's oil revenue dropped from QDR:287 million in 1958 to QDR: 253 million in 1959 and QDR:260 million in 1960 ... As far as the Government's current and capital expenditure is concerned the main impact was on education, health, electricity and water.²⁰

This statement explains well how difficult was the period which faced the Ministry of Education in the 1960s; for instance, the school building budget fell sharply from QDR:10 million in 1960 to less than QDR:500,000 in 1968²¹. In addition, services and subsidies for the children were influenced by the economic situation.*

In the first seven years of the 1970s the reasons for the school shortage were completely different from those of the 1960s. The state's oil revenue was considerably increased, especially from 1974, as a result of the sudden increases in oil prices. The government was encouraged to allocate large state budgets

* See Chapter III, p.137-139.

for both current and capital expenditure. Again, Alkuwari wrote as follows:

The Ruler of Qatar, when discussing the 1974 state budget urged the Ministry of Public Works to execute the planned capital projects in six months' time, and he would then be willing to allocate another equivalent sum for the remaining six months. The sum allocated was about QDR:600 million. This is more than the state oil revenue in 1970, but still represents only an estimated 12 per cent of the oil revenue of 1974.²²

The increased national income encouraged the Ruler to attempt to reorganize various aspects of the national life within a short time, beginning with his reformation movement of the 22nd February, 1972²³. The result was the opposite of what was intended, for great confusion resulted from burdening the whole traditional administrative system with changes which it was not able satisfactorily to implement.

The recent dispute between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Public Works could be considered as one of many similar examples which might be observed in different government sectors. Let us analyse the process of establishing a new school in ordinary circumstances. Five Ministries are involved, each one of them responsible for one stage. The Ministry of Education is responsible for preparing a report of its annual needs for new school buildings in its annual general budget report; the Ministry of Finance and Petroleum is responsible for allocating the required school building budget; the Ministry of Municipal Affairs is responsible for the designation of the area in which the school is to be built; the Ministry of Public Works is responsible for preparing the technical and educational details of school building design and then choosing a local contractor to do the building under the supervision of the school building section; the Ministry of Electricity and Water then plays its part; and finally the Ministry of Education receives the required school and starts to equip it for the children. The process of establishing any

new school is often attended with difficulties, such as that the Ministry of Finance and Petroleum is not always ready to accept the proposed schools budgets without negotiation. The real problem, however, comes after this, and it is to do with the land needed.

The required school land is not usually available in the specified area because of the area required or because of the high price. For instance, the cost of the site of a school in Doha town increased from QR:100,000 in the 1960's to about QR:25 million in 1974/75²⁴. For this reason the Ministry of Municipal Affairs prefers either to allocate the required land from government holdings or to purchase land but at a cheaper price. Often such land is located in places where schools have not been planned or where electricity and water are not easily available. In addition, there are problems concerning the Ministry of Public Works which supervises the whole government building programme, and its employment of contractors and agencies, whose own efficiency is usually influenced unfavourably by the shortage of skilled labour and by the lack of the required materials in local markets.

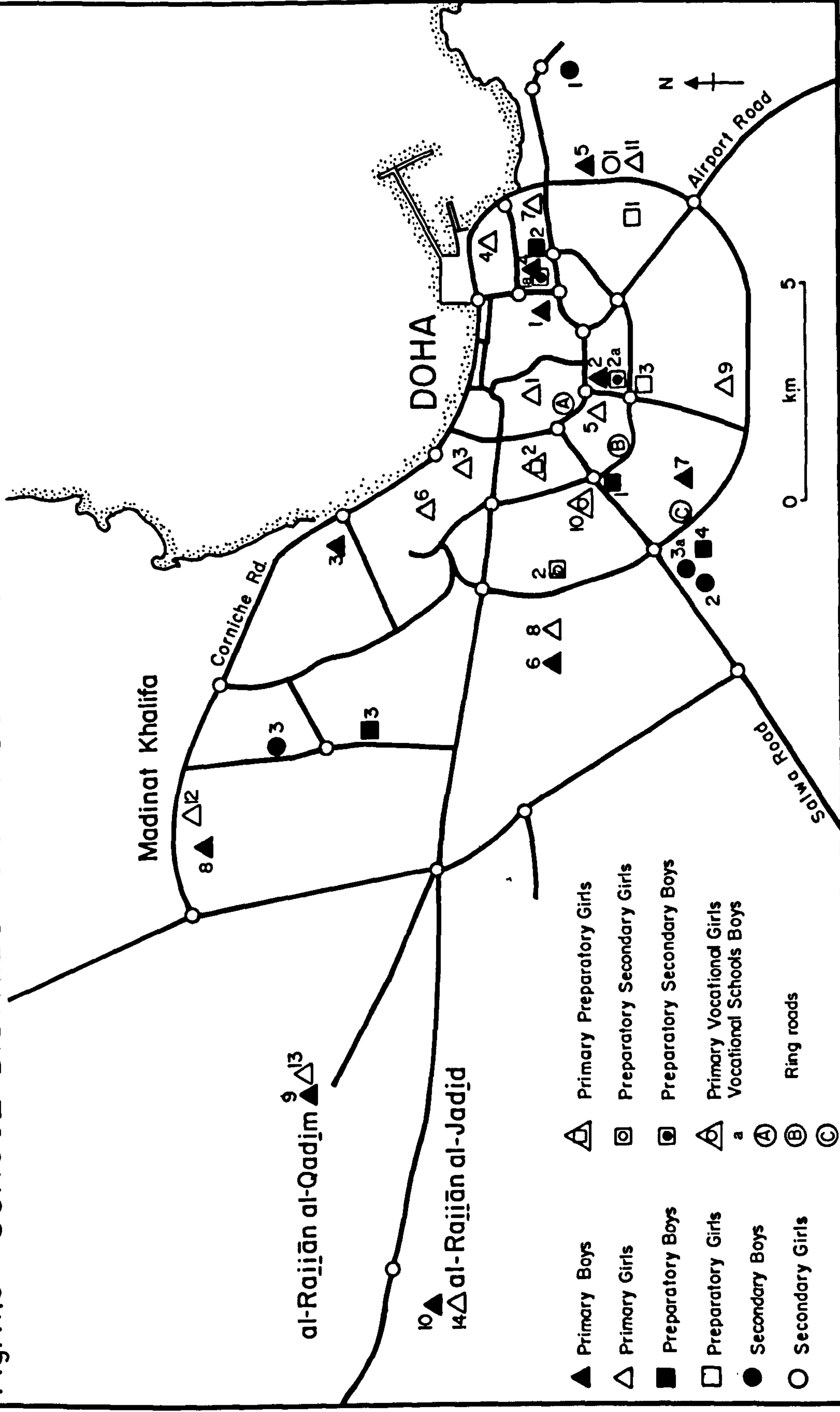
It is clear, then, that whether or not the school building section is returned to the Ministry of Education, genuine co-operation based on clear educational and economic objectives is needed between the Ministry of Education and the various other government bodies if the shortage of schools is to be overcome.

A.5 School building: distribution and transport problems

The attached map, which shows the distribution of primary, preparatory and secondary schools for both sexes in 1976/77 makes it clear that school distribution is, in general, unbalanced. Some areas in Doha town are overcrowded with various types of school and some others are ill-provided. The

distribution of girls' schools is much better than of boys' schools, especially at the primary level. This is the consequence of the social attitudes of Qatari parents who object to sending their daughters to a school located far away from their houses. The distribution of boys' primary schools is not at all satisfactory (see Figure 7.15). The result is enormous problems for pupils, students, parents, schools and the Ministry of Education as well. The Ministry of Education, according to the educational system in Qatar, has to transport all pupils and students by free school buses from their houses to their schools and back. During the 1950s and 1960s, however, it seems that the Ministry of Education saw nothing amiss with their pattern of school distribution, because there were relatively enough schools, and buses with enough drivers for the number of children involved. But the situation has changed very rapidly in many respects in the first seven years of the 1970s, the numbers of children per school are considerably increased as a result of both school shortage and the high pupil and student growth rate. Rapid expansion in Doha town has also enlarged the area from which the children have to be collected and the enormously rapid growth in public and private transport has made the traffic situation very complex. School transport, then, is in difficulties, even though the Ministry of Education has increased the number of school buses from 83 to 149 to 226 in 1965/66, 1974/75 and 1976/77 respectively²⁵. It was observed, too, that the waste of pupils' and students' time in travelling in both the morning and in the afternoon has encouraged parents' hostility, and anxiety when their children do not arrive home on time. More parents are beginning to transport their children to school and back in their own cars, which often results in bad traffic jams in front of the school gates, and is hazardous for the

Fig. 7.15 SCHOOL DISTRIBUTION IN DOHA ZONE 1976-77



For school names see attached table

Names of the Schools in Doha Zone in 1976/77;
numbers indicate the school locations in Figure 7.15

No.	Boys' Schools	No.	Girls' Schools
	<u>Primary Schools</u>		<u>Primary Schools</u>
1	Khalid Abn al-Walid	1	Banat al-Doha
2	Salah al-Ddin al-Aiiubi	2	Fatimah al-Zahra'
3	Aumar Abn Al-Khattab	3	Umm al-Mu'munin
4	Abu Bakir al-Siddiq	4	Al-Khannsa'
5	Al-Khalij al-Arabi	5	Khadijih
6	Tariq Abn Ziad	6	Al-Rrumilih
7	Authman Abn 'Affan	7	Al-Khalij al-Arabi
8	Madinat Khalifa	8	Asma'
9	Al-Raiian al-Qadim	9	Al-Mumtazah
10	Al-Raiian al-Jadid	10	Safiih
	<u>General Preparatory Schools</u>	11	Ruqaiih
1	Qatar al-A'dadiih	12	Madinat Khalifa
2	Al-Doha "	13	Al-Raiian al-Qadim
3	Al-Iarmuk "	14	Al-Raiian al-Jadid
4	Ali Abn Abi Talib		<u>General Preparatory Schools</u>
	<u>General Secondary Schools</u>	1	Qatar al-A'dadiih Banat
1	Al-Doha al-Thanawiih	2	Aminah Bent Wahab
2	Al-Astiqlal "	3	Hafsah
3	Madinat Khalifa "		<u>General Secondary School</u>
	<u>Vocational & Technical Schools</u>	1	Qatar al-Thanawiih Banat
1a	Al-Ma''had al-Ddini		<u>Technical Schools</u>
2a	Al-Ssina'ah	1a	Dar al-Mu'alimat
3a	Dar al-Mu'alimin		
3a	Madrasah al-T.T. Jarah		

6 - 8 year old pupils who come to and from their schools, walking without help from anybody. In addition to that the schools always claim that most pupils and students never arrive at school on time and that consequently the first lesson of the day is missed by considerable numbers of children who use school buses.

In 1976/77 the Ministry of Education completely failed to transport both boys and girls according to their usual timetable. Consequently, the decision was made to start lessons in the boys' schools one hour later, so that the available school buses could transport the girls first, then return to transport the boys²⁶.

The school transport collapse has created an unsatisfactory atmosphere inside and outside the boys' schools. This encouraged the Advisory Council, for the first time, on 17th January 1977, to summon the general directors of the Ministry of Education to explain the real causes of the many educational problems which beset the Qatari schools²⁷. However, the result of that meeting was that the government authorized the Ministry of Education to send a committee to recruit about 60 Indian bus drivers from India²⁸. In addition to that the Ruler gave an urgent order to the Ministry of Public Works to build within one year about 13 schools, primary preparatory and secondary, in different areas in Doha town²⁹. If the 13 schools have in fact been built then the various problems of an overcrowded system will have been eased. The overcrowding in some schools leads to a class size of as many as 40 to 50 in both upper and lower grades, even though some of the schools use the staff rooms, the activities rooms, laboratories and the school verandahs as classrooms, so seriously impairing their educational efficiency³⁰.

B. Village Schools

However, the village schools, unlike the Doha zone schools are characterized by small school buildings and small numbers of pupils.

Table 7.5 shows village schools according to numbers of pupils in 1974/75.

TABLE 7.5Village Schools classified on their capacity, 1974/75

Schools distributed on their pupil nos.	No. of Schools		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Schools comprising less than 20 students	8	5	13
" " from 20 - 30 students	9	8	17
" " from 30 - 40 students	3	5	8
" " from 40 - 50 students	1	1	2
" " from 50 - 100 students	4	4	8
" " from 100 - 200 students	5	3	8
" " more than 200 students	3	3	6
TOTAL	33	29	62

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Report on Village Schools.
December 1974, p. 23.

In addition to the small number of pupils in each school there is some school building comprising more than one academic level and some others varying from primary level - sixth grades to primary level - less than the fourth grades. Table 7.6 shows village schools according to their level and number of grades in 1974/75.

TABLE 7.6Village Schools classified by their level, 1974/75

School Level	No. of Schools		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Preparatory-Secondary School	1	1	2
Primary-Preparatory-Secondary	-	1	1
Primary-Preparatory	4	2	6
Primary - 6 grades	12	13	25
Primary - 5 grades	5	3	8
Primary - 4 grades	7	6	13
Primary - less than 4 grades	4	3	7
TOTAL	33	29	62

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Report on Rural Schools, December 1974, p.22.

Apart from this, most of the village schools at the present time are admitted to be unsuitable for modern education³¹. They experience many urgent problems, in particular the poor conditions of the school buildings. Most of these schools were built in the 1950s and early 1960s and no less than 220 out of the 409 classrooms were found to be built of nothing better than clay³². Figure 7.16 shows a typical village school. These schools, as is very obvious, could not meet even the minimum educational requirements. Furthermore, there is the fact that in many of the village schools several grades were taught in a single room as Figures 7.17 and 7.18 show. In these conditions it was too difficult for the children to achieve the standard of pupils in the Doha zone

Figure 7.16 Village School



Figure 7.17 First and Second Grades in Village Primary School



Figure 7.18 Shows Co-education in Village Primary School



schools. This problem was made worse by the relatively poorer quality and competence of the teachers in the village schools. In other words, where the pedagogical problems were greater, the teachers were less equipped to cope with them³³.

