

# HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE EDUCATION IN THE LEBANESE CITIZENSHIP TEXTBOOKS: A COMPARATIVE LENSE

## ABSTRACT

In 1997 the Lebanese government published its newly developed curriculum and textbooks which came following a long and fierce civil war which had started in 1975. The new curriculum placed a great emphasis on nation building, reconciliation and citizenship. This study aims to examine how the citizenship textbooks in Lebanon addressed the human rights, peace education, namely conflict resolution and dialogue, all of which are crucial in any attempt to build cohesion in a post-conflict society. The article compares Lebanon's experience to other countries in the region trying to deal with post-conflict and war. Findings revealed that human rights, peace education, conflict and dialogue are endorsed in the aims and objectives of the 1997 curriculum. The textbooks directly addressed some of these themes, particularly human rights and to a less degree conflict and dialogue. The pedagogy followed in the textbooks in teaching the two concepts was primarily descriptive and lacked critical analysis. Despite the fact that the constructivist approach has been adopted as part of the curriculum objectives, implementation of this approach is almost absent from the civics textbooks.

## INTRODUCTION

The 1989 Taif Agreement, which put an end to 15 years of civil wars in Lebanon, initiated a major education reform and called for the development of a new curriculum that promotes national unity. As a result, the the Lebanese Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE developed a new curriculum which was implemented in 1997. The two main stated goals of the new curriculum were "building the individual's personality and establishing citizenship" (ECRD 1997, 3). The 1997 curriculum placed a great emphasis on citizenship education and reconciliation. Almost 20 years has passed since the development of these textbooks. Lebanon is currently undergoing a new curriculum reform particularly for citizenship education. Currently, there is an attempt to develop new citizenship textbooks by MEHE. The current reform encourages reflections on the previous curriculum and the extent to which it addressed key components for promoting social cohesion and reconciliation. This study focuses on four main concepts: The research paper study examined (1) how the civics textbooks address Child's rights, conflict resolution and peace building, dialogue and gender, (2) the pedagogies adopted in teaching them and finally compare the Lebanese case to other post-war countries.

## **Children's Rights and Civics Textbooks**

Recent studies also document that human rights education is a central component of global citizenship education (In teaching about the inherent rights to which people are entitled simply by virtue of their being human, human rights education advances the rights of individuals to invoke claims to membership in both subnational and supranational groups within and beyond the state, attenuating the claims of the traditional nation-state to generate exclusive citizen loyalty. Studies show that recent curricular reforms in many countries around the world have focused on the incorporation of global citizenship education, in general (Friedman 2000), and human rights education, in particular (Firer 1998; Niens et al. 2006).

Over the past four decades, many countries have introduced human rights and children's rights into their curriculums (Gaudelli and Fernekes 2004, Firer 1998; Niens et al. 2006). A content analysis of 465 social studies textbooks published between the 1970s and 2008 in 69 countries showed that since 1994 there has been an increasing emphasis on human rights, especially in civics and social studies (Meyers *et al* 2010). This increase has been associated with a greater emphasis on student-centered learning.

In Lebanon, 1997 curriculum developed post war implemented in 1997 adopted human rights as the main philosophical underpinning of the aims and objectives of this curriculum. Human Rights values and ethos provided Lebanon with an ideal theoretical and conceptual framework to bring together around it the different sectarian, confessional and political groups who fought each other for over 15 years. It was a practical and pragmatic resolution by the educators repressing the various main sects of Lebanon who met together for the first time after over 15 years of being estranged to put together a new curriculum that can unify the Lebanese. As one of the civil servant who participated in developing the 1997 curriculum stated "we suddenly came together after we had spent over 15 years fighting each other behind barricades and war trenches to write a national curriculum for the country. Human rights were the best umbrella of values that could bring us together".

With a long and fierce war in the back mind and big faith and doubts, the Lebanese educators highlighted priorities such as dialogue and peace building also featured in the new curriculum. Several other countries recovering from war and conflict highlighted peace education in their educational system. Several terms are used to refer to peace building, such as peacekeeping, conflict management, conflict resolution, conflict prevention, conflict sensitivity and conflict transformation. Peace education which proliferated in the 80 and spread widely in the 90 and 21<sup>st</sup> century passed through different phases and the discourse has moved from a global peace and stop wars to local discourse where the emphasis on peaceful individuals education and conflict resolution skills. Emphasis on pedagogies have also increased with attention being given to how peace education can be practiced and manifested on the local level including schools, bullying, family violence, racism and discrimination. Developing individuals peace building skills have become the priority such as active listening, dialogue, conflict resolution skills, reflection, democratic leadership skills

and collaborative work were highlighted<sup>1</sup>. Dialogue is one of the key skills in citizenship and peace education. It is often taught alongside active listening. Dialogue consists of the following main steps: inquiring to learn, clarifying or unfolding shared meaning, paraphrasing and summarizing, acknowledging and body language.

