



Education and Citizenship

Concepts, Attitudes, Skills and Actions

Analysis of survey results of 9th grade students in Lebanon



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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CDR	Council for Development Reconstruction
CERD	Center for Educational Research and Development
CivED	Civic Education
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
MoEHE	Ministry of Education and Higher Education
MoSA	Ministry of Social Affairs
NHDR	National Human Development Report
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Cultural and Scientific Commission

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Introduction

First I would like to thank my colleague, the former Minister of Education and Higher Education, his Excellency Minister Khalid Kabbani who guided and supported this project. I would also like to thank the United Nations Development Program, UNDP, and the research team that contributed to the production of this report and which converges with our vision to integrate the values of sustainable human development as a core element of our educational curricula. We emphasized this goal in the Ministerial Declaration of the current government. We hope that this report will be the first advanced step to reinvigorate the partnership between the State and international organizations and that it will contribute towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals and the needs of targeted groups. In turn this will speed up the development process, a stage we must go through for the resurrection of a productive society that achieves social and economic stability. Education is the first and crucial step in this process.

We also reconfirm the continued partnership between the Ministry of Education and Higher Education and the United Nations Development Program towards achieving our joint goals of sustainable development.

Bahiya al Hariri



Minister of Education and Higher Education

Foreword

Citizenship education and the instruction of citizens in demanding their rights and living up to their obligations are a basic premise of nation building. While this is a general tenet in most countries, in Lebanon it is a basic condition for the sustenance of the nation and the state, for reinforcing national solidarity and for containing the pace of sectarian polarization. This is one of the conclusions of this study carried out by the United Nations Development Program in partnership with the Ministry of Education and Higher Education. The goal of this study was to identify areas of strength and of weaknesses in the current educational environment; address the shortcomings in the educational system that have a direct impact on citizenship and use the results of the survey to implement initiatives and projects that aim to develop the skills and positive attitudes related to citizenship.

Given the political turbulence that Lebanon has been going through, this study showed a high, if unexpected level of understanding amongst Lebanese students of citizenship concepts. This fact should be built upon and developed further within a coherent context for the comprehension of concepts related to democracy, state and citizens. This would also include partnering with different working groups to develop the civic skills of students, enhance their understanding of different points of view, how to care for the environment and for social, political and cultural developments in the world and learn how to participate in the mitigation of civic conflict and the importance of voting in municipal and parliamentary elections.

However, this study also points to several shortcomings in the educational process that need to be analyzed and addressed whether by developing our educational curricula and books or by training our teachers in new and modern teaching methodologies that rely on interactive rather than indoctrination techniques. These deficiencies would also be addressed by encouraging students to participate in open discussions and to voice their independent opinions freely on social and political issues, to understand the social components of democracy, reinforcing their trust in state, judicial and security institutions, in civil society organizations, supporting their participation in extracurricular activities (cultural, sports and scouts), student committees and volunteer activities to serve society.

One flower does not a spring make and this field study should not stand alone. Perhaps the best thing we can do in this respect is to set up a Citizenship and Education Observatory whose role would be to develop further this survey, carry it out periodically and to address its results in ways that would guarantee the objective and human conditions necessary for the success of citizenship education.

Perhaps our collective efforts should focus on the idea of national belonging deemed to be a fundamental premise of citizenship and which includes the idea that loyalty to the nation should supersede all other forms of loyalties. Education in citizenship values begins by instilling in our youth this concept of national belonging. It entails safeguarding social solidarity and a commitment to respecting the laws and regulations that guarantee our rights and obligations as citizens based on the principle of equity acknowledged by all the legal and constitutional principles on which democratic systems are built.