The Ministry of Education found that education in village schools was suffering from many difficulties some of them deeply related to the historical background of the establishment of education in Qatari villages, and some of them related to the small size of village populations as well as the poor co-operation between village people. The Ministry of Education was convinced that a considerable number of very small schools must be closed and their children distributed to the nearest big schools in order to provide children with better education, but the Ministry of Education experienced great difficulties in doing this adequately.

There is, however, a government scheme called "low-income houses", which may accomplish the Ministry of Education's policy. This scheme was started in 1968 to provide the rural areas with new modern houses. It took the form of establishing new towns or new villages or replacing the old houses in the big villages by new ones³⁴. Consequently, the Government built a new small town in the North of Qatar, namely, Madinah al-Shamal. There were 50 houses in the beginning and this increased to 131 in 1973/74. It was provided with electricity, roads, hospitals, and a municipal council. This kind of settlement was spread in the rural areas and comprised about 5 more small villages and towns³⁵. In this scheme the Government adopted a policy of gathering the populations of some small villages in one settlement, for instance Madinah al-Shamal. This was made up from the populations of about 7 small

villages. This made it convenient for the Ministry of Education to establish relatively big schools at primary, general preparatory and general secondary level for both sexes.

C. New School Projects: Trend of Size, Facilities and Equipment
(mainly in Doha zone)

With the era of joint projects in higher education between Qatar and UNESCO, many educational experts from different countries have had an opportunity to enter the country and observe the Qatari school from within, and as a result of their direct technical and educational advice, the Ministry of Education has largely admitted that its present school building design is seriously deficient. A proposed new design for new school buildings was prepared in 1975³⁶, and then the proposal was slightly modified and converted into a systematic project on 1 May 1977³⁷, as follows:

The Government of the State of Qatar will shortly initiate a new school building programme for the construction of some 40 schools by the end of the year 1982. The first phase of 11 schools is to be started in 1978.

Invitations have been extended internationally for the submission of designs.³⁸

In general, the plan emphasized that the new design should comprise 12 classrooms for each primary, preparatory and secondary school, in addition to various other accommodation and play space. In particular, it recommended three units of modern science laboratories for chemistry, physics and biology for the secondary level, language laboratories, assembly/dining halls, gymnasiums, libraries, drawing rooms, kitchen, general science and science activities room, art rooms, various kinds of store and preparation rooms, administrative officers, rooms for medical care, schools' inspectors and social inspectors. There were to be playgrounds for football, basketball,

volleyball, and handball, and mosques for religious activities, for all levels and sexes. All schools would be centrally air-conditioned and in addition, all classes would be equipped with overhead projection and blackout facilities. In general, the new school as it was described in the new school design brief would be supplied with modern equipment and facilities and would be prepared to make use of modern audio-visual aids and techniques*. The desirable level of enrolment per school was determined as follows: 450 pupils for primary schools, 400 students for preparatory and 350 students for secondary schools, the average per classroom to be 40, 35 and 30 pupils at the primary, preparatory and secondary levels respectively.

It is to be noticed that the boys primary schools will consist of a total of 50 halls and rooms for various educational and social activities, and the boys' secondary schools of 62 halls and rooms. For girls' primary and secondary schools the total of rooms and halls proposed is the same. The total area of the school is suggested to be about 25,000 sq. m. and 20,000 sq. m. for boys' and girls' schools respectively³⁹.

It is very early to evaluate the educational efficiency of the proposed school, but clearly the new schools physically follow the trend towards considerable size we have noted as characteristic of current school building. Consequently, the new school plan can be criticised on the following grounds:

- (1) Is it possible to obtain the land required for such large school buildings in Doha town, at a reasonable price and in a suitable area?

* For more details, refer to the State of Qatar, Ministry of Public Works, Engineering Services Department, School Building Programme for Ministry of Education, Design Brief, 1st May, 1977.

- (2) Is it the right approach to continue with large schools? It has been observed on the ground that such schools already create problems of children's transportation and unbalanced school distribution in the Doha areas.
- (3) Are large primary schools educationally desirable and to be officially encouraged?

The writer is aware that the proposal for new schools was made hastily* and under the pressure of a feeling of guilt towards the children whose school environment was very poor; in addition to the feeling that the present school building design in Qatar compared badly with Kuwaiti and Abu Dhabi school buildings.

The improvement and development of school building design and equipment from time to time is very necessary, but changes of physical environment should occur as a result of changes occurring in other educational areas such as the concept of school administration, the curriculum and the method of teaching. Changes of physical environment alone should not be embarked upon as a sort of imitation rather than as a genuine educational step. There is no doubt that the new school will provide children with better educational equipment and facilities than before, but the challenge is how far the traditional educational system will be able to help the pupils and the students to make good use of their new school environment. Our previous analysis of the nature of the

* The new school project which was proposed on 1 May 1977 was seriously modified as a result of the high cost. The cost per school (excluding land price, walls and mosques) varied from QR:10 million to QR:14.5 million. See evaluation mission. Architectural competition for school building designs for Qatar, a report submitted to the Ministry of Education on 29 October 1977 by M. Mahmoud, UNESCO Regional Adviser for the Arab Countries. So about 9 schools in Doha zone were under construction in 1978 but they were set up on some modified form of the old design.

curriculum, syllabuses, textbooks, method of teaching, administrative autonomy and the qualifications of teachers give little ground for hope that good use will be made of better buildings.

**TEXT BOUND INTO
THE SPINE**

TABLE 7.1

Sizes of primary, general preparatory and general secondary boys' schools in the Doha zone in 1965/66 and 1974/75, giving the name of each school, the number of classrooms, pupils and students enrolled, the average per class and the number of teachers per school

Names of the schools and their level	No. of pupils and students		No. of classes			Pupils and Students average per class		No. of teachers	
	1965/66	1974/75	1965/66	1974/75	1965/66	1974/75	1965/66	1974/75	
A. Primary schools									
Khalid abn al-Walid	1,017	1,156	27	28	38	41	39	37	
Salah al-Ddin al-Athubi	1,086	1,062	26	27	40	39	41	38	
Aurur Abn al-Khatrab	634	919	16	25	40	37	25	33	
Abubakr al-Siddiq	684	872	20	23	34	39	31	28	
Al-Khalij al-Arabi	592	842	17	21	35	40	27	28	
Tariq Abn Ziad	254	1,162	8	27	32	43	13	34	
Authman Abn Affan	-	1,019	-	25	-	41	-	32	
Kadinah Khalifa	-	532	-	13	-	41	-	16	
Al-Raihan al-Qadim	335	506	12	14	28	36	18	18	
Al-Raihan al-Jadid	267	370	8	12	33	31	13	16	
TOTAL	4,869	8,442	134	215	36	39	207	280	
B. General Preparatory School									
Qatar al-A'dadith	750	784	23	20	32	39	53	35	
Al-Doha al-A'dadith	-	727	-	18	-	40	-	32	
Al-Jarmuk al-A'dadith	-	520	-	13	-	40	-	24	
TOTAL	750	2,031	23	51	32	40	53	91	
C. General Secondary school									
Al-Doha al-Tharwih	268	672	9	19	30	35	22	41	
Al-Astiqlal al-Tharwih	-	666	-	20	-	33	-	43	
TOTAL	268	1,338	9	39	30	34	22	85	
GRAND TOTAL	5,887	11,811	166	305	35	39	282	456	

Source: Ministry of Education Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66, pp.63;64, 159-170 and 1974/75, pp.152 and 199-200.

TABLE 7.2

Sizes of primary, general preparatory and general secondary girls' schools in the Doha zone, giving the name of each school, the number of classrooms, pupils and students enrolled, the average per class and the number of teachers per school

Names of the schools and their level	No. of pupils and students		No. of classes		Pupils and students average per class		No. of teachers	
	1965/66	1974/75	1965/66	1974/75	1965/66	1974/75	1965/66	1974/75
A. Primary schools								
Banat al-Doha	679	766	19	21	36	37	29	33
Fatimah al-Zahra	112	268	6	9	19	30	10	20
Umm al-Muaminin	255	763	9	21	28	36	12	32
Khawlah Bint al-Azwar	673	428	16	14	42	30	23	22
Khadijah	576	800	16	23	36	35	23	34
Al-Khansa	587	612	16	18	37	34	23	27
Al-Rumalih	323	578	11	15	29	39	15	25
Al-Khalij al-Arabi	-	1,218	-	32	-	38	-	50
Asma	46	216	4	8	12	27	2	14
Al-Muntazah	-	905	-	23	-	39	-	35
Safih Bint Abd al-Muttalib	-	421	-	12	-	35	-	20
Al-Raian al-Qadim	220	625	7	18	31	35	10	26
Al-Raian al-Jadid	-	898	-	24	-	37	-	42
TOTAL	3,471	8,498	104	238	33	36	147	380
B. General Preparatory schools								
Qatar al-A'dadiah Banat	261	890	11	23	24	38	18	44
Aminah Bint Wahab	-	791	-	22	-	36	-	43
TOTAL	261	1,681	11	45	24	37	18	87
C. General Secondary school								
Qatar al-Thanwih Banat	-	521	-	16	-	32	-	32
TOTAL	-	521	-	16	-	32	-	32
GRAND TOTAL	3,732	20,700	115	299	32	36	165	499

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1965/66, pp.69-70, 170 and 1974/75, pp.159 and 199-200.