Since the implementation of the new curriculum in 1997, several studies have been carried out particularly on citizenship education as an independent subject and a cross running theme and concept in the school life. Acra (2003) analysis of the civics program of study showed a lack of progression in concepts and overreliance on ideals with little or no reference to topical issues and personal experiences. The civics textbooks, too, have undergone close critical review. At the onset of their publication, Zoreik (2000) identified degrees of gender bias and found the lessons did not encourage students to explore existing issues through active learning. In the classroom, research showed that most practices emphasised rote learning (Abouchedid, Nasser, & Van Blommestein, 2002; Akar, 2007; Shuayb, 2007, in press-b; UNDP, MEHE, & CDR, 2008). In many cases, teachers avoided dialogic pedagogies in fear of conflicts among students and with parents (Akar, 2012; Zakharia, 2011). Moreover, students and teachers described the textbook as inaccurate, repetitive and conflicting with reality, resulting in students' low levels of motivation to learn civics (Akar, 2009).

Shuayb's (2012) survey of the views on citizenship education of 900 students and 60 citizenship teachers in 26 public and private schools revealed an overemphasis on civics literacy at the expense of active citizenship education. The study identified numerous obstacles to the development of active citizenship education in the classrooms and school environment, including didactic pedagogies and hierarchical and undemocratic school environments in the surveyed schools. Akar's (2006) study of the national and civic education teachers' concepts of citizenship and their teaching practices found that the majority valued and practiced traditions of rote learning while some of them raised concerns about planned and unplanned debates within the classroom.

A number of studies have explored the impact of the new curriculum on students' sense of belonging and civic attitudes. Abou Chedid's (2002) survey of identity and sense of belonging in Lebanon showed that the majority of students did not know much about sects other than their own, and felt their primary sense of belonging was to their family and sects rather than to their nation. The United Nations Development Project' (2008) study of citizenship values revealed that Lebanese students' civic knowledge was better than their achievement in civic skills. In addition, student' expectations of political participation appeared quite limited. As for the current pedagogies used in teaching civic education, the study revealed that the pedagogical approach of many schools continued to rely on rote learning. The findings of this study were that civic education has limited effect in influencing and shaping young people's views.

This study seeks to examine how the curriculum and citizenship textbooks approach human rights and peace education in Lebanon and compare it to studies carried out in other countries

---

<sup>1</sup> Burns, R. and Aspeslagh, R. (1999) Three Decades of Peace Education Around the World: An Anthology.

particularly countries recovering from conflict.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology consisted primarily of a desk review and content analysis of the aims and objectives of the 1997 curriculum, the Grades 1-12 Civics textbooks and 25 official exams (between 2004-2012).

### **Content analysis:**

Content analysis is one of several research methods used to analyze text data and which enables researchers to examine large volumes of data in a systematic way in order to address a particular question. This study aims to examine both the extent to which civics textbooks address the convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), gender, conflict management and dialogue, and the pedagogies adopted to do so. For this purpose, this study followed the directed content analysis approach in the coding process, where the coding scheme is developed prior to the analysis. Directed content analysis was most appropriate for this study as we wanted to examine how the textbooks address these themes.

The coding schemes were developed to cover the following two dimensions:

**Coverage and content:** the analytical framework included a number of items which examined the extent, depth and context of coverage of the four themes which this study aims to examine.

**Pedagogy:** these items in the framework addressed the approach adopted in textbooks when teaching Children's Rights, gender, conflict management and dialogue. Examples of these items included an analysis of the type of activities, instructions, documents, resources, pictures, and assessment.

Since the study highlights equality and social justice, the analytical framework included many items which focus on disadvantaged and marginalized groups such as refugees and individuals with disabilities. The analytical framework of each of the four concepts also described the components of each concept and examined these in relation to the above two dimensions.

## CHILDREN'S RIGHTS, CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE MANAGEMENT, GENDER AND DIALOGUE IN 1997 CURRICULUM

An important starting point for examining the above four themes in the civics textbooks is to examine the overall objectives and priorities of the 1997 curriculum and the extent to which these themes are highlighted. The aims and objectives of the curriculum are focused on three main themes: intellectual, humanistic, national and social. Under the intellectual and humanistic theme, the curriculum aims to teach students that Lebanon is a just country governed by the Lebanese constitution and laws and is committed to the values and humanitarian concepts which respect humanity. The national objectives of the curriculum

include students recognizing the Arab identity of Lebanon, which is a democratic parliamentary republic founded on respect for public liberties. The curriculum emphasizes respecting the state's law and the freedoms of individuals and groups such as participation in political and social activities.

A content analysis of the objectives listed under the intellectual, national and social reveals that the national and political targets dominate the new curriculum principles, and are given precedence at the expense of the cognitive, humanitarian and personal targets. Nationalism, and political rights and responsibilities are the two main principles most widely mentioned. Social justice, equity and non-discrimination on religious or ethnic bases and openness to other cultures are each mentioned once in the principles. Although reference to the child's rights is completely absent from the aims, there is a direct mention to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights twice, in reference to Lebanon's commitment to it and respect for the freedom of the individuals and groups. The only two rights mentioned are (1) the right to receive education, and (2) the right to social and political participation. The politicization of the education reform post-civil war has resulted in a curriculum deployed mainly to foster national identity and reinforce unity. As for the rights emphasised in these principles, political and religious rights were the most frequently mentioned, reflecting the extent to which this reform was politicized and overshadowed by the remnants of the civil war. Both gender equality and conflict management are absent; while peace building is mentioned once.