Khaled Kabbani



Minister of Education and Higher Education

Preface

The United Nations Development Program gives great importance to the availability of different statistics, data and analyses that can accurately measure attitudes and knowledge as well as lived realities. As one measure towards implementing this goal, the 2008 National Human Development Report (NHDR), entitled "Towards a Citizen's State," includes a study on citizenship values conducted amongst more than 3,000 ninth graders. For this report, we have relied on the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) survey, which is carried out among similar target groups across many countries, and therefore provides a measure of international comparability. Consequently we consider this report a useful instrument not only to measure the prevalence of ideas on civics, but also to highlight civic knowledge from an international perspective.

The study carried out in Lebanon this year indicates that civic knowledge amongst Lebanese students is low compared to their peers in other countries. However, their comprehension of the three main concepts related to citizenship, democracy, good citizen and state responsibilities was relatively high. Results of the Lebanese survey also showed strong support by students for the military role of the state as well as strong patriotic and independent sentiments amongst students, which in part may be a reflection of the general political turbulence that Lebanon is undergoing. Moreover, even though student interest in politics seems to be high, their expectations of political participation appear to be limited – a potential source of future friction. As can be expected, this survey also illustrates the extent to which student's preference for political leaders is guided by their confessional affiliation, reflecting both the nature of Lebanon's social makeup and its strong political polarization.

The results of this study create a further incentive for UNDP and other institutions concerned with education to develop programs promoting civic concepts, knowledge and values. Citizenship requires diligent work on the part of the state and its institutions to establish the appropriate legal, political, economic, social and cultural climate. It also demands the involvement of citizens, particularly those active in public life and who not only know their rights and are ready to defend them, but also know their duties and are ready to do whatever is necessary to develop their relationships amongst each other as well as with the state and its institutions. Perhaps the biggest wager will be on the youth of Lebanon, as represented by those who took part in this study.

This fourth NHDR has adopted a participatory approach in its analysis of citizenship in Lebanon with various concerned parties, including research centers and the Ministry of Education and Higher Education. In particular we are cooperating on the production and distribution of this study in the hope of continuing this collaboration with the design and implementation of projects that further ingrain citizenship concepts in students, improve citizenship practices and the performance of concerned institutions.

Finally, I hope that this study, along with other relevant reports and the National Human Development Report, will open up a space for public discussion on improving the role of the state in creating the conditions for good citizenship, and encourage students in their peaceful participation in public life.

Marta Ruedas



UNDP Resident Representative

Why Education and Citizenship?

Maha Yahya

Education is free insofar as it is not contrary to public order and morals and does not interfere with the dignity of any of the religions or creeds. There shall be no violation of the right of religious communities to have their own schools provided they follow the general rules issued by the state regulating public instruction.

Article 10, Lebanese Constitution¹

How well are young people in Lebanon equipped and ready to exercise the rights and obligations of citizenship? What is the extent of their understanding of key concepts related to democratic citizenship and how does this impact their attitudes, values and actions? At this time of intense political turbulence, how do they address questions of identity, social solidarity and democratic participation? What are key factors in their educational setting that impact their civic attitudes and how do they compare to their peers in different countries? These are some of the key concerns that this study, undertaken as part of the National Human Development Report (NHDR) for Lebanon, is trying to respond to.

The 2008 NHDR, entitled *Towards a Citizen's State* is trying to examine the role of the state and citizenship in Lebanon and identify the problems that mark the relationship of Lebanese citizens to their state and to each other. This is a particularly timely topic for Lebanon at a moment when it is facing considerable political, social and economic challenges. A fundamental premise of this report is that citizenship is the foundation of democracy, that democratic practices cannot be limited to the procedural dimension, despite its importance, and that effective citizenship concerns not only voting without coercion, but also the formation of relations between citizens and the State and between citizens themselves. The development of such relationships is an ongoing process, and is intricately connected to various aspects of societal formations. From this perspective, the NHDR seeks to unpack the different mechanisms that define citizenship and democratic practices in Lebanon. Such practices are not only valuable in their own right, but are closely tied to human development. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, establishes a broad concept of citizenship, encompassing political, civil and social rights. For UNDP, democratic governance is a key condition for human development, since it is through politics, and not just economics, that it is possible to create

more equitable conditions and to expand people's options. In this context, political rights are intricately connected to democracy, social rights to human development and civil rights to human rights all of which facilitate and promote the exercise of citizenship.