Figure 7.1



Standard Primary School in Abu-Dhabi and Kuwait, 1977



Figure 7.2



Standard Primary School in Abu-Dhabi and Kuwait, 1977



Figure 7.3 Science Laboratories for Secondary School in Abu-Dhabi, 1977

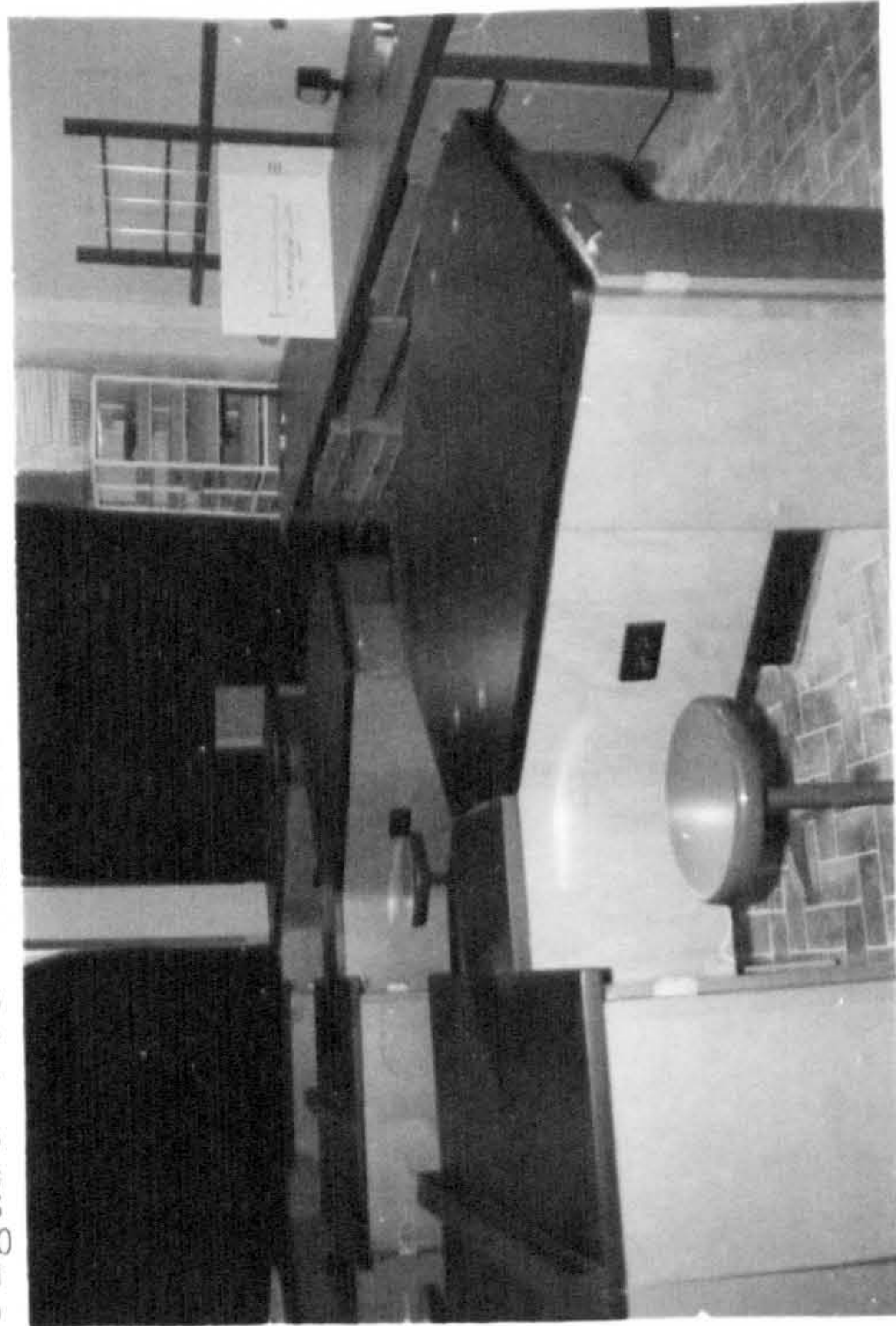


Figure 7.4 Shows Primary Classroom in Abu-Dhabi, 1977

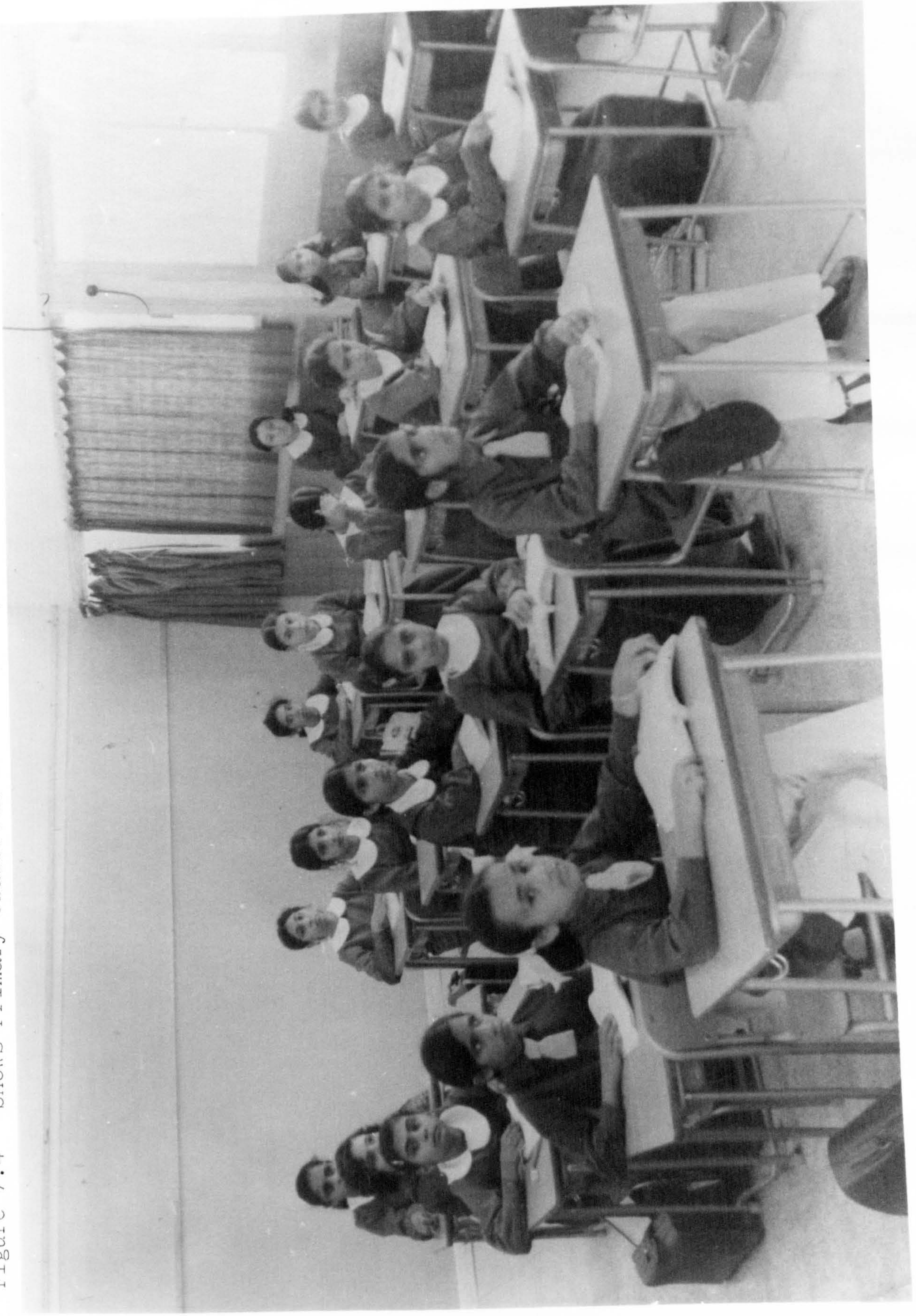


Figure 7.13 External view of Qatari Schools, 1976/77



Dar al-Mu'allimin

Primary School



Madrasah Aumar abn al-Khatib

Figure 7.14 External view of Qatari School, 1976/77 - Girls School



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Chapter VIII

INTERNAL QUALITY OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The improving of educational quality, as well as its efficiency in the Arab countries, was a major concern of the third regional conference of the Educational and Economic Planning Ministers of the Arab regions, which was held in Morocco in March 1970¹. Since then, education strategy has moved towards the objective of developing education both in quantity and quality² whereas before, most of the Arab educational policy was to direct all efforts towards quantitative growth as the first priority³. In this regard, El-Ghannam wrote the following:

... As a result of adopting this approach, many Arab states have achieved considerable success in providing education for more children at all levels, but unfortunately with detrimental effects in many cases on its quality.⁴

Even though the trend towards quantity has gained some support in some large Arab countries, as a result of their special economic and population circumstances, it should not be a dominant tendency in a country like Qatar, with its significant economic resources and small population. But the educational authorities in Qatar persisted for a long time with the previous educational policy, which caused serious problems for the educational system and made attempts at improvement both difficult and expensive.

This chapter will be devoted to exploring the size of both drop-out and repeat rates at various levels and then illustrating their impact on some educational areas. In addition some examination will be made of obstacles to the improvement of educational quality.

Education in Qatar, as has been mentioned, is not compulsory. In addition the Government has held no regular census, and there are no other

official records which could show the number of children of school age still not registered in primary schools. According to the 1970 census, Sinclair has stated, there were a considerable number of boys and girls aged between "5 - 9" and "10 - 14" still not registered in any school. He wrote:-

If Qatar is to enrol all children in school, then the "5 - 9" population should be almost entirely in school. ... about 70 per cent of all boys and 61 per cent of girls of the Qatari population aged "5 - 9" are in school. Clearly, a large number of Qatari children are not in school.⁵

It is true that education in Qatar is not officially compulsory, but the Government has established at least primary schools for both sexes even in small villages in the Qatar desert⁶, and has made the education service available both to Qatari and non-Qatari⁷. In addition, Qatari parents are, for social and religious reasons, very keen to send their sons as well as their daughters to be educated⁸. Personal experience and observation suggests that at least 90 per cent of Qatari children aged between "5 - 9" are registered in primary school*. Moreover the 1970 census indicated the number of Qataris in the age range between less than one year and 6 years in April/May 1970 as follows:

Table 8.1

Distribution of Qatari population aged from less than 1 year to 6 years in April/May 1970, both sexes

Sex	Less than 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	Grand Total
Male	667	744	952	997	948	974	846	
Female	625	723	1,011	985	976	876	808	
Total	1,292	1,467	1,963	1,982	1,924	1,850	1,654	12,132

Source: Census, April/May 1970, Table 8.

* Some children drop out from school very early, see the following pages and Table 8.3.

If we compare these figures with the figures for new enrolment of Qatari pupils in school from September* 1970 to September 1976, 11,429 in total, it becomes clear that the proportion of the Qatari population attending school in the age groups 5 - 6 is 94 per cent, and the rest entered school at the age of 7 - 10 (see Table 8.2).

Table 8.2

Pupil enrolment in the first grade of primary school from
September 1970 to September 1976, by age and sex
Qatari only

Years	Age 5 - 6 years			Age 7 - 10 years			% of 5 - 6	Grand Total
	B	G	T	B	G	T		
1970/71	720	636	1,356	187	209	396	77	1,752
1971/72	765	696	1,461	263	331	594	71	2,055
1972/73	858	835	1,693	223	327	550	75	2,243
1973/74	814	807	1,621	223	232	455	78	2,076
1974/75	811	824	1,635	263	254	517	76	2,152
1975/76	954	839	1,793	222	316	538	77	2,331
1976/77	997	873	1,870	182	212	394	83	2,264
			11,429					14,873

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1970/71 to 1976/77.

In Qatar the real challenge is not in providing education for all pupils of school age, but in ensuring that the educational system is reasonably efficient.

A good education is one which eliminates, or at least reduces to a minimum the wastage represented by failure, repetition, or drop-outs. In more positive terms, it is an education which has a "high holding power" on its students and which enables them to complete their studies successfully within the prescribed period.⁹

* Pupils registration in Qatari schools starts from the middle of September to the end of October.

TABLE 8.3Drop-out Rate in Primary School from 1963/64 to 1976/77, by sexQataris only

Year	Drop-out						Enrolment		Grand Total
	B	/	G	/	T	/	B	G	
1963/64	289	7	275	10	564	8	4,311	2,778	7,089
1964/65	314	7	340	11	654	8	4,761	3,093	7,854
1965/66	278	5	279	8	557	6	5,056	3,673	8,729
1966/67	282	6	508	13	790	9	5,070	3,920	8,990
1967/68	242	5	412	10	654	7	5,064	3,971	9,035
1968/69	266	5	300	7	566	6	5,131	4,086	9,217
1969/70	190	3	292	7	482	5	5,375	4,452	9,827
1970/71	256	5	215	4	471	5	5,603	4,819	10,422
1971/72	209	3	234	4	443	4	6,064	5,453	11,517
1972/73	218	3	211	3	429	4	6,572	6,126	12,698
1973/74	218	3	171	3	389	3	6,908	6,516	13,424
1974/75	241	3	215	3	456	3	7,283	6,922	14,205
1975/76	193	2	181	2	374	2	7,753	7,323	15,076
1976/77	298	4	235	3	533	3	8,166	7,647	15,813

Source: Appendix 8.1

Note: For the yearly average of Qatari and non-Qatari who drop out from various grades of primary school, see Appendix 8.1.

A. Drop-out Rate

A.1 Drop-out rate in the primary school

The problems of drop-out in primary schools has been observed in all grades and for both sexes. The yearly average of Qatari and non-Qatari who drop-out from various grades of primary school was 896 pupils. For Qataris only, it was 526, about 47 per cent of these being boys. Table 8.3 shows the drop-out rate among Qatari pupils from 1963/64 to 1976/77. The percentage of drop-out gradually decreased from 8 per cent to 3 per cent during the fourteen years. Nevertheless, the yearly drop-out rate of the Qataris is still high in comparison with their total enrolment. The matter seems the more frustrating because children start to drop-out very early as Table 8.4 shows:

Table 8.4

Categories of drop-out pupils under Grade 1, Grades 2 - 4, and Grades 5 - 6, in four different periods of time. Qataris only

Years	Grade 1 ⁽¹⁾			Grades 2 ⁽²⁾ 3 and 4			Grades 5 6 ⁽³⁾			%			Grand Total
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	(1)	(2)	(3)	
1963/64	135	132	267	123	116	239	31	27	58	47	42	10	564
1970/71	82	78	160	83	91	174	91	46	138	34	37	29	471
1973/74	56	56	112	82	78	160	80	37	117	29	41	30	389
1976/77	64	68	132	99	93	192	135	74	209	25	36	39	533

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1963/64, 1970/71, 1973/74 and 1976/77.

It is obvious that the percentage of boys and girls who drop-out from the first grade represents the higher percentage among the total drop-outs. If this is added to the first grade those who drop-out from the second, third and fourth grades,

the percentage jumps to 89 per cent, 71 per cent, 70 per cent and 60 per cent of the total in 1963/64, 1970/71, 1973/74 and 1976/77 respectively. It seems reasonable to conclude that many children experienced difficulty in adapting to the school environment. It is hard to blame the child's illiterate parents if they withdraw their 6 to 7 year old child when he reacts with fear to going to school. It is the task of the school to create a better environment, in which the child can be happy.

The early drop-out has caused many problems for parents, children and schools. It is observed that most parents force their drop-out children to return to school when they reach 8 years old and over, especially if they are boys. If the child again fails to adapt to school, his parents insist on his remaining in school at least to the level of the primary certificate. Because of this some children have a great hostility towards their school, teacher and text book subjects, and at the age of 10 and over they express their feelings in a negative way by, for instance, escaping from school, damaging school property and insulting their teachers and head teachers¹⁰. At this stage many school administrators find themselves unable to control all their pupils. They have no right to expel permanently such pupils unless with the agreement of the Ministry of Education headquarters, and a recent condition is that total expulsion should not occur until both the Ministry of Education and the school had tried different kinds of solutions, such as the transfer of the pupil to another school, temporary expulsion for a few days or for a week as a punishment. In addition, the child's parents were to be informed that a final chance for their child to continue in school would be given and if that remedy failed and the Ministry of Education was convinced that the child's remaining in school would seriously affect other pupils' behaviour as well as overall school discipline, then he would be expelled for good¹¹.

But the child's problem, of course, would not be solved when he was expelled for good or dropped out from primary school, because the kind of economic activities which occur in Qatar as well as the Qatari parents' social values are such that there is no chance for a 12 year old to get a job which might enable him to restore his self-confidence¹². The result is that most of the drop-out children, especially the boys, have nothing useful to do, and the danger is they might become an easy target for those categorised in society as moral criminals.

It seems impossible not to conclude that the early drop-out which was found in Table 8.4 must cause psychological, emotional and moral problems for the child and may ruin his future as well as his parents' aspirations.

A.2 Drop-out in General, Technical and Vocational Schools

The average percentage of Qatari and non-Qatari students who dropped out from general preparatory and general secondary schools during 1967/68 to 1976/77 was about 6 per cent out of the total enrolment of both sexes. The technical and vocational school drop-out percentage of boys was higher than in both primary and general schools, taking into consideration the low enrolment in technical and vocational schools. Appendices 8.2 to 8.4 show students' drop-out rate by nationality and sex for all schools from 1967/68 to 1976/77.

In general the drop-out rate of boys was higher than for girls, for both Qatari and non-Qatari students. Taking the Qatari students as an example, it was found that the drop-out rate of boys was as much as twice that of girls. For instance, in 1970/71, of 197 students dropping out, only 43 were girls; in 1976/77 the total drop-out was 318 students, 99 of them girls. Table 8.5 gives an example of the drop-out rate among Qatari students from 1967/68 to 1976/77.