Lebanon's fluctuation and sometimes paradoxical emphasis on both human rights and nationalism is common with the curriculum of many countries which fluctuates between global and local citizenship education. Turkey's new curriculum developed in 1998 introduced human rights education yet at the same time nationalism the Turkish identity and pride continued to occupy the top priority in the Turkish curriculum and textbooks. Promoting human rights is only a vehicle to promote Turkey's reputation and respectability on the international stage (GOk, 2003, cited in Basak, 2012<sup>2</sup>, p. 125). Ethnicity in addition to language and a common history are some of the nationalistic while internal and external enemies are highlighted. Basak argues that "the current civics curriculum in Turkey merely creates dutiful citizens who obey state dictates (whether appropriate or not) and at best feel ambivalent towards tolerance". Like Lebanon, Turkey does not tackle the differences amongst the various groups in the country in favor of a unified national republican identity for fear that pluralism might result in disintegration and promoting several identities. France too follows this model where the republic and its values and ethos are mentioned in the curriculum and civic education. Multi-culturalism is restricted to folklore and food and are often discussed in the context of museums and art galleries. The situation regarding human rights, citizenship education and nationalism in Latin America looks quite different to that in Lebanon, Turkey and France. The majority of the Latin American countries started to

---

<sup>2</sup> Ince, B. (2012) Citizenship education in Turkey: inclusive or exclusive, *Oxford Review of Education* Vol. 38, No. 2, April 2012, pp. 115–131

emphasis human rights education in their citizenship education and adopted a global concept of citizenship education as they moved from authoritarian regimes to more democratic ones. A comparative study of the human rights and citizenship education in Argentina and Costa Rica (Sanchez, 2008<sup>3</sup>) revealed discussions of rights diminished slightly in Costa Rica, but the discussion of responsibilities declined as well. Instead, the current curricular guidelines mention specific issues or groups including minorities, women, the handicapped, the elderly, and the environment. Sanchez concludes the discussion of the nation and the constitution barely change, suggesting that Costa Rica is working to balance national citizenship with more modern and global themes. In contrast, Argentina curriculum abandon the attempt to maintain this balance as the discussion of rights increase and responsibilities decrease, the discussion of the nation and the constitution also decrease.

In order to further understand how human rights and nationalism are translated into citizenship education in Lebanon and how it compares to other countries I shall examine the aims of the Lebanese citizenship curriculum.

### **Aims and objectives of the Civics Curriculum**

The aims and objectives of the Lebanese citizenship and civics curriculum adopted human rights as the value system underpinning the aims and objectives. They also emphasized nationalism, vocational education, conflict management, diversity, critical analysis, civic, social and economic participation as described in Table 1.

---

<sup>3</sup> David F. Suárez (2008) Rewriting citizenship? Civic education in Costa Rica and Argentina, *Comparative Education*, 44:4, 485-503,

TABLE 1 AIMS OF NATIONAL AND CIVIC EDUCATION

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To prepare the student morally in harmony with the humanistic values in his [sic] community and country.</li> <li>2. To introduce him [sic] to the vocational world and to build in him [sic] a spirit for work and appreciation for workers in different fields.</li> <li>3. To prepare the student, in a civil sense, to enable him [sic] to contribute to world development in harmony with the spirit of modernity.</li> <li>4. To teach how to critique, debate and to accept the other and to solve conflicts with his [sic] peers through a spirit of peace, justice and equality.</li> <li>5. To build a social spirit so that he [sic] feels he [sic] is part of a larger community that is enriched with a diversity of ideas.</li> <li>6. To raise the standards of his cultural, social, political and economic contributions and encourage his [sic] free participation in his [sic] civil life.</li> <li>7. To promote his [sic] devotion/loyalty to his [sic] Lebanese identity, land and country through a cohesive and unifying democratic framework.</li> <li>8. To raise the awareness of his [sic] Arab identity and his [sic] loyalty to it and a sense of Arab belonging to it that is open to the whole world.</li> <li>9. To promote the awareness of his [sic] humanity through the close relationships with his [sic] fellow man [sic] regardless of gender, color, religion, language, culture and any other differences.</li> </ol>
---

The aims of citizenship education in Lebanese curriculum shares many commonalities with other curricular around the world including Turkey, who emphasised both human rights but also highlighted the local identity, nationalism and patriotism, contrary to Argentine for instance where human rights ethos are at the heart of the aims of citizenship education. “When the Federal Education Law establishes that the education system needs to make possible the holistic development of men and women, the document utilizes several referents: education for democratic life, environmental conservation, health, love, work, and respect and defense of human rights (MCE 1995, 332)” (cited in Sanchez, 2008, p.490). Interestingly, in Palestine citizenship education places emphasis on human rights and less on nationalism and patriotism (Gotz, 2004; Adwan and Firer, 2002)<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>4</sup>[http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/gei.de/pdf/abteilungen/schulbuch\\_und\\_gesellschaft/israel\\_p\\_alaestina/palest07.pdf](http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/gei.de/pdf/abteilungen/schulbuch_und_gesellschaft/israel_p_alaestina/palest07.pdf)  
<http://www.google.com/url?url=http://www.miftah.org/Doc/Factsheets/MIFTAH/English/Ja n30by2k4.doc&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&sa=U&ei=N5RCVNYEIo2rae2DgpgF&ved=OCBoQFjAB&sig2=atsugQovxxPivkaFCBwC6A&usg=AFQjCNEF07Dzg6nvn0QtBIN9zRLJOZg-QQ>