The centrality of education for the promotion of democratic practices and the cultivation of civic identities is widely accepted. As much research from around the world indicates, educational methodologies and practices in schools have a tremendous impact on the values of students, their knowledge and sense of civic responsibilities. This surge of interest across the globe in civic education has been ongoing for almost two decades; partly a result of globalization and partly a result of the increased democratization in various countries. However, and as the *Civic Mission of Schools* indicates one of the most profound changes that is reorienting citizenship education, is the recognition that it is valuable *for children as children*. In other words, citizenship education is no longer considered solely as a content area designed to prepare young people for their adult roles in society, but, rather, as a tool that will help them improve and understand their lives and interactions in society.²

This point of view, in turn, usually requires significant changes in the structuring of adult-child relations in the family and in the school, in ways that will allow children to understand themselves as individuals with the capacity to act. This view is quite consistent with the children's rights framework, as set forth by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), particularly in Articles 12, 13, 14, and 15 that establish a set of participation rights for children and adolescents. This convention is the first legally binding international instrument to incorporate the full range of human rights—civil and political rights as well as economic, social, and cultural rights. Furthermore, it is the most widely adopted international human rights treaty in history, since a record 191 countries have ratified it.

The National Context

Given the centrality of education to the process of cultivating well informed citizens, this project was undertaken with the aim of identifying where the youth of Lebanon are today with respect to notions fundamental to democracy and citizenship. It considers that essential education comprises of the knowledge, concepts and competencies that every citizen needs to learn to be an active citizen. For Lebanon, freedom of worship and education are enshrined in articles 9 and 10 of the constitution respectively while adherence to the International Declaration of Human Rights is a key component of its preamble. Moreover the Lebanese Government spends an average of 3% of its GDP and 9.6% of its total public expenditure on education annually while spending on education (both public and private) totals around 11% of GDP. This figure is considered high. However, returns on education are not commensurate with such spending as is evident for example in the high drop out and repetition rates in different Lebanese regions, fluctuating between 22% and 48% respectively. This unevenness is in part related to the particular characteristics of

the Lebanese education services whereby it is subdivided between public and private sector schools. The most recent figures indicate, for example, that the private sector remains the main provider for basic education in Lebanon. Thus, the total number of students in basic education for the year 2004-2005 was 917,877 among whom 35.5% were enrolled in public schools, 13.5% in subsidized or free private schools, and 51% in private schools. Of the 193,129 students enrolled in intermediate school, 42.4% attended public schools and 57.6% private schools.³ Weak quality control and lax teaching requirements also lay the field open for unequal opportunity to quality education obvious in the current regional disparities in school drop outs.

The general goals of the revised school curricula, particularly the interest in citizen formation, reflect Lebanon's interest in education. Articles A and B of the preamble, particularly the sections that consider Lebanon's identity and unity have been adopted as basic and central tenants of the entire curricula. More specific goals pertaining to different courses were elaborated upon such as citizen formation, pride in country, and commitment to its causes.

However, despite this focus and as is made evident by this study, serious handicaps are affecting the cultivation of well rounded citizens through the Lebanese educational system as the skills, concepts, knowledge and competencies related to nation and citizenship continue to be lacking. Some of these gaps have already been highlighted in previous and in-depth assessments of the Lebanese educational system; particularly through the *Project for the Support of Primary Education* undertaken by CERD, UNDP and UNESCO, which pointed to the shortcomings of the different curricula.⁴ Of particular interest were the gaps identified in the civic education and history curricula. These were found to be lacking in some fundamental elements necessary for the cultivation of civic consciousness amongst students as well as values of social solidarity, tolerance, democratic decision making etc. The assessment also indicated that while the general goals for the curricula emphasized notions of citizenship and national identity, these were weakly reflected in the specifics of the civic education and history textbooks. As a result, the connections between national identity and other concepts such as cultural openness and pluralism are inadequate, while concepts such as democracy, freedom, the obligations of citizenship such as political participation, as well as related notions such as equity, the power of the law, justice etc. are rarely addressed.