TABLE 8.5

Proportion of Qataris dropping out from both general preparatory
and general secondary schools from 1967/68 to 1976/77

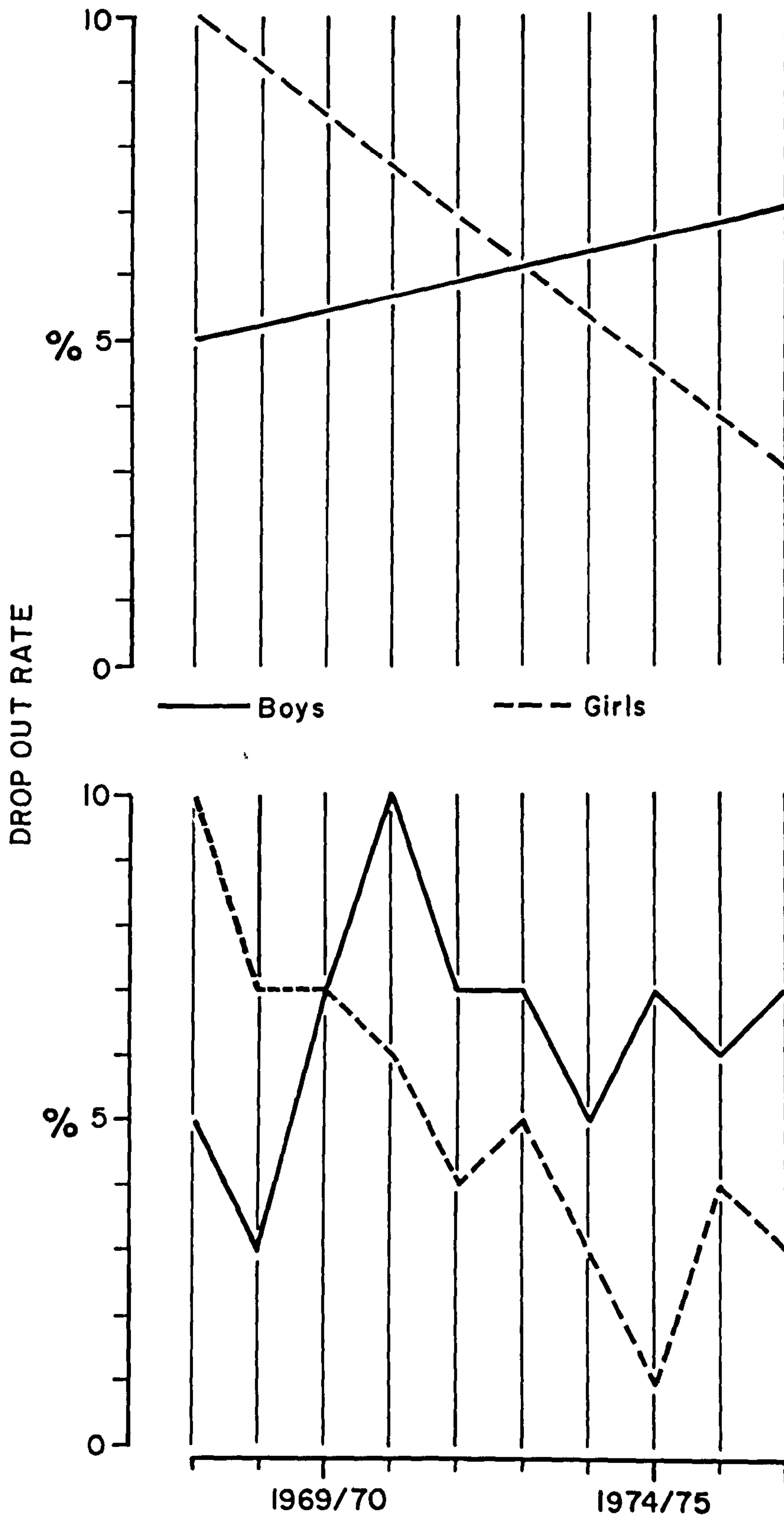
Years	Student Drop-out Rate						Total Enrolment		
	B	%	G	%	T	% B+G	B	G	T
1967/68	44	5	36	10	80	6	962	352	1,314
1968/69	33	3	32	7	65	4	1,052	452	1,504
1969/70	92	7	42	7	134	7	1,299	557	1,856
1970/71	154	10	43	6	197	8	1,532	744	2,276
1971/72	134	7	44	4	178	6	1,862	1,050	2,912
1972/73	161	7	66	5	227	6	2,142	1,412	3,554
1973/74	128	5	64	3	192	5	2,359	1,840	4,199
1974/75	186	7	37	1	223	5	2,487	2,184	4,671
1975/76	169	6	107	4	278	5	2,696	2,529	5,225
1976/77	219	7	99	3	318	5	3,011	3,059	6,070
Average	132	7	59	4	189				

Source: Appendices 8.2 and 8.3.

In addition Table 8.5 shows that the drop-out percentage of girls has decreased from 10 per cent in 1967/68 to 3 per cent in 1976/77, while the boys' drop-out percentage increased from 5 per cent to 7 per cent during the same period. Figure 8.1 shows a comparison of the drop-out trend between Qatari boys and girls in the ten year period.

However, the opposing trends in drop-out between Qatari boys and girls, which appears in Figure 8.1, can be explained in the light of the following facts.

Fig. 8.1 **COMPARISON OF THE DROP-OUT**
TREND BETWEEN QATARI BOYS AND GIRLS IN
GENERAL PREPARATORY AND SECONDARY
SCHOOLS BY PERCENTAGE FROM 1967/68 to
1977/78



For boys the rapid economic and social growth has produced many great opportunities for jobs, and has encouraged those who had to repeat their classes many times and those whose parents were in desperate need of money, to leave school. Moreover, the ambitious students could continue their study at evening school, which follows the same curriculum as the day school¹³.

For girls the low drop-out percentage was as a result of their special circumstances in Qatar society, in which they cannot compete with the boys who have all the social privileges. Going to school is unconsciously a kind of escape for girls, because going out from the house frequently is socially unacceptable unless it is for school or some equivalent. To be away from the house for other reasons is illegitimate behaviour for unmarried young girls. There is also the fact that the educated girl would have a better chance in marriage competition for an educated young man.

In general the drop-out rate of Qatari of both sexes from the preparatory and secondary school was not high in comparison with the primary school rate. For girls, the previous justification is obvious but for boys the drop-out percentage seems too low bearing in mind that the preparatory and secondary school environment was as poor as that of the primary school. There must then be factors strongly influencing the majority of boys to continue their study in the upper stages. In this respect it appears that the following factors had influence. First, the Qatari Employment Law No. 3, which was issued in 1962, clearly lays down the condition that both the Government and non-government sector must not employ any child aged between 12 - 17 years unless they have a special work permit from the Educational Minister¹⁴. The Ministry of Education made it very difficult for Qatari students to obtain the required work permit. For instance, the work permit was mainly provided under special circumstances

such as that the student had repeated his classes several times, his age was appreciably higher than his grade age, he was not in the final grade of his school stage and his family was in need of his salary and had urged that he be given his work permit¹⁵. It was observed that the students' parents, for social reasons, rarely applied for work permits for their sons because the social competition among Qatari parents to see their sons holding a school certificate, and especially a university degree, has become a significant factor. Moreover, for wealthy parents it is a matter of social prestige, for less wealthy it is both a matter of social prestige and a means of changing their economic situation. Secondly, the state demand for young Qatari staff with university degrees made the Government introduce special privileges for each university degree holder, such as a free piece of land in Doha town with a long-term loan free of interest, to a total sum exceeding QR:500,000* in 1976, to enable him to build a luxury house. In addition, a graduate can command a high salary as well as high status among Government employees¹⁶. Thirdly, studying abroad in universities, especially in the U.S.A., U.K., Cairo and Beirut is considered one of many attractive rewards for diligence in study¹⁷.

All the previous factors have interacted with each other and positively influenced large numbers of Qatari students to continue their studies in upper primary schools. So, while the drop out phenomenon in preparatory and secondary schools was not grave in terms of size, and the danger of a return to illiteracy, it was, in primary schools, a matter of concern on precisely these grounds.

* The sum allocated for each graduate was QR:130,000 in 1974/75, increased to QR:500,000 in 1976.

B. Repeat Rate

B.1 Repeat rate in primary schools

The repeat rate in primary school ranges between 24 per cent and 32 per cent. This high repeat rate occurred in Grades 1 to 5, but in the sixth grade it was observed that the repeat percentage for both sexes dropped sharply to the lowest level, 4, 7 and 7 per cent for girls and 9, 12 and 27 per cent for boys in 1965/66, 1970/71, and 1975/76 respectively. Table 8.6 shows the repeat rate in each grade at three different periods.

Table 8.6

Repeat rate in primary schools, by grade and sex in 1965/66, 1970/71 and 1976/77

Grades	1965/66		1970/71		1976/77	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Boys:						
Grade 1	492	29	464	28	637	29
2	385	26	397	25	493	25
3	275	25	323	24	352	19
4	239	25	376	29	506	26
5	240	31	302	26	456	24
6	51	9	93	12	374	27
Girls:						
Grade 1	479	34	403	28	560	27
2	338	31	336	26	472	24
3	247	32	361	30	377	21
4	181	32	357	33	450	26
5	114	35	305	33	501	32
6	6	4	13	3	81	7

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1965/66, 1970/71 and 1976/77.

The question is why the repeat rate was high in grades 1 to 5 and suddenly low when the pupils reached the sixth grade? This can hardly be explained as the result of the normal growth of pupils' knowledge and skill and thus interest, because there was no correlation between the repeat rate in the fifth and sixth grades, while there was a high correlation coefficient in the repeat rates for the rest of the grades. There must be unusual factors then encouraging pupils to a higher pass rate in the sixth grade. The following factors are possibly relevant.

The Ministry of Education, schools and parents paid unusual attention to pupils and students in the final grade. For instance, the Ministry of Education made it clear that all schools should choose the best qualified teachers to teach pupils in the sixth grade of Primary school. In addition the inspectors were often instructed to pay more attention to pupils in that standard¹⁸. Moreover, the Ministry of Education directly supervised the general examinations of the general certificates and was very keen to see the general examination result at the highest level as Appendices 8.5 to 8.9 show. For parents it was a matter of concern that their child should successfully pass his examinations, especially the general ones, which meant for them a great psychological reward. Hence it became a common social phenomenon among Qatari parents to celebrate when their child obtained his school general certificates. This tradition might unconsciously be linked with an old one which had been seen in the kuttab school when the child memorised the whole Quran¹⁹. However, even the pupils and students who worked hard to prepare themselves for the general examination had suffered, many of them from great psychological and social pressure within and outside school²⁰.

The previous explanation has indicated the main factors which influenced the general examination result in the primary stage. To rely on the general examination results alone as a sufficient indicator of the educational standard would not be enough. Hence, in 1974 and in 1975 an experimental study was carried out by the Ministry of Education with the assistance of both the T. T. College in Doha and the Regional Office for Education in the Arab countries in Beirut, in order to explore:

Educational efficiency as an indicator of school administrative efficiency.²¹

The study covered all boys' schools in Doha and its villages and for all levels to discover how many primary pupils had graduated after six years from those enrolled in 1967/68 and how many had dropped out within six years and why. The same procedure was followed for preparatory and secondary students²². The result for primary school proved that educational productivity was very poor. For instance out of 918 Qatari and non-Qatari pupils enrolled in the first grade in 1967/68 only 200 or 21.8 per cent graduated after six years, while there were 575 repeats and 143 drop-outs. Qatari pupils showed a lower pass rate than non-Qatari pupils, 18 per cent for Qatari and 32 per cent for non-Qatari. Table 8.7 shows the Qatari and non-Qatari pupils who graduated, repeated and dropped out in Doha and in the village schools in the six years from 1967/68.

In addition to this the study pointed out that the main factors which cause the low productivity were lack of qualified and experienced teachers, the large size of schools and over-crowded classrooms, examination, textbook and syllabus difficulties, absence of school meals and lack of attractive school environments²³.

TABLE 8.7

Number and percentage of primary pupils who had graduated, repeated and dropped out after six years, from a total of 918 pupils who entered school in 1967/68 in both Doha and the villages

Zone	Nationality	No. of B	Passed	%	Repeat	%	Drop-out	%
Doha	Qatari	505	98	19	358	71	49	10
	Non-Qatari	197	64	33	81	41	52	26
	Total	702	162	23	439	63	101	14
Villages	Qatari	183	29	16	130	71	24	13
	Non-Qatari	33	9	26	6	18	18	56
	Total	216	38	18	136	63	42	19
Grand Total		918	200	21.8	575	63	143	15
Total	Qatari	688	127	18	488	71	73	11
	Non-Qatari	230	75	32	87	38	70	30

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Survey of Educational Efficiency in Schools: A Qatari Experiment, p. 43. (A)

Although the study made a comprehensive survey, its result was not surprising to many educational staff in both schools and the Ministry of Education headquarters, because the statistical section had published a series of articles and statistics in addition to the annual educational reports, and both gave more than enough evidence about the low productivity in Qatari schools.

Nevertheless the phenomenon of pupils' high rate of repeat shown in Table 8.6, has repeated itself continuously year after year in all primary schools whether the school is in a town or in a village, whether it is over-crowded or less crowded. Such a phenomenon could not be explained as a result of coincidence but rather it was pointed out that the educational factors which caused the problem had not been seriously touched for the last two decades.

B.2 Repeat rate in Preparatory and Secondary Schools

The productivity in the preparatory and secondary stage was much better than in primary education. For example, 262 Qatari boys or 61 per cent out of 428 and 55 per cent out of 134 students had graduated without repetition after three years. For non-Qatari students the pass rate during the same period was higher than for Qatari students, it was 76 per cent out of 186 and 76 per cent out of 87 in preparatory and secondary schools respectively. See Table 8.8 below.

Table 8.8

Productivity assessment of boy students who entered Preparatory and Secondary Schools in 1970/71 and graduated within three years without repetition

Stage	Nationality	No. of B	Pass	%	Repeat	%	Drop-out	%
G. Preparatory	Qatari	428	262	61	116	27	50	12
	Non-Qatari	186	142	76	18	10	26	14
	Total	614	404	66	134	22	76	12
G. Secondary	Qatari	134	74	55	36	27	24	18
	Non-Qatari	87	66	76	10	11	11	12
	Total	221	140	63	46	21	35	16

Source: See source in Table 8.7, pp. 45 and 48.

In general the pass rate in both preparatory and secondary school was sufficient, not only in general examinations but also in each grade. Table 8.9 shows the general examination results in 1967/68, 1972/73 and 1975/76 for primary, preparatory and secondary school general certificate.