In contrast, Argentina considered placed human rights at the heart of citizenship education making it the prime objective. Human Rights and Citizenship attends to the primary goal of polimodal education – developing attitudes for responsible and conscientious citizenship. Human rights have a special significance because they are intrinsically linked to the concept of citizenship, understood as the effective enjoyment of all rights for everyone. Citizenship education should begin with the recognition, defense, respect, and promotion of human rights and have as a goal the maximal development of abilities for all individuals and peoples. (Consejo General de Cultura y Educacion 1999b, 118–119)” (cited in Sanchez, 2008).

## HUMAN AND CHILDREN’S RIGHTS IN CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

Human rights are addressed in several grades and units in civics textbooks sometimes under the title citizens rights. The types of rights covered include freedom of faith and body, right to privacy, self-defence, economic rights and right to political participation. Table 2 presents the types and frequency of rights mentioned in the textbooks.

TABLE 2 THE FREQUENCY OF APPEARANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE TEXTBOOKS

<b>Types of rights</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
Education	9
Freedom of expression and belief	6
Health	6
Family	5
Self-determination	4
Equality regardless of disability	3
Privacy	2

As illustrated in Table 2, the total of appearance of rights in the civic textbooks across 12 cycles is 35. The textbooks address a variety of rights that varies from education to freedom of speech and self-determination. Although the textbooks manage to cover and discuss some human rights under citizen’s rights, there are some shortcomings of this approach. By discussing most of human rights under the citizen and not defining them as a right of the child this might create some confusion over entitlement to these rights, especially since the concept of ”citizen” is not clearly defined. The textbooks do not explicitly define the differences between a citizen and a national. Often in the Arabic language the word citizen is used to refer to those who are state members. For example, individuals are often described as a Lebanese citizen [Mowatin Loubnani], a Palestinian citizen [Mouwatin Falastini]. Hence



the concept of citizen is almost used synonymously with nationality. Palestinian refugees who have been born and are living in Lebanon are rarely if ever described as citizens [Mowatineen]. With no definition of what the term "citizen" means and who is entitled to it, students might be left under the misapprehension that these rights only apply to those who have the nationality. Hence, the entitlement of all children to these rights is not made explicit.

The designers of the textbooks also do not translate these rights to the micro level which related to students' daily life. For example, the textbooks discuss political participation in parliamentary elections but fail to mention the implications of the right to participate on the child's life. In the textbooks, the concept of participation does not encompass participation in the school life or in a local community. Osler and Starkey (2005) describe this approach to citizenship education as "citizens in waiting" whose participation and implementation of the taught values and concepts is postponed until they reach the age of voting. Finally, the designers do not mention that these rights are part of the *Universal Declaration of the Rights of the Child* which Lebanon has endorsed and is expected to adhere to for all children living in Lebanon regardless of nationality.

Finally, in some cases the discussion over children's rights is sometimes inconsistent with these rights especially regarding gender equality. The almost full absence of gender equality in discussions around human rights accompanied by many cases of gender stereo-type are worth dedicating a separate section to discuss the dichotomy between human rights and women's rights.

### **Human Rights and Gender Inequalities in Civics Textbooks**

When the civics textbooks were written in 1997, concepts such as gender were still not highlighted in Lebanon. As a result, it does not come as a surprise that gender as an issue was almost absent from the textbooks. The analysis showed that the seven main types of gender bias - invisibility, stereotyping, imbalance and insensitivity, unreality, fragmentation, linguistic and cosmetic bias - identified by Sadker and Zittleman (2007) were fully manifested in the civics textbooks.

Gender equality as an independent issue was almost *invisible* in the textbooks. Gender equality was mentioned in passing in a Grade 10 textbook which includes a statement on gender equality pointing out to the important progress has been made in the last two decades in regards to equal access in the education and health domains which raises the hope of making progress towards gender equality in the areas of work and decision-making. Gender was mentioned again directly but in passing as part of an article from the Lebanese constitution, which guarantees equal rights to access to jobs regardless of gender, and equality under the law. For the remainder of the textbooks, gender was mentioned implicitly in the few quotes from the Human Rights Declaration and articles in the Lebanese constitution included in the textbooks around equality of individuals regardless of religion, race and gender. There was no definition of gender issues or a discussion of their manifestations and causes.

The textbooks addressed some of the social and family stereotyping often associated with women's role in these domains. Examples of gender equality in family roles were higher than

those that manifested inequality. Women in the family shared the same responsibilities as their male counterparts, as mothers and as breadwinners. The text and pictures portrayed both the mother and the father to be equally responsible for performing different roles within the family. In several illustrations, the father and the mother are seen as carrying groceries and talking to their children. However, the mother and the grandmother played a more prominent role compared to their male counterparts. Females appeared seven times as “educators of social values”, whereas males appeared only once.