More critically, while students are taught the importance of some of these concepts, they are not required to participate in activities that help them acquire the skills needed to act upon these concepts.⁵ Furthermore, the curricula focuses on the duties or obligations of the individual rather than their rights and is characterized by weaknesses in particular areas such as gender roles. As the Lebanese educational system assessment points out, this is most evident in the relative absence of female role models and of varied types of male-female relationships in the curricula. Particular stereotypes also seem to dominate different books such as the strong and sometimes dictatorial governor, the creator, (characterized as non-Arab, ambitious and smart), the scientist, (intelligent but emotional), and the soldier (loyal to the nation).

Furthermore, as one of the background studies for the NHDR points out, while the new civics curriculum being taught in Lebanese schools today, tries to address a variety of topics that may encourage citizen participation in environmental, community, civic and humanitarian work, it continues to avoid an open discussion of “sensitive” issues.⁶ These include topics such as the civil war, the make up and functioning of post civil war political parties, the role and history of Lebanese confessional groups, their relationship to Lebanon, the means through which power relations between the different groups are defined, the centers they create and their historical evolution as well as the meanings of the particular forms of democracy that Lebanon seems to have adopted. The curriculum also unevenly addressed the functioning of government branches and other governmental institutions, making it difficult for the student to grasp how decisions are made, and how they can contribute to policy and decision making.

The impact of such lapses is quite critical to young Lebanese today. A curriculum that remains detached from contemporary political reality cannot arm the youth of Lebanon with the knowledge and means to discuss, analyze and make informed opinions about different issues, or groups with which they share this country. It cannot give them the tools they need to think creatively about potential solutions to any crisis. Such a “gap” could have potentially serious implications in a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society such as the one in Lebanon where confessional divisions have become quite rampant and personality-based politics is on the rise.

These lapses are further compounded by the continued disagreement over a revised and “unified” history book. As a result schools have resorted to supplementing the currently sanctioned history curricula that dates back to the 1970’s and thus leaves untouched around 35 years of contemporary history, with alternative histories.⁷ The analysis conducted for the Project to Support Essential Education in Lebanon, shows a fundamental disagreement in political culture around ancestors (good or bad historical figures) and the geopolitical context for Lebanon (including countries considered friends or foes of Lebanon).⁸ These absences lay national history open to manipulations and reinterpretations based on varied ideologies and different political agendas. Such an approach further reinforces existing divisions amongst different Lebanese communities. This deficiency in alternative approaches that help students acquire the analytical and critical skills to make informed opinions further lends support to popular stereotypes that permeate the immediate environments of students and accentuates the differences in what children are taught about nation, identity and civic values in different schools.

This current survey on education and citizenship reconfirms these original findings and points clearly to the impact of these gaps on the values, knowledge and attitudes of young Lebanese today and their sense of history and belonging. Of significant interest for example is their confused notion of Lebanese history; the inability to identify a single historical leader in Lebanon’s history and a nostalgic view

of the past as well as poor levels of participation in public activities. These and other results are outlined in detail throughout the study.

The NHDR and CIVED

To engage with these issues and more, the NHDR adopted the Civic and Citizenship Education (CivEd) instrument prepared by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 28 countries.⁹ Through an elaborate methodology, the CivEd tries to assess the knowledge and the skills that young people need to have so as to make informed decisions as responsible citizens in their country. The study itself is general in nature and tries to measure broad concepts of citizenship rather than engaging with the politics or the curricula of any one country. It focuses on questions such as what young people (14 year old) should know about a number of topics related to democratic institutions, including elections, individual rights, national identity, political participation, and respect for ethnic and political diversity. These concepts were deemed to be vital for democratic regimes such as the one in Lebanon.