TABLE 8.9

General examination results in three different years
by percentage, sex and nationality

Year	Nationality	Primary		Preparatory		Secondary			
						Science		Literary	
		B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1967/68	Qataris	97	96	72	86	52	-	94	100
	Non-Qataris	93	99	87	96	87	94	75	91
1972/73	Qataris	81	97	93	95	85	100	81	98
	Non-Qataris	92	99	98	98	94	97	91	98
1975/76	Qataris	67	91	94	90	86	95	93	97
	Non-Qataris	88	96	97	97	85	95	91	88

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1968/69, 1973/74 and 1976/77

C. Repeat Impact on Some Educational Areas

The repeat problems which occur often in Primary education and slightly less in Preparatory and Secondary school, had a serious impact on the following areas:

C.1 Repeat impact on the educational ladder

In general it is in the light of psychological and educational principles that the educational ladder, textbooks, syllabus, method of teaching and school activities, is designed, taking into consideration individual differences in physical, emotional and intellectual growth. There is the procedure of categorizing pupils according to their age group in one grade which is intended to avoid, on the one hand, problems of age differences and yet on the other to exploit the similarity among children of one age for the help it can give to their

teachers in choosing and preparing suitable methods of teaching and testing.

In Qatar, as was mentioned in Chapter II, the educational ladder of the primary school is in six grades, three preparatory and three secondary. Theoretically the child should enter school at the age of about six years and should graduate from secondary school at the age of 17 or 18. In practice only 18 per cent of Qatari boys complete their primary education at the age of 11 or 12. The result is that the normal functioning of the educational ladder from the primary to the secondary stage breaks down completely and accordingly the curriculum and textbook method of teaching, etc. have lost their rationale. For instance, the first grade of primary school comprised children of 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 years old, only 34 per cent and 36 per cent out of the first grade school population were in the right age group in 1963/64 and 1976/77 respectively.

In the sixth grade pupils' ages ranged from 11 to at least 18 years. Appendices 8.10 to 8.13 give examples of the influence of the repeat factor on pupils' and students' ages, which occurred in all Qatari schools in 1963/64 and 1976/77. Nevertheless from the previous appendices the following facts are clear: first, that there was a large number of boys and girls whose ages were equivalent to the secondary school age, but who were still attending various grades of primary school; in addition to that there were students of university age still in preparatory and secondary school. Secondly, the age distribution in each grade for all stages and both sexes was very wide. Thirdly, all this suggests that the Ministry of Education has made no serious attempt to overcome the causes of repetition during the period 1963/64 to 1976/77. Table 8.10 shows the proportion of pupils and students whose age was compatible with their prescribed age in each stage in 1963/64 and 1976/77.

TABLE 8.10

A comparison between pupils and students whose age was compatible with their grade and those whose age was above their grade age, in 1963/64 and 1976/77

	Within grade age				Over grade age by one year and more				Grand Total	
	B		G		B		G		B	G
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Primary school:										
1963/64	1,019	19	704	21	4,347	81	2,606	79	5,366	3,310
1976/77	2,900	24	2,784	25	8,939	76	8,005	75	11,839	10,789
G. Preparatory:										
1963/64	39	4	15	5	863	96	293	95	902	308
1976/77	750	25	544	20	2,254	75	2,326	80	3,004	2,870
G. Secondary:										
1963/64	43	17	3	4	217	83	73	96	260	76
1976/77	415	23	419	29	2,364	77	1,047	71	1,779	1,466
Grand Total:										
1963/64	1,101	17	722	20	5,427	83	2,972	80	6,528	3,694
1976/77	4,064	24	3,747	25	12,557	76	11,378	75	16,622	15,125

Source: Appendices 8.10 to 8.13.

There were three main elements contributing to this depressing picture; first, the presence of those pupils who dropped out and then returned to school after one year or more; secondly, the presence of those pupils who entered school at the age of 8, 9 and 10 and had registered in the first grade; thirdly, the condition that the Ministry of Education laid down that pupil promotion in the primary school must be by examination.²⁴ For instance, the promotion system in Grades one, two and three depends on pupils passing an oral examination in at least three main subjects: the Arabic language, Islamic religion and arithmetic.²⁵ A school committee, comprised of the school headmaster (in the case of boys' schools), teachers of Arabic language, teachers of Islamic religion and teachers of arithmetic, is responsible for carrying out the oral examinations in their school at the end of each academic year.²⁶ The main objective behind this procedure was to ensure that pupils promoted from lower grades to upper ones were at a good standard in the former grade, and that the upper grades should be protected from pupils handicapped by poor attainment.²⁷ But because no objective criteria were established by which it could be determined what was a good standard and what was not, the judgement of these committees was often subjective and influenced by attitudes towards the school subjects, the child's appearance and his behaviour. Unfortunately, it was observed that a considerable number of 6 year olds and older pupils had more than once failed the examination and had become frustrated, unwilling to learn and fearful of the examinations.

Fear of failure may have many causes, but three important ones are lessening of self-esteem, lowering of public image and the loss of rewards accompanying poor attainment.²⁸

C.2 Repeat impact on the educational budget

The educational budget gives no details of the proportion of its funds allocated to each stage, but instead a general figure for the cost per child per year. However, the cost per child was considerably increased from QR:2,760 to QR:6,529 and to QR:8,392 in 1965, 1975 and 1976 respectively.²⁹ The increase between 1975 and 1976 was about 22 per cent. There were major factors contributing to this high cost, for instance teachers' salaries, cost of school land, school buildings and the educational manufacturers' prices, as well as labour wages which increased as a result of world economic inflation.

From the financial point of view the repeat factor caused an additional burden on the educational budget, because the child repeating his year will, of course, cost more. Sammak wrote about the repeat cost in the primary school in Qatar:

Because of repetition only, the financial losses stemming from additional expenditure by the state and from the foregone income, were estimated to reach 35 million Qatari Rials for the cohort of 1,000 pupils which started schooling in 1966/67.³⁰

There is no doubt that such additional cost will be at the expense of child benefit, in lowering the standard of school facilities and slowing the improvement of the educational environment.

C.3 Repeat impact on the delay in producing qualified manpower

The repeat factor has had a great impact on the most urgent national objective, the need of qualified manpower. Qatar, as was mentioned in Chapter I and Chapter VI, relies wholly for its educational, social and economic development on non-Qatari employees. The most effective means of correcting this manpower structure without disturbing social progress is by education. If the educational system were well orientated and operating

at sufficient speed and standard, its output would be better than it is now.

But, as was stated in Chapters IV and V, the Qatar authorities established their educational system without having any clear educational strategy or objective. Hence within two decades the school system became old and worn, its output far from meeting the national demand in both quality and quantity, while its cost was very high and burdened the national income.

Birks and Sinclair have stated the following:

Even if the entire enrolment in boys' preparatory and secondary school successfully graduates from secondary school, their number over the next six years will be only 3,000 in total. This in a period when perhaps as many as 20,000 jobs opportunities will occur in Umm Said, and as many again around Doha.³¹

This statement clearly shows the gravity of the gap between the job opportunities which might occur in 1982/83 as a result of the Government economic development programme on the one hand, and the proportion of qualified Qatari males on the other.³² However, present school productivity suggests that the gap will be greater than this statement reckoned on both in quantity and quality.

In addition the extra years which most Qatari boys and girls spend in school before completing their secondary school education and then university education will not often pass without income difficulties for less wealthy families as well as straining relations between children and their parents.³³

Appendices 8.10 to 8.13 show that most secondary school graduates entered the labour market approximately 5 to 8 years later than the prescribed period and the same is true for most university graduates. Such a wastage of years, when converted into personal income as well as various opportunities of life, means a great loss which might be irrecoverable.

D. Some Obstacles Facing the Improvement of Educational Quality

The high rate of drop-out and repeat commented on in previous pages are one obvious symptom of the real crisis in educational quality in Qatar. Our examination of the curriculum, methods of teaching, teacher qualifications and the school environment as well as overall educational strategy makes clear that the quality of education in various Qatari schools is very poor. It seems that the administrative authorities until the mid-1970s had no genuine plan for improving their educational system.³⁴ Hence it is observed that the technical experts provided by UNESCO in 1973 and afterwards to assist in developing the educational system in Qatari schools were not made use of as intended.³⁵ The UNDP/UNESCO joint evaluation mission which visited Qatar in June 1976 commented as follows:

... the project design assumed that each international expert would work with one or more counterparts, who would be trained to take over the expert's job. Since no qualified counterparts were available, the UNESCO experts have been utilized as regular teaching staff, and not as the curriculum developers and instructional leaders foreseen in their job descriptions. This change of role was disappointing for several UNESCO experts and seems to have limited the importance of their contribution.³⁶

However, close contacts with various government officials within and outside the Ministry of Education in addition to the writer's own experience all suggest that attempts to raise educational quality are faced with serious obstacles which often prevent improvement or make it ineffectual. The major obstacles can be described under the following headings:

D.1 Political and Religious Influences

The Government is fully aware that major changes in education, if not carefully controlled, will lead in the long run to undesirable results, causing grave consequences to the state's political and religious objectives. This

concern has influenced the Government's position towards proposals for improvement in educational quality. This is on the one hand; on the other hand the Government planners are often suspicious that attempts at introducing reform of any part of the state's institutions could lead to a kind of corruption. They are by the power of money, of personal status, and of political interest and by power exercised as a form of self-protection. As far as the Ministry of Education was concerned, its own unstable administrative history³⁷ made such things a particular matter of concern to most senior staff as well as to school teachers and headmasters. Recently, in 1977/78, the victims of the low productivity in the primary schools were the non-Qatari headmasters, most of whom were replaced by Qataris.³⁸

D. 2 Lack of expenditure on qualitative educational plans

The senior staff of the Ministry of Education were observed in 1975 and have been very busy in supervising more than one technical and administrative committee. Their productivity was found to be very high in terms of reports and studies, but very low in terms of solving the educational problems on hand.³⁹ One of the many reasons behind this was the size of the educational problems, which required correspondingly elaborate solutions and accordingly huge additional capital and current sums of money; this all at a time when the Government was not ready for it.⁴⁰

D. 3 Lack of both planning and executive bodies

In addition to all this, the Ministry of Education suffers from the lack of an efficient permanent planning and executive board. For instance, in October, 1975 the Ministry of Education recruited an educational expert for four years to establish proposals for developing educational quality. But because no

Qatari counterparts had been appointed, even in late 1977, to take over the expert's job when his recruitment period ended, he felt that there were no reassuring signs that his proposals would be carried out.⁴¹ There were the technical research section and the educational inspectors who acted to promote educational initiatives, but the former often claimed that they lacked personnel to execute the required job in an efficient manner and the latter were in no better position than the former. They found themselves unable to function properly as educational developers and at the same time as inspectors. In order to escape from this dilemma, the Ministry of Education has sought temporary help from the teaching staff of Qatar University. Even this procedure is a step in the right direction; it has placed a great burden on the technical section, as well as on the other executive bodies, because the administrative authorities were not well prepared themselves to tackle educational problems in depth.

As a result of pressure from within and outside the country, which grew rapidly, for the implementation of proposals for educational improvement,⁴² the Ministry of Education started from 1975 to introduce slight modifications in various areas in order to strengthen the educational input. Although the Ministry of Education produced nothing significant, it insisted on presenting it as some form of revolutionary educational reform.⁴³ This happened at a time when the burdened schools were appealing loudly for urgent solutions to the complex and diverse educational problems which had accumulated through the previous two decades. The Ministry of Education's actions might well be good for its public prestige, but it should be realised that they will be pursued at the expense of the children's future.

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2. UNESCO. Paper about the development of education in the Arab countries since Marrakesh Conference. January 1970. Also: Paper about the development of students in the Arab countries and their trends until 1985. Meeting of senior educational staff held in Cairo between 18 - 24 October 1976. (A)
3. El-Ghannam, M. op. cit. (1971), pp. 23-24.
4. El-Ghannam, M. Ibid, p. 23.
5. Sinclair, C.A. op. cit., p. 346.
6. See Chapter III, Figure 3.1.
7. See Chapter II.
8. The writer's observation.
9. El-Ghannam, M. op. cit., the paragraph quoted has been derived from the proceedings of the Morocco Conference 1970, as one of give definitions of educational quality, p. 24.
10. The writer's observation and communication with various staff in schools and in the Ministry of Education headquarters.
11. Ministry of Education, Primary School Regulations, Second Edition, 1974, pp. 16-17. (A)
12. Qatar, as was mentioned in Chapter I is not an agricultural country in which the drop-out child might help his father, neither are the majority of Qatar people occupied with craft activities or fishing as a means of livelihood. The majority of Qatari people work as employees in the Government sector.

13. See Chapter II.
14. Ministry of Justice, Department of Law Affairs, Qatar. Collection of Qatari Laws up to the year 1966: Employment Law No. 3, 1962, Article 2, Part 1 and Article 41, Part 7, pp. 407 and 420. (A)
15. The writer's close observation of conditions when he was appointed temporarily as a director of the social educational department in 1972.
16. Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Report 1974/75, p. 357.
17. The writer's observation.
18. The writer's experience.
19. See Chapter II.
20. The writer's observation.
21. El-Ghannam, M. op. cit., (Report), pp. 2-8.

Also see the Ministry of Education Survey of Educational Efficiency in School: A Qatari Experiment, pp. 28-82. (A)
22. Ministry of Education, Ibid. pp. 83-226.
23. Ibid., pp. 40-41 and 134-173.
24. Ministry of Education, The General Examination Regulations, pp. 3-9. (A)
25. Ibid., p. 3.
26. Ibid., p. 3.
27. ALECSO, Seminar on Pupils' Drop-out, especially in the Primary Education Stage, Cairo 1973. See Qatar delegation's report, p. 270.

Also the writer interviewed the Director of the Public Examinations and Student Affairs Department.
28. Child, D. Psychology and the Teacher, reprinted February 1976, p. 40.
29. See the Educational Budget in Chapter III, Table 3.4.