Women, however, were not as equally represented in other domains, particularly the political and the administrative. Men dominated specialized professions and political positions and activism across all levels. Out of the 155 references to women’s political participation, 114 of these exhibited gender inequality. Politicians presented in the textbooks were primarily men. Women’s political participation was restricted to voting in the elections. Many of the pictures depict women at the voting booth. Men on the other hand were portrayed as political leaders participating in political decision-making, debates, summits, UN conferences, etc.



Linguistic bias was also predominant throughout the textbooks. The characters in stories or role plays were primarily males as well as the pictures. The language of the books was mainly masculine. For instance the student is replaced by the pronoun “he”. In Arabic language the gender issue is exacerbated, since any use of pronouns would affect the verb, the adjectives, etc. and the “number” –single, dual, and plural. As a result, nouns and verbs in the textbooks were masculine. Nonetheless, authors of civics textbooks have attempted to address the issue of gender in language by using the plural or the singular possessive ‘I’. However, this conscious effort to be gender neutral has not been systematically applied in all the textbooks and was mainly restricted to Grades 1, 2 & 4 in the elementary level, and Grade 9 in the intermediate level. On the whole, the language used in the textbooks is predominantly masculine.

Stereotyping was also present in the pictures and photos. Out of the 39 pictures related to gender roles, 37 show men in positions of power in all branches of the government - judicial, legislative, and executive - and in the army. Even when women were present in the

educational and cultural domains, the pictures did not always reflect equality and women's representation was full of stereotypes.

Regarding public and cultural roles, gender was almost equally treated. Pictures showed women participating in the public domain in various activities. For instance, they are shown participating in environmental events, conferences, and doing voluntary work. This is most common in the younger grades and gradually decreases and becomes more in favor of men in the secondary level. For instance, in Grade 10 only 4 out of the 26 pictures featuring public social activities show women participating in public life.

Cosmetic bias and pictorial unreality were also observed in images of women and their roles. For example, in an attempt to show gender equality, one of the textbooks shows a picture of female soldiers doing an office job. However, there is no discussion of any challenges that encounter women in achieving equality in the career domain. The photo also does not reflect the reality of female soldiers in the field, who continue to be a minority with their role mainly restricted to office responsibilities.

Women were not the only marginalised group when examining human rights. Other groups such as refugees, disabled, and migrant workers were also overlooked in the discussions on human rights. This reflects the approach adopted to teaching human rights as general values and ideals rather other models of HRE. This approach to teaching HR corresponds with Tibbitts (2002)<sup>5</sup> and other HRE scholars identified models of HRE: one focusing on general "values and awareness", an "accountability" model which focuses on human rights victims, and the "transformational" model characterized by a greater depth of engagement with issues of rights and justice. Lebanon seems to adopt the awareness model which is restricted to general ideals which are not contextualised or analysed in depth to examine who enjoys and doesn't enjoy these rights in the country, and obstacles and challenges that might undermine HRE. Yet in order to be able to fully identify the model of HRE in Lebanon it is essential to analyse the pedagogies of teaching HR in the civics textbooks.

### **Pedagogy of teaching Human Rights**

The designers of the new curriculum claim to have adopted a constructivist learning theory. However, the analysis of the instructions, the content, the activities and assessment related to human rights shows a predominantly didactic approach to teaching these rights. The lesson objectives focus mainly on the knowledge and attitudes while the skills are almost missing. When mentioned, rights are often stated without any discussion or problematisation. There are no cases of these rights being analyzed and discussed in a critical way. Students are never asked or encouraged to engage with these rights critically or even to explore what could undermine or prohibit the actualization of the children's rights or how these rights are manifested in their lives.

---

<sup>5</sup> Tibbitts, F. (2002) Understanding What We Do: Emerging Models for Human Rights Education, 48 International Review of Education. 159, 161–63

The condition of these rights in Lebanon and how Lebanese laws support or undermine them are also unexamined. Hence rights appear as abstract values not as practical and achievable objectives which should be sought after. Obstacles and challenges that might undermine rights are absent from the textbooks. Although a few examples of violations of these rights were observed in the textbooks, these were not presented as violations of rights. For example, some of the textbooks might provide pictures showing child labor, yet no link is made between child labor and children's rights. The textbooks also fail to examine what may undermine the implementation of rights.

Textbook activities related to human rights revealed an equal emphasis on gathering and recalling information and voicing an opinion. Although the textbook asks students to state their opinion it does not put a criteria for expressing these opinions. Table 3 summarizes the type of activities around human rights.

TABLE 3 PEDAGOGY OF TEACHING HUMAN RIGHTS

<b>Types of activities</b>	<b>Frequency of occurrence in textbooks</b>
Collecting information	21
Recalling information	19
Voicing an opinion	19
Conduct a project	14
Analyzing information	12

The textbooks also included activities related to the school or the surrounding environment. For example, there were activities asking students to conduct investigations of human rights in their local neighbourhoods which shows that the textbooks also attempt to implement elements of 'transformational' model of HRE as defined by Tibbitts. However, studies of civic education classroom practices show that the rote learning dominates the teaching and learning in Lebanese schools (Shuayb, 2012, Akar, 2006, 2007). Moreover, assessment is another indication of the type of teaching and learning.