As a result of the international nature of the study, the general CivEd framework was established through an international consensus process. The aim was not to identify a unique or best approach to civic education in a democracy. Rather, the study was based on a model that provided participants with the opportunity for expression and researchers with the possibility of analysis of varied points of view that considerable actors and thinkers saw as relevant to civic education in a democracy. Consequently, the assessment items of the CivEd were developed to measure knowledge and understanding of key principles that are universal across democracies and to consider knowledge of a particular country's government. At the same time, the scope of the survey allowed both cross country comparisons as well as in-depth national assessments.

To reflect the notion that every political system is characterized by different and often contrasting views of what constitutes good citizenship, the first step undertaken by the IEA team in their two-phased study was to develop 18 framing questions. These were designed to encourage countries to reflect on the different ways in which key groups and individuals consider civic education. These 18 framing questions attempted to define the universe of domains considered relevant to countries, while ensuring that the participating countries would orient their work around similar topics.¹⁰ These framing questions were then adapted to the Lebanese context as a means for identifying issues that were more relevant to this country. (See Annex I.).

As for the survey itself, it focused on 5 key areas of inquiry in three distinct domains. (Box 1 and see Annex I for more details). The survey also incorporates an assessment of the educational context of the student and which includes the general school and classroom environments, the civic education curricula. These also address teaching methodologies from the points of view of both teachers and students.

In addition to the student questionnaire the survey also includes two additional components; the first is a series of questions for teachers around preparedness to teach civic education and teaching methodologies and the second to school principals to assess the general environment in schools and their impact on civic practices amongst students.

The assessment phase or Phase II of the study whose results are used in this report was administered in 1999 to a nationally representative sample of 14-year-olds, their respective teachers, and school administrators in 28 countries. Fourteen-year-olds were chosen as the target population for two reasons. First, this age group is the standard IEA population successfully sampled in IEA's first study of civic education. More critically, for some countries, including Lebanon, testing an older population group may mean a substantial loss of students who had ended their

secondary education. Participating countries included those with a substantial tradition of democratic government, some that have experienced recent transitions, Latin American and Baltic countries, and a number of G-8 countries. The available data from this CivEd study provided Lebanon with an opportunity to compare the civic knowledge of its students with that of students across a wide range of countries. Annex II provides the list of countries participating in Phase 2 of CivEd.¹¹

What Next?

This is the first series of reports that will be produced using this data and which aims to build on previous research and identify the gaps in the current educational system with regards to civic education

Box 1: Areas of Inquiry and Content Domains

Areas of Inquiry:

1. Knowledge Content
2. Knowledge Skills
3. Concepts
4. Attitudes
5. Actions

Content domains:

1. Democracy and Citizenship
2. National Identity and International Relations
3. Social Cohesion and Diversity

Areas of Focus:

- A. Democracy
- B. Good Citizens
- C. Government
- D. Trust in Institutions
- E. Our Country
- F/G Opportunities
- H. Immigrants
- I. The Political System
- J. Classroom
- L/M/ Political Action
- O. Effectiveness of Political Action

and the cultivation of values of social solidarity and respect for others; values that are sorely needed in a country marked by sectarian strife and the memory of a not too distant sectarian war. The importance of this work is evident in the results of the survey itself where the degree to which the responses of young Lebanese today mirror that of their families/communities is glaring. Of greater concern is that the acute vertical divisions along communal lines within Lebanese society are cultivating a new generation of young Lebanese whose sense of national identity is deeply rooted in a refutation of other communities. It is based on a unique perspective of history that rejects different forms of communal identification or histories. For a country characterized by 18 different religious sects this is deeply troubling and is paving the way for a continuation of the current low intensity if not outright civil conflict.