30. El-Ghannem, M. op. cit., (Report), See appendix prepared by Sammak, p.23.
31. Birks, J. and Sinclair, C. International Migration Project Country Case Study: The State of Qatar, February 1978, p.7.
32. Ibid., pp.17-19.
33. Education in Qatar is free, but that does not mean that parents give no pocket money to their children each morning for buying sandwiches and soft drinks. They do so and the amount of pocket money depends on the child's age and his school class. Children of 6 - 8 years might be satisfied with one Qatari Rial, but those who are still in the second, third and fourth grades of primary school at 11, 13, 15 years, etc. (see Appendices 8.10 - 8.13) will be very sensitive to being treated as their youngest brothers and sisters, and they will ask for more pocket money, expensive clothes and some of them might ask for a car. At the preparatory and secondary stage, students become youths and their need of money will increase. If they are amongst those who have repeated their classes many times and whose age consequently is between 16 - 18 while they are still in the lower grades of their school, as Appendices 8.20 - 8.13 show, their feelings will be the more sensitive and their parents might not appreciate their school difficulties and might accuse their children of failing because they were careless. Accordingly their treatment will be harsher than before.
34. See the educational strategy in Chapter IV.
35. UNDP, Project of the Government of Qatar: Assistance to Higher Teacher Training Colleges, Doha. November 1973, pp.6-7.
36. UNDP, Doha. Qatar, Joint UNDP/UNESCO evaluation mission of assistance to the faculties of education. Report of the mid-term review mission, June 1976, pp.4-5.

37. See Chapter III.
38. The writer's observation during his fieldwork in 1978. Also see al-Khalij al-Jadid magazine No. 25, dated 22 February 1978, interview with the Deputy of Qatar's Ruler, p. 11.
39. The writer's attendance at some of these meetings during his field work in 1975, 1977 and 1978, in addition to the writer's communication with senior staff of the Ministry of Education, as well as many teachers and headmasters of various primary and secondary schools.
40. It seems that the Government financially had engaged itself with many major projects, which resulted in a financial problem in 1977/78 and that this directly affected the programme of the Ministry of Education which was intended to improve educational quality. For instance, the Ministry of Education applied to the Council of Ministers to excuse them from being forbidden to recruit additional teachers for various schools. Reference to the following sources: the writer's communication with the General Director of the Ministry of Education, the Director of the Technical Research Department, and the Director of Financial and Administrative Affairs, in February 1978. Also see al-Aurubah magazine No. 415, ninth year, dated 2 March 1978, p.5, and al-Khalij al-Jadid magazine No. 24 and No. 25, dated February and 22 February 1978, pp. 24-27 and pp. 8-13, respectively.
41. The writer's communication with the Planning Expert himself in March 1977 and in February 1978.
42. See Chapter IV.

43. See, for instance, Ministry of Education, Qatar. Development of Education in Qatar (1975/76 and 1976/77) Report to the 36th Session on Education, Geneva, August 1977. pp.15-26.

Also, see Ministry of Education, Qatar. The Most Important Trends, Implementations and Educational Problems in Qatar since 1970:

Report submitted to the Arab Regional Conference of the Educational and Economic Planning Ministers held in U.A. E. between 7 - 26 November 1977, pp.11-16 (the second source is Arabic).

Chapter IX

CONCLUSION: A CALL FOR COMPREHENSIVE RECONSIDERATION OF THE ROLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The educational achievement of the last two decades is, except in quantitative terms, of little significance or worth. In spite of the huge educational budget and the small size of the school population, the educational system has failed to establish acceptable standards at all levels and for both sexes.

In a small country like Qatar which has been greatly influenced by rapid social and economic development, the schools may be expected to play an essential role, not only in providing children and adults with advanced education in order to enable them to come to terms with their changing social environment, but also in guiding the society at large to develop a clear vision of its future. Unfortunately the school system in Qatar rapidly became immersed in its own problems, which thereafter developed in size and in complexity. The result was, as the thesis shows in various chapters, that the educational system not only failed to provide children with advanced curricula, creative methods of teaching, good textbooks, qualified teachers and happy surroundings, but also failed even to provide children with meals and enough room in the classrooms.

The enormous wastage of time, effort, money and human resources which has been observed in Chapter VIII could be considered the inevitable result of a poor educational system. Figure 9.1 shows that education in Qatar has entailed considerable current and capital expenditure, but our

assessment reveals that most of the educational budget has been wasted on pupils and students repeating years, and on traditional administrative methods which often use cash as inducements to attract pupils and students to stay at school or to enrol in the science stream and the technical and vocational schools. Some part of the money has been wasted, too, on clerical services and allowances. In the end, the schools have derived very little benefit from the educational expenditure; this is clearly to be observed in the lack of modern facilities and equipment for children in the classroom.

One might ask why the state of the Qatar educational system is so unsatisfactory. Many factors have interacted with each other to produce this situation. In this thesis we have pointed out most of them. At this point we will shed some light on the Government's general view of the role of the educational system in social development. Fundamentally, the educational system, when it was established in the 1950s, was not expected by the top decision-makers, to provide the country with reliable skilled labour, at least for the period between the 1960s and the early 1970s. This was firstly because of the small size of the Qatari population, secondly because of the only very recent development of primary education, thirdly because of the urgent demand for social development, and fourthly because the Government, on account of its oil wealth, had no financial problem in meeting its immediate need for skilled labour from both Arabic and non-Arabic regions. These facts interacted with each other and seriously influenced the role of the educational system in social development. Moreover the rapid development of the social services considerably

enlarged the Government demand for skilled labour, and because school productivity was very limited in number and quality, the Government unconsciously relied heavily on expatriate skilled labour as an alternative. The general assumption that foreign labour was available and the consequent lack of urgent need to consider the role of the educational system in economic and social development, meant that time passed and was lost without any plan for improving the quality and productivity of the schools being proposed. The failure to do this led to a widespread state of neglect and loss of enthusiasm for educational aims and objectives among teachers, children, and educational administrators.

Parents made no attempt to interfere to improve the educational system, for two main reasons. Firstly, most parents' educational background hindered them from understanding the effective role modern education could have, and how fruitful it could be; and secondly it was evident that children, no matter what their educational level or background, could easily find jobs in the Government sector. Even though it has been commonly thought among educated Qataris recently that the educational system urgently needs comprehensive reform, such well-educated people have as yet had little practical effect on educational trends and in most cases their contribution has not gone beyond merely negative criticism. This might be a result of the lack of democratic procedures which has been mentioned in Chapter I.

The argument which has been presented in the various chapters of this thesis, as well as in this last chapter, has brought us to the conclusion that the educational system is in need of urgent comprehensive reconsideration. A policy of comprehensive reform of the educational system must be put in hand as soon as possible for the sake of the children themselves and to ensure

rational economic and social development. We call for a comprehensive reform of the educational system for the simple reason that it functions badly in almost all respects. Consequently partial reform would be nothing but a waste of time, effort and money. The role of education should be defined thoroughly in the light of the economic situation and social aspirations. Schools must be looked at as the essential means of providing children and adults with advanced and creative education, providing society with ambitious and willing citizens and skilled workers; and as the means by which a more mature and modernized Arabic-Islamic society may be enabled to emerge.

Investment in education must be emphasized as the core of the educational strategy. Qatar must adopt clear written educational policy, and a strategy for sound educational planning. Any further delay or neglect in this matter will have a further serious effect on educational productivity and quality. The suggested Arab educational strategy drawn up by ALECSO should be used as the fundamental guide for Qatari educational strategy, especially in ALECSO's stress on "comprehensive renewal in Arabic education in integration with comprehensive development in Arabic nations."¹ The establishing of a clear educational policy with an elaborate educational strategy is very necessary, but that will be only a kind of blueprint unless it is translated into detailed planning with a timetable, finance and sufficiently qualified executive staff and methods of evaluation.

The Qatar educational authorities have to realize the fact that their school population is small. Any plan for developing secondary education should take this fact into consideration. The previous experience of the four male technical and vocational secondary schools which collapsed in the late

1970s as a result of student shortage, should be a warning for the future. For the time being, perhaps, it is better to concentrate on strengthening general secondary education in order to ensure a supply of students to meet the university demand. There is already established in Qatar a full university, and yet, for instance, the total of Qatari male students who graduated from general secondary school in both the science and literary stream in 1977/78 was only 266. Such a number, when distributed between different university departments is very small indeed. The curriculum of the general secondary schools must also be modernized and broadened in order to equip students with qualifications to enable those not interested in academic study to find useful jobs.

A. Toward Qualitative Development

To establish a well organized educational system, policy, strategy and planning should be directed to strengthening and developing educational quality. Quantitative development presents no problems in Qatar because of the small size of the school population as well as the available educational resources. Qualitative improvement requires that the following recommendations be implemented:

A.1 Administrators

The educational qualifications and efficiency of the administrators was considered of major importance in the suggested Arab educational strategy². Consequently, if Qatar genuinely intends to reform its educational system, it should give this matter much attention. Observation shows that a few of the present administrators in the Ministry of Education headquarters have gained valuable experience through their past work and they might help in developing education if their departments are equipped with sufficient qualified educational and technical staff.

A. 2 Curriculum Change

As we saw in Chapter V, the Qatari school has not, in the past, had a good and relevant curriculum. The present reform of the out-dated curriculum could be considered as a first step towards further comprehensive reform in the curriculum, based on child centred education and informed by clearly elaborated, educational, economic and social objectives. The oil industry and the sea environment must figure largely in the educational curriculum. The fact that the child who goes to school at 6 years old in 1980 will need to be a skilled worker in the 1990s must be kept very clearly in the minds of curriculum designers; and because of the world explosion in knowledge as well as the rapid social and economic changes in and around Qatar, the curriculum should devote more time to practical and manual learning activities, and to equipping children with means by which they may learn for themselves to think out and solve problems.

A. 3 Establishing an encouraging educational environment

Through our study we have noted that children were made to learn in an atmosphere of anxiety, which affected their personalities and made them less loyal and less respectful towards their school community than they might have been. Consequently, planning for serious and productive education entails as a fundamental step, creating an encouraging educational environment which will pave the way for the normal development of pupils' and students' abilities, skills and personalities, and which will establish confidence among students that their education is good and useful for its own sake and for the development of their society at large.

A. 4 Teachers

Qualified, ambitious, co-operative and willing teachers must be at the core of educational reform. There is no hope for Qatari schools unless they

are well provided with such teachers. Unfortunately, the damage which has been inflicted on teachers' status, zeal and aspirations in recent years has been extensive. This not only influences pupils' and students' attainment and behaviour, but places great obstacles in the way of reform. Consequently the educational authorities should realize that this is a problem to be faced with courage.

Recruiting qualified teachers is the first step, and this should be accompanied by short-term in-service training programmes for all teachers irrespective of their nationality. Qatar's investment in education must mean that teachers' standards should be kept in step with the latest educational methods and techniques, in the use of audio-visual aids, etc. The role and efficiency of educational inspectors needs to be looked at, too, in this regard. The traditional inspection methods should be reformed. Inspectors must be well equipped in pedagogy, recent developments in teaching methods and modern teaching aids in order to help their teachers overcome their various educational problems and to help form a creative educational atmosphere within schools.

A.5 Towards a balance between the centralized administrative educational system and the need for an efficient administrative autonomy within the schools

Our study shows that Qatari schools enjoy no sort of efficient administrative autonomy, even that the weekly timetable is mostly organized by the Ministry of Education and then imposed on the school. There is no suggestion that the educational administrative system in Qatar should not be centralized in matters concerning educational policy, strategy, planning, curriculum, finance, supply and the like, because Qatar has no large population or populated districts, or problems of transportation and communication between

different areas. Indeed, for these reasons a centralized educational administrative system is an advantage and could help to speed educational development. But this does not mean depriving schools of an efficient administrative autonomy in matters like weekly timetable organization, organization of school activities, use of classrooms and teaching methods, as well as in working out ways of dealing with everyday educational problems. Providing schools with an efficient administrative autonomy will produce an opportunity for the Ministry of Education to see the difference between creative and well-qualified headmasters and headmistresses and those who are lazy and badly qualified. Also an environment of competition will be created among schools in developing their educational productivity as well as in establishing a distinct status and character. Working out a good balance between the centralized educational administrative system and school autonomy would enrich the Ministry of Education's own experience and enable education in Qatar to develop in the right direction. Failure to do this will mean that qualified and ambitious teachers, headmasters and headmistresses, inspectors and children will again sink into a dull daily routine and the individual school will rely heavily on the administration in the Ministry of Education. The result will be more hostility between schools and the central administrative authority.

A.6 Towards a small size of Primary School

At present, the primary school in Doha zone, in both physical and pupil size, is too large. In Chapter V we found that large schools create fear and anxiety in small children, and also make it difficult for teachers and headmasters/headmistresses to communicate satisfactorily with the children, whether as a group or as individuals. Teachers often refer to the school's inflated size as preventing them from carrying out normal school activities or establishing the required control and co-operative educational environment among the children.

In Chapter VII we saw too, that the large school creates problems of imbalance in school provision between different areas in Doha town and as a result a problem of school transportation and waste of children's time. Moreover, the large school will require a large number of school teachers and administrators. For instance, most schools in Doha town are run by a headmaster, two deputies, one secretary, one storekeeper, one controller and over 30 teachers. Such a large staff influences the educational role of the headmasters/headmistresses and burdens them with clerical work. Further, large staff in poor schools like Qatar's will not encourage a productive and healthy social and educational environment. To reduce to a minimum educational and administrative problems which result from inflated primary school size, the present primary schools should be made smaller and more numerous. Primary schools of up to 300 children as a maximum size would be recommended. Secondly, expansion in school building for the time being should be restricted to primary education as a first priority. Thirdly, the present primary school buildings could be devoted to the expansion of preparatory and secondary education, but with some modifications in order to meet the requirements of modernizing and broadening the curriculum and catering better for students' physical and social activities.

It is understood that inadequate size, design and location of school buildings has affected the educational system as a whole. Consequently, the change from large to small schools, even if expensive at first, would be worth while and would help to establish a better educational environment as part of a comprehensive reform in the educational system.