### **Assessment of Children's Rights**

A few assessment activities related to children's rights were observed in the textbooks. Some of them encouraged students to identify some rights in their local community but did not ask students to explore obstacles to the implementation and practices. And for the official exams which all Lebanese students have to undertake in grade 9 and 12, questions around rights were restricted to recalling information around some of the rights, primarily elections and freedom of expression. Although both the official exams and the assessment included in the textbooks encouraged students to express an opinion, the criteria for evaluating these opinions were not provided.

To conclude this analysis of the teaching, learning and assessment of HRE in civic textbooks shows the predominance of the raising awareness model with limited opportunities to engage critically with these concepts or to reflect their impact on their lives. The pedagogies of teaching rights were primarily didactic and resulted in an idealist approach to them rather than presenting them as objectives that should be sought after. Political rights mainly elections and governance were the most emphasised ones reflecting the legal and political approach to civic education.

## PEACE EDUCATION IN CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

The other theme examined in the content analysis of the civics textbooks was peace education. The post-civil-war curriculum placed a huge emphasis on rebuilding social cohesion and reconciliation, and adopted citizenship education as one of its main aims. Peace education and conflict management were endorsed in the aims of the new curriculum as well as the civics one. However, in the textbooks, peace education was only discussed directly in two grades.

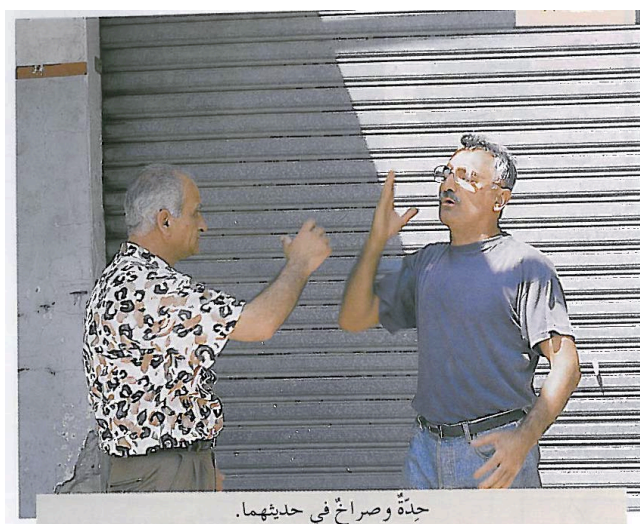
In grade eight, students learn about conflict management and dialogue amongst family members. In Grade 10 there are two chapters one focusing on conflict management while the other examines war and extremism. While the textbooks address a variety of conflicts including armed conflict caused by war, physical conflict between individuals, verbal violence/conflict, structural conflict, family and inter-generational conflict. The textbooks highlight the need to solve, control and manage conflict effectively and peacefully. However, the textbooks overlook conflict or violence in schools or amongst young people, and only mention in passing in one sentence violence and discrimination against women. The socio-economic and cultural factors that might result in conflict are not discussed under the causes of conflict but appear much later in the lesson on violence under the heading “social violence”.

Dialogue is discussed in the textbooks directly in one lesson in Grade 10 only as part of the conflict unit, and is mentioned as part of other lessons in Grades 4, and 8. However, some aspects of dialogue, which are not defined as dialogue, appear in all grades in scenarios and activities. Dialogue mainly occurs in the textbooks in the context of community, family, and conflict resolution, diversity and school. Dialogue appears most widely in discussions between different members and across sectors of society, e.g. young people, neighbors and politicians. It is also extensively examined in the family context, particularly in the lower grades.

However, dialogue in the school is almost absent. The school would have been a natural setting, as dialogue is all-pervasive in every aspect of students’ daily life (e.g. student-teacher, student-student/s, students- administration). Dialogue in schools most often takes place amongst students or between students and teachers. However, despite the predominance of this type of dialogue in school, it becomes almost entirely absent in the intermediate and secondary stages. Even though each lesson usually starts with a “dialogue” between the

teacher and the student, the students are not asked to reflect on the quality of such dialogue or the obstacles that might cause an impediment. Although such dialogue-related activities certainly reinforce dialogue as a common practice in the classroom, and by extension in daily life in general, they also reinforce certain power hierarchies within dialogue, by privileging the teacher who is in position of power to direct the dialogue with the student.

The textbooks also reveal a socio-economic stereotyping within the teaching of dialogue. For example, several pictures depict “calm and reasoned dialogue” as an attribute of a middle class family (e.g. a calm dialogue between a *father* and a *son*) or European-looking affluent people (in formal dress e.g. suit and tie). By contrast, violent conflicts are represented using working class individuals. These pictures appear with a caption that qualifies the conflict represented as a “violent conflict” or a “calm dialogue”. The most common value highlighted in dialogue is “strengthening relationships”, whilst the least highlighted value is “justice and equity”. This could be partly due to the approach adopted toward conflict, which is primarily concerned with violent conflict and its direct causes while overlooking structural and more long-term causes of conflict, such as inequity and injustice.



The main partners presented in the textbooks when referring to dialogue are politicians. This reflects the importance authors have placed on political dialogue and conflict. Other participants included in the textbooks are family and school.

The emphasis on different partners in dialogue differs across cycles. For instance, in the elementary level, family features 43 times followed by students, which indicates the importance of this topic for students at this age. The category of Politics and politicians, however, increases as the child moves to higher grades, where politicians become the dominant partner of dialogue at the intermediate and secondary levels.