The importance of such issues in Lebanon today cannot be underestimated. Much of the current research on citizenship and education indicates that young people progressively move from marginal to central modes of participation in a variety of overlapping communities (from school, to neighborhood to national levels). However acquiring citizenship values is not limited to an educational setting and to what teachers instruct or teach their students about their roles, rights and responsibilities as members of a local or national community. The general environment at school including extracurricular activities, participatory mechanisms at school, modes of decision making, as well as the involvement of parent committees in school activities also have an impact. In addition to these face to face interactions, the everyday practices of the political community as well as the exposure to different kind of media create a context for young people to develop their own political and social identities.¹² Family members and peers also play a crucial role in this process and define the overall context for civic development. As such, the extent to which young people are able to incorporate what they are learning into their own everyday practices (whether at school or at home) plays a significant role in determining their individual identities and membership in various communities.

In addition, we are aiming to draw on the results of this survey/study to establish baseline indicators on education and citizenship in Lebanon. These will be used to address a series of policy relevant issues so as to help educators identify gaps in the organization of educational programs including questions such as the status of citizenship education as an explicit goal for schools; that is the degree to which preparing students to assume their role as active citizens is taken to be a key element in the schooling of children not only in classrooms but through the interactive atmosphere of the schools. They will also include the extent of agreement/need identified by teachers and school principles regarding priorities in civic/national education; the content of programs and the range of necessary activities; the extent to which the current curricula deals with the civic identity and empowers the students with positive feelings about the nation, or concepts of good citizens; the ways in which students understand citizenship related issues and what they are taught with regards to future political and civic participation; the values of social solidarity; gender differences in understanding concepts of citizenship and future political participation; the impact of socioeconomic differences on under-

standings of civic values; the impact of diverse teaching methods on understandings of citizenship amongst students; and finally whether teachers are prepared to address different facets of civic education and how students are influenced by practices in schools.

Comparative Context

Finally to make the results of this study somewhat more meaningful, four countries that participated in the CivEd study were chosen as a base of comparison with Lebanon on various indicators. Even though all of those countries are characterized by a high Human Development Index (HDI) as compared to Lebanon's Medium HDI status, the choice of these countries was dictated by a variety of factors including similarities in political regimes, social, cultural or ethnic problems faced, or simply availability of raw data for analysis. Several are middle income countries and two are high income countries. Below are a few tables indicating the basic characteristics of the countries chosen as compared to Lebanon. Three aspects of the participating countries are important in terms of understanding the comparison: national demographics, characteristics of the educational system, and characteristics of the political system. Table 1.1 presents selected demographic data from the participating countries. As is evident from the population column of the table, both large and small countries had participated in the study and were chosen for comparative purposes. The table also presents each country's ranking on the United Nations Human Development Index, its GDP per capita, its general unemployment rate and its youth unemployment rate. Table 1.2 presents some characteristics of the education system of these countries. As can be seen adult literacy levels and youth literacy levels are generally high while expenditures for public education vary. Table 1.3 presents a number of political characteristics of these countries including voter turnout at the last election for the lower house or parliament, enforcement levels for voting, the year women gained the right to vote and the percentage of seats in the national legislature held by women. All participating countries can be classified as liberal or electoral democracies. With the exception of Lebanon, the age at which people can cast their first vote is 18 in all the selected countries.

Table 1: Selected Demographic Characteristics of Participating Countries

Country	Population	Human Development Index ^a	GDP per Capita	Unemployment Rate	Youth Unemployment Rate
	(in millions)	(Value&rank) 2005	(PPP US \$) ^b 2005	(% of labor force) ^b	(age 15-24) %
USA	299.8(2005) 329(2015)	0.951(12)	41.890	4.6(2006)	10.5 (2006)
Chile	16.3(2005) 17.9(2015)	0.867(40)	12.027	6.9 (2006)	NA
Lebanon	4(2005) 4.4(2015)	0.772(88)	5.584	7.9 (2004) ^c	22.6 ^d
Belgium	10.4(2005) 10.6(2015)	0.946(17)	32.119	8.2 (2006)	18.9 (2006)
UK	60.2(2005) 62.8(2015)	0.946(16)	33.238	5.3 (2006)	13.9 (2006)
Cyprus	0.8(2005) 0.9(2015)	0.903(28)	22.699	5.3 (2006)	NA