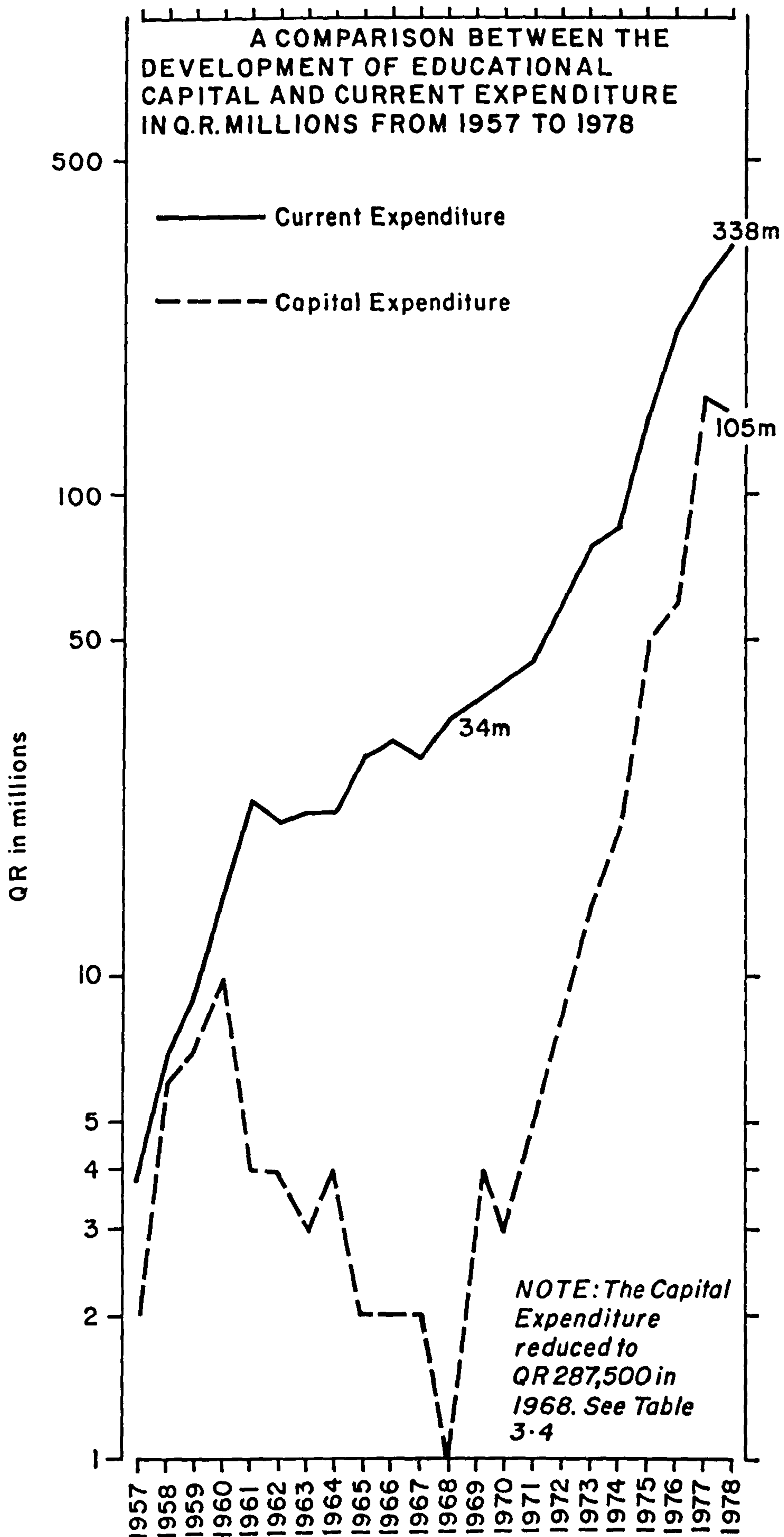
A.7 Reforming the examination system

Our study suggests that the examination system is extremely out-dated. As was explained in Chapter V there has been very little improvement recently in examination standards, and practically nothing has been done about evaluating children's education, beyond testing their rote learning of different textbook subjects. Hence a genuine reform in the examination system is urgently needed. Firstly, efficient methods of evaluation must be established as a main part of the examination system, in order to cover various educational objectives and to guide the educational system to improvement and development as the result of systematic methods of evaluation. Educationists mostly emphasize that evaluation methods are the corner stone of the educational process, for the major reason that they want to be sure that in the end the aims of the curriculum have been thoroughly absorbed by the children. Besides examinations to test academic attainment, there must be ways of testing pupils' and students' emotional attitudes, behaviour and general intellectual abilities and the results should be kept in their records. Also, curriculum, methods of teaching, textbook subjects, and the school's physical and social environment must be assessed and observed from time to time. In order to evaluate these things well, a technical centre needs to be established and to be equipped with a qualified psychologist, educationist, and sociologist, experts in test and examination technique and design. Two forms of examination method should be implemented; these are the present essay-type examinations, and objective tests. Each one of these could be used to measure pupils' and students' attainment in different educational area. For instance, subjects dealing with facts where the examiner required specific answers would use objective tests; and for those educational areas which were rather intended to strengthen children's imagination,

writing skill, skill in arrangement and composition, the essay system could be used. We could use the advantages of both examination systems and avoid the confusion that results when a child has understood scientific, geographical or historical facts, but has failed in answering an essay-type examination question in these subjects because of lack of ability in the Arabic language. Further, an automatic promotion system for children in the first, second, third and fourth grades of primary education must be adopted, as a first step towards a full, automatic promotion system for children in all primary grades. This is not only to meet the objective of high productivity in a relatively short time and to reduce the cost of primary school education, but more importantly it is to avoid the dangers of a high rate of repetition and drop out, which is common in the lower grades because of the use of an examination system with these groups. The common fear of lowering children's educational standards by use of a promotion system could be met if schools are provided with the recommended teachers and administrative autonomy, if they are small and use the best methods of evaluation.

Finally we would like to acknowledge that a comprehensive reform in education is not an easy task. The educational system largely interacts with and is influenced by the general attitude of the state, political and economic, social, cultural and administrative. As we have seen, this is a society still characterized by rapid unplanned social and economic change with all its attendant disturbance. There is no doubt that such an anxious society will not only be less able to provide schools with effective help, but in fact will also create difficulties by producing school children with various problems. We have seen, too, that the political system is inherited and is influenced by the past tribal image and that this extensively weakens the efficiency and the thrust towards modernization of the state's administrative system. We have here, then, another set of

Figure 9.1



difficulties in the path of educational reform.

Education in Qatar is unique in character, having abundant financial resources being very recently developed, and intended for a small total school population (mostly concentrated in and around the capital and for village schools with an available transportation system). Also, Qatar has a university with experienced teaching staff who could participate technically in developing the educational system. I believe that such a situation would be considered by many educationists as positive and highly encouraging, that the view would be that immediate comprehensive educational reform could be put in hand, especially since the present educational system is so poor. An educationist might add, too, that education in Qatar, with such advantages as these, should not, in the first place, have faced so many problems.

REFERENCES : CHAPTER IX

1. ALECSO. The strategy of Developing the Arab Education,
1976, pp. 332-359.
2. Ibid, pp. 448-456.

APPENDIX 2.1Development of Boys' Education by Level from 1951/52 to 1977/78

School Year	General Education			Technical and Vocational Education				University Education	
	Primary	Prepara-tory	Second-ary	I. S.	R. I.	T. T. I.	C. S.	Over-seas Univer-sities	Doha Faculty of Education
1951/52	240								
1952/53	320								
1953/54	457								
1954/55	560								
1955/56	1,000								
1956/57	1,333	49		18					
1957/58	1,787	56	3	33					
1958/59	2,252	83	12	61					
1959/60	3,025	124	23	72					
1960/61	3,722	142	59	75	25			6	
1961/62	4,247	175	88	67	30			12	
1962/63	4,794	331	93	66	52	17		18	
1962/64	5,369	500	117	77	67	15		25	
1964/65	6,001	594	154	122	78	32		41	
1965/66	6,627	750	225	169	92	43		71	
1966/67	6,719	914	262	207	116	57	26	89	
1967/68	6,803	1,048	364	201	128	86	55	106	
1968/69	7,148	1,282	433	189	150	93	76	136	
1969/70	7,609	1,442	547	170	157	123	74	148	
1970/71	7,949	1,638	627	143	158	123	66	215	
1971/72	8,594	1,978	773	144	181	144	69	302	
1972/73	9,321	2,227	938	108	164	129	70	431	
1973/74	9,876	2,312	1,204	95	159	99	76	485	54
1974/75	10,528	2,529	1,399	105	175	64	85	565	121
1975/76	11,150	2,737	1,544	82	200	55	87	667	167
1976/77	11,839	2,984	1,814	68	220	39	87	711	249
1977/78	11,885	3,437	1,890	53	205	37	65	718	336

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report(s), 1963/64 and 1977/78

APPENDIX 2.2Development of Girls' Education by Level from 1956/57 to 1977/78

School Year	General Education			Vocational Education	Universities Education	
	Primary	Preparatory	Secondary	Teacher Institute T. T. I.	Abroad Uni- versity	Doha: Faculty of Education
1956/57	122					
1957/58	451					
1958/59	579					
1959/60	1,423					
1960/61	1,942					
1961/62	2,435	14				
1962/63	2,682	33				
1963/64	3,309	66	6			
1964/65	3,725	121	26			
1965/66	4,550	211	50			
1966/67	5,021	308	76			
1967/68	5,068	453	113	17	1	
1968/69	5,472	574	197	38	5	
1969/70	6,056	741	222	82	16	
1970/71	6,530	899	284	114	28	
1971/72	7,402	1,185	359	150	52	
1972/73	8,234	1,503	521	177	94	
1973/74	8,884	1,897	649	224	104	103
1974/75	9,624	2,241	816	243	131	189
1975/76	10,252	2,480	1,086	269	166	346
1976/77	10,787	2,866	1,466	217	180	516
1977/78	11,179	3,132	1,816	194	230	635

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar: Annual Report(s), 1963/64 and 1977/78.

APPENDIX 2.3Expansion of Education in Qatar between the 1950s and early 1960s

Names of towns and villages	Population (approx.)	No. of Students		No. of Schools		Type	Establishment	Date
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls			
1. Towns:								
Doha	25,000	2,565	1,406	6	7	Primary		1954 and 1961
		75	-	1	-	Training Centre		1956
		25	-	1	-	Religious Institute		1960
		205	-	1	-	General Preparatory and Secondary		1956/57
2. Villages:								
Dukhan		42	-	1	-	Primary		1960/61
al-Riian	3,500	282	184	1	1	"	boys girls	1957 1959
al-Khur	2,000	123	98	1	1	"	boys girls	1952 1952
al-Wakrah	800	142	-	1	-	"		1959
al-Wkair	150	27	-	1	-	"		1959
Ummislal Muhammad	400	50	27	1	1	"	boys girls	-
Ummislal 'ali	600	35	39	1	1	"	boys girls	1957 1960
Zikrit	450	45	26	1	1	"	boys girls	1957 1960
Umrakh	375	53	28	1	1	"	boys girls	-

Appendix 2.3

Names of towns and villages	Population (approx.)	No. of Students		No. of Schools		Type	Establishment	Date
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls			
2. Villages (cont.)								
al-Qarafh	350	36	22	1	1	Primary	boys girls	-
al-Ruwas	286	29	16	1	1	"	boys girls	1954 1960
Abudluf	286	32	-	1	1	"	boys girls	1955 1955
Smismih	280	29	24	1	1	"	boys girls	1954 1961
al-Zkhirih	264	24	22	1	1	"	boys girls	1955 1960
al-Gharih	200	28	-	1	1	"	boys girls	1956 -
al-'arish	200	27	-	1	-	"		1955
al-Jumal	150	15	4	1	-	"		1957
al-Khuritiyat	88	28	8	1	1	"		-
Fuwarit	88	9	1	1	-	"		1957
al-Khuwar	85	10	7	1	-	"		1955
al-Mashrab	70	32	5	1	-	"		1959
al-Twam	45	17	4	1	-	"		1959
al-Mar khih	-	11	1	1	-	"		-
al-Ni'man	50	22	4	1	-	"		1960
al-Wq'ab	48	16	4	1	-	"		1960
<i>al-Chuwarih</i>	<i>150</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>"</i>		<i>1960</i>

Appendix 2. 3 (cont..)

Names of towns and villages	Population (approx.)	No. of Students		No. of Schools		Establishment Type	Date
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls		
2. <u>Villages</u> (cont..)							
'ain Khalid	80	14	9	1	1	Primary	-
al-'uwanih	-	32	11	1	-	"	1960/61
al-Jumalith	-	54	8	1	-	"	1960/61
Umbabab	-	12	-	1	-	"	1960/61

Source: Collected from al-Dabagh, op. cit., pp. 79-107 (A).

APPENDIX 3.1Development of Administrative Structure from 1964 to 1973

1964/65: The following posts were created:-

1. A technical assistant and financial administrative assistant to help the Director of Education.
2. A department of supplies was formed to include the sections of stores, purchases and biddings.
3. The department of examinations took over students' affairs.
4. Adult education was added to the responsibilities of social affairs department.
5. The statistics section was enlarged to include documentation and technical research.
6. The administrative inspector became also responsible for financial affairs.
7. The post of assistant director was abolished.

1965/66: A new section was created to be responsible for adult education.

1966/67: The following changes were decided:

1. A new department was created, responsible for curricula and textbooks.
2. The sections of statistics, technical research and technical secretariat were gathered in a new department called technical research and statistics department.
3. The scholarships and external relations department was divided into two:
 - i) The scholarships department
 - ii) The cultural relations department

- 1968/69:
1. A new section for non-formal education was established.
 2. The transport section was made into a department.
 3. The adult education section was widened to include illiteracy campaigns and became the adult education and literacy department.
- 1971/72:
1. The two assistants of the director general of education became four, namely: a director for religious affairs, another for cultural affairs, a third for technical affairs and the last for administrative and financial affairs. Everyone supervised a number of departments.
 2. A school libraries section was established.
 3. The department of curricula and textbooks became responsible for audio-visual aids.
 4. The Minister of Education became responsible for three main departments other than that of education:
 - a) The department of Youth Welfare.
 - b) The department of Training and Vocational Career.
 - c) The Public Library
- 1973/74: A council for higher education was established which became responsible for the two newly founded faculties of education. The new council is formed of a special committee headed by the director general of education.