## **Pedagogies of peace education**

In managing conflict, designers of the textbook adopt a prescriptive approach to conflict management which includes a list of steps to be taken including avoidance, occupying oneself with entertaining activities, accepting and accommodating, getting involved in conflict and violence, dialogue and compromise, and finally cooperation to find a solution. The unit quickly moves on to offer another list for dealing with conflict, e.g. peaceful protests, demonstrations, lobbying, respecting and listening to others, taking responsibility, cooperating and being fair without discussing or analyzing them. The unit concludes with a narrative discussion of the role of mediators in resolving conflict, without explaining the challenges that would be encountered by a mediator or examples of mediation. The assessment activities included in the civics textbooks lack analytical and critical thinking. For example the textbooks do not ask students to argue their point of view or to defend it and explain the underpinning rationale.

The lesson objectives for the unit dealing with conflict resolution in Grade 10 aims to develop students' understanding of the causes, the process and possible ways of dealing with conflict. They address knowledge, skills and attitudes. However, the textbook adopts mainly a didactic approach to teaching conflict resolution. The whole unit is descriptive and offers a shallow understanding of conflict. It fails to engage students in any form of analytical or critical thinking. Problems as well as solutions are presented as lists with limited application to real life settings. Only a few real life scenarios are presented, and these do not cover conflict at the school level. The Lebanese context, especially the civil war, is also missing from this unit, although armed conflict in other parts of the world is mentioned. The majority of the activities around conflict ask students to recall specific information mentioned in the unit in addition to discussion and conducting research around conflict.

The approach which the textbook adopts in discussing dialogue (its components and obstacles to dialogue, and the role of human rights as the starting point and the base for dialogue) is primarily descriptive in addition to some questions on a conversation between a father and his son. The questions encourage the students to observe the tone of the discussion, whether it could have a positive effect or not. Although the lesson begins in an analytical discussion, the remaining of the unit is descriptive and lacked analysis of its content and conditions. However, the activities at the end of the lesson engage students in conducting inquiry in their local area or school and encourage discussion, analysis and role-play whilst.

To conclude, despite the crucial importance of peace education, conflict and violence management and dialogue in the Lebanese context, students receive a total of five hours on conflict and violence management (in Grade 10) and one hour in grade eight. The pedagogy adopted in teaching. Since the textbooks rarely discuss dialogue directly, it is difficult to infer the pedagogy adopted in the textbooks in teaching it. Dialogue is not a competence that is highlighted in civics textbooks. It is only directly discussed in a few units, mainly related to family. The approach for teaching pedagogy is descriptive and does not engage students in much analysis. However, the assessment activities in the textbooks ask students to analyse and explore the implementation of dialogue in the local setting.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The content analysis of the civics curriculum showed that human rights, peace education including conflict management and dialogue are endorsed in the aims and objectives of the 1997 curriculum. The textbooks directly addressed some of these themes, particularly human right and to a less extent conflict and dialogue.

Human rights are discussed directly and indirectly throughout the textbooks. They are examined directly in the elementary level where the rights to life, safety and health are presented. Other components of human rights appeared under citizen's rights and responsibilities. There are many instances where human rights appear indirectly in the textbooks without necessarily being specified as such.

Although the emphasis on the citizenship agenda in the 1997 curriculum came as a result of the long civil wars in Lebanon, peace education including conflict management and dialogue are only examined in one unit in Grade 8 and 10 and also appears in another unit on family. The causes of conflict and methods for managing it are presented in a descriptive way. Hence, students do not engage critically and in-depth in understanding the root causes of conflict. Students learn about the process of dialogue and its components. It appears, however, indirectly in other units such as family. It is presented in a descriptive manner which lacks critical and analytical thinking. The textbooks show economic prejudice when discussing dialogue between individuals.

The pedagogy followed in the textbooks in teaching the four concepts is primarily descriptive and lacks analytical and critical thinking. Despite the fact that the constructivist approach has been adopted as part of the curriculum objectives, implementing of this approach is almost absent from the civics textbooks and the writing style is very descriptive. Students are not encouraged to analyze pictures or photos. Although the textbooks encourage students to express an opinion in the assessment, the parameters for assessing students' opinions are completely absent. Hence, the textbooks show that didactic learning and unquestioned facts continue to dominate the textbooks. Thus, in the absence of a clear concept of "active citizenship" [and its application] the textbooks are void of any mention of skill acquisition. Moreover, the concept of civic education, which also necessitates the implementation of the behavioral aspect of citizenship, is not encouraged in the textbooks.

Although the citizenship education curriculum defines the aims and objectives of this subject, it does not offer a clear definition of either the term *citizenship* or *civics*. Having a clear definition of these two terms will help authors to have a clear vision and direction with respect to the context within which they should be drafting the civics textbooks. The 1997 citizenship curriculum also fails to describe clearly the main competencies and skills which the curriculum aspires to develop in order to promote active citizenship. Hence, a definition of civics, which entails a specific description of skills, and a definition of citizenship, or active citizenship, will highlight certain aspects that had been previously neglected. Thus one should expect the new textbooks to describe clearly a wide range of competencies focused on



skills, attitudes and behaviors as well as knowledge. This clear description based on skills acquisition will help shift the focus from teacher-based teaching to student-based learning.