NOTES:

a. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite index that reflects three basic dimensions: (a) longevity (life expectancy at birth); (b) knowledge (adult literacy and combined gross primary, secondary, and tertiary enrollment ratio); and (c) standard of living (adjusted per capita income in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) US\$). The HDI value ranges from 0 to 1. Countries are divided into categories of high, medium, and low human development, and are ranked.

b. Data refer to GDP calculated using the World Bank Atlas method, in current PPP US dollars. PPP accounts for price differences across countries, allowing international comparisons of real outputs and incomes.

SOURCES:

All column sources are from the UNDP, 2007, HDR, *Fighting Climate Change; Human Solidarity in a Divided World*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press (published for the United Nations Development Programme), unless noted otherwise.

Population (pp. 243–245).

Human Development Index (HDI) (pp. 229–31).

Gross Domestic Product per Capita (GDP) (pp. 229–31)

Unemployment Rate (p. 299–301) Data refer to the most recent year during the period specified.

Youth Unemployment Rate (p. 298)

c. These are 2004 figures taken from CAS, MoSA, UNDP, *The National Survey of Households Living Conditions*, (Lebanon, 2006). However as a result of the 2006 war and the continuing political and socio-economic crisis these figures may have changed.

d. Youth Unemployment in Lebanon is based on Chohig Kasparian, *L'entrée des jeunes Libanais dans la vie active et l'émigration*, Volume II, "L'insertion professionnelle des jeunes" (Beirut, USJ, 2003)

Table 2: Selected Educational Data from Participating Countries

Country	Adult Literacy Rate	Public Education Expenditure	Youth Literacy Rate %
	(in%)	(as% of GDP)	(age 15-24)
USA	99.0	5.1 (1995-2005)	99.5
Chile	95.7 (1995-2005)	3.5 (1995-2005)	96
Lebanon	88.5 (2004)	2.6 (1995-2005) ^a 3 (2006)	85.1 (regional average 2005)
Belgium	99.0	6.1 (1995-2005)	99.5
UK	99.0	5.4 (1995-2005)	99.5
Cyprus	96.8 (1995-2005)	6.3 (1995-2005)	99

SOURCES:

All column sources are from the UNDP, 2007, HDR, *Fighting Climate Change; Human Solidarity in a Divided World*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press (published for the United Nations Development Programme), unless noted otherwise.

Adult and Youth Literacy Rates (pp. 269-270)

Public Education Expenditure (pp. 265-266)

a. Lebanese Ministry of Finance estimates.

Table 3: Selected Political Characteristics of Participating Countries

Country	Seats in Parliament held by women %	Compulsory Voting and level of enforcement	Age of first vote	Year Women Received the Right to Vote ^{a*}	Vote/Registered Voters ^{b**}
					(Year of last election/Percentage)
USA	16.3	No	18	1920, 1965	(2004) 68.7
Chile	12.7	Yes (not strict)	18	1949	(2007) 87.7
Lebanon	4.7	No	21	1952	(2005) 46.5
Belgium	35.7	Yes (strict)	18	1919, 1948	(2007) 91.1
UK	19.3	No	18	1918, 1928	(2005) 61.4
Cyprus	14.3	Yes (strict)	18	1960	(2006) 89

NOTES:

* Data refer to the year in which the right to vote or stand for national election on a universal and equal basis was recognized. Where two years are shown, the first refers to the first partial recognition of the right to vote or stand for election. In some countries, women were granted the right to vote or stand at local elections before obtaining these rights for national elections. Data on local election rights are not included in this table.

** Data refers to the number of votes divided by the number of names on the voters' register, expressed as a percentage.

SOURCES:

a All column sources are from the UNDP, 2007, HDR, *Fighting Climate Change; Human Solidarity in a Divided World*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press (published for the United Nations Development Programme), unless noted otherwise.