Source: The writer's communication with the General Director of Education of the Ministry of Education, Qatar, on 10th January 1975.

APPENDIX 8.1

Drop-out Rate in Primary School
from 1963/64 to 1976/77, by sex and nationality

Year	Qatari			Non-Qatari			Total of Qatari and non-Qatari	Total % of drop-out	Pupil enrolment
	B	G	T	B	G	T			
1963/64	289	275	564	268	140	408	972	11.0	8,678
1964/65	314	340	654	186	127	313	967	10.0	9,726
1965/66	278	279	557	277	138	415	972	8.5	11,177
1966/67	282	508	790	260	190	450	1,240	10.5	11,740
1967/68	242	412	654	264	145	409	1,063	9.0	11,871
1968/69	266	300	566	228	139	367	933	7.0	12,620
1969/70	190	292	482	198	117	315	797	6.0	13,665
1970/71	256	215	471	221	196	417	888	6.0	14,479
1971/72	209	234	443	151	136	287	730	4.5	15,995
1972/73	218	211	429	177	119	296	725	4.0	17,555
1973/74	218	171	389	181	132	313	702	3.7	18,760
1974/75	241	215	456	185	150	335	791	4.0	20,152
1975/76	193	181	374	244	155	399	773	3.5	21,402
1976/77	298	235	533	252	206	458	991	4.0	22,626
Average drop-out	249	276	526	216	153	370	896		

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports 1963/64 to 1976/77.

APPENDIX 8.2

Drop-out Rate in General Preparatory School
from 1967/68 to 1976/77, by sex and nationality

Year	Qatari			Non-Qatari			Total Qatari and non-Qatari	Drop -out %	Total
	B	G	T	B	G	T			
1967/68	42	36	78	34	15	49	127	8.0	1,501
1968/69	32	31	63	16	9	25	88	4.5	1,856
1969/70	86	34	120	27	20	47	167	7.5	2,183
1970/71	122	34	156	50	23	73	229	9.0	2,537
1971/72	105	30	135	52	18	70	205	6.5	3,163
1972/73	121	55	176	46	29	75	251	6.5	3,730
1973/74	90	51	141	37	17	54	195	4.5	4,209
1974/75	123	53	176	35	24	59	235	5.0	4,770
1975/76	113	84	197	54	22	76	273	5.0	5,217
1976/77	137	60	197	51	36	87	284	5.0	5,850
Average			144			62	206	6.0	3,502

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1967/68 to 1976/77.

APPENDIX 8.3

Drop-out Rate in General Secondary School,
both sections, from 1967/68 to 1976/77,
by sex and nationality

Year	Qatari			Non-Qatari			Total of Qatari and non-Qatari	Drop -out %	Registered Students
	B	G	T	B	G	T			
1967/68	2	-	2	10	9	19	21	4	477
1968/69	1	1	2	12	13	25	27	4	630
1969/70	6	8	14	22	7	29	43	5	769
1970/71	32	9	41	20	12	32	73	8	911
1971/72	29	14	43	20	20	40	83	7	1,132
1972/73	40	11	51	29	7	36	87	6	1,459
1973/74	38	13	51	30	18	48	99	5	1,853
1974/75	63	20	83	48	22	70	153	7	2,215
1975/76	56	25	81	43	13	56	137	5	2,630
1976/77	82	39	121	47	23	70	191	6	3,280
Average			50			43	93	6	1,536

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports,
1967/68 to 1976/77.

APPENDIX 8.4

Drop-out Rate in Technical and Vocational Schools
from 1972/73 - 1976/77

School	1972/73		1973/74		1974/75		1975/76		1976/77	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Religious I	19	11.5	14	9	17	9.7	11	5.5	15	7
Industrial S.	28	26.0	14	13	23	22.0	8	10.0	4	6
Commercial S.	7	1.0	2	1	9	10.5	6	7.0	7	8
Teacher training I.										
Boys	25	19.0	22	22	15	24.0	6	11.0	5	13
Girls	4	2.0	3	1	3	1.0	13	5.0	13	6
TOTAL	83	13.0	55	8	67	10.0	44	6.0	44	7
Qatari	72	14.0	35	7	51	10.0	33	6.0	30	7
Non-Qatari	11	9.0	20	15	16	11.0	11	6.0	14	7

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1972/73 to 1976/77.

APPENDIX 8.5

Pass Rate in the General Examination for the
Primary School Certificate, by sex,
from 1964/65 to 1976/77

Year	Primary Certificate					
	Boys			Girls		
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%
1964/65	475	432	90	131	130	99
1965/66	575	524	91	173	167	96
1966/67	517	490	95	205	205	100
1967/68	587	567	97	244	239	98
1968/69	576	549	95	304	297	98
1969/70	740	675	91	386	375	97
1970/71	791	697	88	488	475	97
1971/72	889	776	87	627	612	98
1972/73	945	794	84	753	736	98
1973/74	985	749	76	794	713	81
1974/75	1,133	875	77	972	839	86
1975/76	1,360	986	73	1,096	1,015	93
Total		9,333			5,943	

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports,
1964/65 to 1975/76.

APPENDIX 8.6

Pass Rate in the General Examination for the
General Preparatory School Certificate,
by sex, from 1964/65 to 1976/77

Year	General Preparatory Certificate					
	Boys			Girls		
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%
1964/65	167	152	87	25	25	100
1965/66	213	158	74	46	39	84
1966/67	249	220	88	57	54	95
1967/68	272	207	76	108	98	91
1968/69	334	282	84	145	124	86
1969/70	345	305	88	184	172	93
1970/71	425	360	85	214	196	91
1971/72	444	384	86	294	277	96
1972/73	573	542	95	372	357	96
1973/74	576	471	82	398	346	87
1974/75	660	551	83	598	552	92
1975/76	749	709	95	729	666	91
Total		4,635			2,929	

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports,
1964/65 to 1975/76.

APPENDIX 8.7

Pass Rate in the General Examination for the
General Secondary School Certificate,
by sex and subject area, from 1964/65 to 1976/77

	General Secondary Certificate											
	Literary						Science					
	Boys			Girls			Boys			Girls		
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%
1964/65	72	57	79	27	21	78	51	36	70	2	2	100
1965/66	53	46	86	29	28	96	51	33	64	3	2	66
1966/67	29	27	93	15	15	100	41	32	78	4	4	100
1967/68	62	53	85	38	35	92	79	60	76	17	16	94
1968/69	35	28	80	35	29	83	96	65	68	25	23	92
1969/70	71	58	82	40	37	93	92	75	82	24	24	100
1970/71	67	50	75	54	51	94	116	102	87	20	20	100
1971/72	82	65	80	61	52	85	125	101	81	35	33	94
1972/73	98	82	84	103	101	98	158	143	91	45	44	98
1973/74	94	81	86	82	76	93	181	132	73	50	42	84
1974/75	112	99	88	122	103	84	260	215	83	82	70	85
1975/76	153	142	93	173	163	94	306	262	86	100	95	95
Total	1,105	939	85	808	734	91	1,693	1,361	80	413	378	91

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1964/65 to 1975/76.

APPENDIX 8.8

Pass Rate in the General Examination for
the T.T.I. Certificate, by sex,
from 1964/65 to 1975/76

	Boys			Girls			Total Passed
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%	
1964/65	14	14	100	-	-	-	14
1965/66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1966/67	14	14	100	-	-	-	14
1967/68	16	16	100	-	-	-	16
1968/69	21	20	95	-	-	-	20
1969/70	38	33	87	15	15	100	48
1970/71	34	29	85	20	20	100	49
1971/72	35	27	77	39	38	97	65
1972/73	39	39	100	49	49	100	88
1973/74	30	30	100	42	42	100	72
1974/75	16	15	94	50	49	98	64
1975/76	27	27	100	87	86	99	113
Total passed		264	47		299	53	565

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports,
1964/65 to 1975/76.

APPENDIX 8.9

Pass Rate in the General Examination for
the R.I., I.S., and Com.S. Certificate
from 1964/65 to 1976/77

	Religious I.			Industrial S.			Commercial S.		
	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%	Sat	Passed	%
1964/65	17	17	100	15	13	86	--	--	
1965/66	28	27	95	25	23	92	--	--	
1966/67	26	26	100	45	35	77			
1967/68	28	26	93	47	37	69	--	--	--
1968/69	46	45	98	36	23	64	25	24	96
1969/70	35	35	100	49	38	77	26	25	96
1970/71	49	39	79	46	36	78	16	14	88
1971/72	55	48	87	51	43	84	30	28	93
1972/73	46	42	91	30	26	86	22	21	95
1973/74	51	42	82	29	17	58	21	17	81
1974/75	60	46	76	26	26	100	21	21	100
1975/76	55	51	92	29	25	86	29	27	96
Total Passed		444			342			177	

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1964/65 to 1975/76.

APPENDIX 8.10

Age Distribution in Boys' Primary Schools
in 1963/64 and in 1976/77

Distribution of Pupil Ages (boys) in the Primary Schools in 1963/64													
Grade	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16-21	Total	% of Grade age
First	601	511	334	174	109	25	15	5	2	1	-	1,777	34
Second	-	149	298	265	189	101	57	33	16	3	6	1,117	13
Third	-	-	134	204	182	163	107	67	34	16	17	924	15
Fourth	-	-	-	79	101	145	87	102	81	50	61	706	11
Fifth	-	-	-	-	32	63	86	84	88	54	98	505	6
Sixth	-	-	-	-	-	24	49	69	56	35	104	337	7

Distribution of Pupil Ages (boys) in the Primary Schools in 1976/77													
Grade	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16-21	Total	% of Grade age
First	880	990	391	137	55	12	7	3	2	1	-	2,478	36
Second	-	558	726	409	204	93	53	27	8	5	4	2,087	27
Third	-	-	450	568	392	210	106	68	42	14	10	1,860	24
Fourth	-	-	-	390	524	413	273	185	107	57	47	1,996	20
Fifth	-	-	-	-	342	439	350	264	185	152	123	1,855	18
Sixth	-	-	-	-	-	280	330	272	247	189	245	1,563	18

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1963/64 and 1976/77.

Age Distribution in Girls' Primary Schools
in 1963/64 and in 1976/77

Age distribution of Girl Pupils in the Primary Schools in 1963/64													
Grade	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16-21	Total	% of Grade
First	388	426	277	116	58	11	6	3	2	-	-	1,287	30
Second	-	132	203	213	143	54	32	11	7	1	-	796	17
Third	-	-	106	136	142	125	71	30	14	7	-	631	17
Fourth	-	-	-	50	64	69	56	51	23	14	4	331	15
Fifth	-	-	-	-	18	25	47	34	24	26	20	194	9
Sixth	-	-	-	-	-	10	13	19	6	12	11	71	14

Age distribution of Girl Pupils in the Primary Schools in 1976/77													
Grade	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16-21	Total	% of Grade
First	710	921	365	119	63	27	2	4	-	-	-	2,211	32
Second	-	555	717	392	224	93	33	12	4	1	1	2,032	27
Third	-	-	521	547	363	202	127	55	13	6	3	1,837	28
Fourth	-	-	-	414	503	393	268	143	62	41	27	1,851	22
Fifth	-	-	-	-	348	402	321	268	176	108	130	1,753	20
Sixth	-	-	-	-	-	236	267	199	146	121	136	1,105	21

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1963/64 and 1976/77.

APPENDIX 8.12

Age Distribution in Boys' General Preparatory and
General Secondary Schools in 1963/64 and in 1976/77

Age Distribution of Boy Students in General Preparatory Schools in 1966/67										
Grade	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19-25	Total	%
First	33	31	77	102	55	12	21	34	365	5
Second	-	31	54	44	43	39	28	38	277	11
Third	-	-	29	39	64	41	25	62	260	11

Age Distribution of Boy Students in General Preparatory Schools in 1976/77										
Grade	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19-25	Total	%
First	296	219	193	180	133	88	62	43	1,214	24
Second	-	218	180	157	161	118	69	62	965	23
Third	-	-	236	138	136	121	85	109	825	29

Age Distribution of Boy Students in General Secondary Schools in 1966/67									
Grade	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 - 25	Total	%
First	21	15	11	11	11	10	9	88	24
Second	-	14	20	15	22	9	22	102	14
Third	-	-	8	14	17	14	17	70	11

Age Distribution of Boy Students in General Secondary Schools in 1976/77									
Grade	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 - 25	Total	%
First	164	150	157	89	62	39	45	704	23
Second	-	116	128	111	79	44	62	540	21
Third	-	-	135	117	84	80	119	535	25

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1966/67 and 1976/77.

Age Distribution in Girls' General Preparatory and
General Secondary Schools in 1963/64 and in 1976/77

Age Distribution of Girl Students in General Preparatory Schools in 1966/67										
Grade	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19-25	Total	%
First	8	24	34	26	19	18	12	7	148	5
Second	-	4	19	17	20	13	17	11	101	4
Third	-	-	3	17	11	10	4	14	59	5

Age Distribution of Girl Students in General Preparatory Schools in 1976/77										
Grade	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19-25	Total	%
First	223	243	185	191	112	84	49	61	1,152	19
Second	-	189	206	153	141	107	45	86	927	26
Third	-	-	132	177	152	119	56	155	791	17

Age Distribution of Girl Students in General Secondary Schools in 1966/67									
Grade	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 - 25	Total	%
First	1	6	9	9	4	4	5	38	3
Second	-	2	4	4	1	3	5	19	11
Third	-	-	-	5	8	3	3	19	14

Age Distribution of Girl Students in General Secondary Schools in 1976/77									
Grade	15	16	17	18	19	20	21 - 25	Total	%
First	202	137	135	75	59	47	41	696	29
Second	-	139	99	52	56	50	54	450	31
Third	-	-	78	77	56	36	73	320	24

Source: Ministry of Education, Qatar. Annual Reports, 1966/67 and 1976/77.

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