Moreover, it is crucial to view this subject – civics – through an interdisciplinary lens and as an integral component of the social sciences and not to examine it independently and separately from the other subjects. This multi-disciplinary approach can allow teachers to focus their teaching of particular competencies and themes in greater depth. It will also help reduce the time-pressure (or the-lack-of-time) factor, which most educators face when trying to strike a balance between content and skills acquisition. The current curriculum does this to some extent as it addresses themes of citizenship education in the languages curriculum (foreign languages) and social studies.

## REFERENCES

Abouchedid, K. Nasser, R., Van Blommestein, J. (2002). The limitations of inter-group learning in confessional school systems: The Case of Lebanon. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24 (4): 61(22).

Akar, B. (2006). “Teachers’ Reflections on the Challenges of Teaching Citizenship Education in Lebanon: A Qualitative Pilot Study”. *Reflecting Education* 2 (2): 48-63.

Akar, B. (2007). Citizenship Education in Lebanon: An Introduction into Students’ Concepts and Learning Experiences. *Educate*, 7 (2), 2-18. Available at: <http://www.educatejournal.org/index.php/educate/article/view/119/142>

Baldwin, P. and D. Baldwin. (1992). The Portrayal of Women in Classroom Textbooks. *Canadian Social Studies*, 26 (3), pp. 110-114.

Berelson, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, New York: The Free

Blumberg, R. L. (2009). The invisible obstacle to educational equality: gender bias in textbooks. Published online 7 April 2009. *Prospects* (2008) 38:345–361. <http://lib.scnu.edu.cn/ngw/ngw/xwbk/The%20invisible%20obstacle%20to%20educationa%20equality%20gender%20bias%20in%20textbooks.pdf>

John Davidson and Christine Wood, (2004) *Theory into Practice* Vol. 43, No. 1, Conflict Resolution and Peer Mediation (Winter, 2004), pp. 6-13.

De La Caba Collado, M., & López Atxurra, R. (2006). Democratic citizenship in textbooks in Spanish primary curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 38(2), 205-228. Educational Centre for Research and Development (1997). General Objectives of the Curricula and their Details. Beirut: ECRD.

George, A. (2009). Quantitative and qualitative approaches to content analysis. In K. Krippendorff and M. A. Bock (Eds.). *The content analysis reader* (pp. 144-155). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Gordon, T. (with Burch, N.). (1974). *Teacher Effectiveness Training*. New York: Wyden
- Gordon, T. (1970). *Parent Effectiveness Training: The tested new way to raise responsible children*. New York: Plume Books.
- Ince, B. (2012). Citizenship education in turkey: inclusive or exclusive. *Oxford Review of Education*, 38(2), 115–131.
- Lebanese Association for Educational Studies (2003). *Evaluation of the New Curriculum in Lebanon*, vol. 2. Beirut: LAES.
- McCandless, E., Bangura, A. (2007). *Peace Research in Africa: Critical Essays on Methodology*, Geneva: UN University for Peace. <http://www.africa.upeace.org/>
- Meyers, J. et al. (2010). “Human Rights in Social Science Textbooks. Cross-national Analyses, 1970-2008”, *Journal of Sociology of Education* 83 (4), pp 111-134.
- Ministry of Education (1997). *The Programmes of General Education and their Aims*. Beirut.
- Moon, R. (2013). Globalisation and citizenship education: diversity in South Korean civics textbooks. *Comparative Education*, 49(4), 424-439.
- Osler, A. and Starkey, H. (2005). *Changing Citizenship: Democracy and Inclusion in Education*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Sadker, D. and Zittleman, K. (2007). “The Treatment of Gender Equity in Teacher Education.” Pp. 131-149 in *Handbook for Achieving Gender Equity Through Education*, edited by Susan S. Klein et al. 2nd edition. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Sadker, D. and Zittleman, K. (2007). “Gender Bias from Colonial America to Today’s Classrooms.” Pp. 135-169 in *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*, edited by James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Shuayb, M. (2012). “From Social Cohesion to Social Justice and Care in Education: Revisiting the Theory and Practice.” in M. Shuayb (ed) *Rethinking Education for Social Cohesion: International Case Studies*, pp, 11-36 England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Suarez, D. (2008). Rewriting citizenship? Civic education in Costa Rica and Argentina. *Comparative Education*, 44(4), 485-503.
- Terra, L., & Bromley, P. (2012). The globalization of multicultural education in social science textbooks: Cross-national analyses, 1950–2010. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 14(3), 136-143
- Tibbitts, F. (2002) Understanding What We Do: Emerging Models for Human Rights Education, 48 *International Review of Education*. 159, 161–63

Wall, J.A. Jr. and Callister, R.R. (1995). "Conflict and its Management", *Journal of Management*, 21: 515-558.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic Content Analysis*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Zakharia, Z. (2012). Education and peace building in crisis and post-conflict contexts: Lebanon country study. New York: UNICEF.

Zoreik, A. (2000). *Civics education: How do we deal with it*. Beirut: Arab Scientific Publishers.