Seats in lower or single house of parliament by women (pp. 226-29)

b Column source: *The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance* (IDEA) web site <http://www.idea.int/tv/>

ENDNOTES

1. Edmond Rabbath, *La formation historique du Liban politique et constitutionnel*, (Publications de l'Université Libanaise, Beyrouth, 1970); Annotated translation into English by Paul E. Salem, *The Beirut Review* No. 1/1991 (Lebanese Center of Policy Studies)
2. See *The Civic Mission of Schools*, A Report from Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE: The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, 2003.
3. CERD, Statistical Bulletin 2006-2007 available at http://www.crdp.org/CRDP/Arabic/ar-statistics/STAT_AR/2006_2007/statistics20062007_Ar.htm
4. CERD, UNESCO, UNDP, *Programme d'appui à la réforme du système éducatif libanais*- LEB/96/005, 2002
5. Lebanese Association for Educational Studies (LAES), *National Education Strategy: Vision Document*, 2006
6. Makram Oueiss, *Lebanon School Civic Education Assessment*, Background Paper commissioned by the National Human Development Report *Towards a Citizen's State*, presented in November 2007.
7. Schools are still teaching books first published in 1968 (for secondary classes) and 1970 (for primary and intermediate classes) the latter produced in conjunction with Decree number 14528, dated 23 May 1970. Official government exams are for ninth graders and the Lebanese Baccalaureate are based on these books.
8. CERD, UNESCO, UNDP, *Programme d'appui*, ibid
9. See IEA, *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study Assessment Framework*, (Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), 2003); J. Torney-Purta., R. Lehmann, H. Oswald, & W. Schulz, *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen*. (Amsterdam: IEA, 2001), available at www.wam.umd.edu/~iea; J. Torney-Purta, J., J. Schwiller., & J. Amadeo, (Eds.), *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-four Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*, (Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 1999)
10. This study was undertaken in two phases. The first phase began in 1994 and included the assessment of civic education in 24 different countries. The second phase took place in 1999 and aimed to assess the civic education of 14 year old students in 28 different countries
11. For further background information on the study, see Torney-Purta et al., *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-Eight Countries*.
12. Torney-Purta, Hahn & Amadeo, *Civic Education Across Countries*.

Education & Citizenship In Lebanon: An Overview of Survey Results

Report Summary

ADNAN EL AMINE AND KAMAL ABU CHEDID

This study of citizenship and education in Lebanon drew on an international study conducted in 1999 by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 28 countries. The purpose of using the IEA study is to test the concepts, knowledge and attitudes of Lebanese students towards questions of citizenship using common international precepts, whilst comparing these students with their peers in other countries. Various changes were introduced to the instruments of the IEA study in the form of omissions, additions and adjustments to the questionnaire so as to make this instrument more appropriate to the Lebanese context without compromising the original structure and methodology of the IEA study.

The study was based on a representative cluster sample of 3111 Ninth-graders in basic education in Lebanon (14-15 years of age) chosen in two phases. In phase I, a sample of schools was drawn on the basis of the governorate, the educational sector (private or public), size of school, and student gender (males, females, mixed). A pilot study was conducted during the period of 12-18 November 2007 involving 487 male and female students (from 17 public and private schools in all six governorates). This led to further adjustments in the questionnaires. In Phase II, the population sample was drawn and the classrooms in which to conduct the survey in all the schools included in the sample were identified. The field study was conducted during the period of 3-15 December, 2007 in 113 schools. (see Appendix 3 for Sample details) Field work in both phases was carried out by a team from the Center for Educational Research and Development (CERD), and responses to the student questionnaire took place in an average time frame of one and a quarter hours. Shorter questionnaires were also distributed to 111 school principals and 191 civic education teachers in schools where the survey was conducted. The latter questionnaires were aimed at collecting data on the educational context for citizenship practices. The following are some of the main results of the study:

Civic Achievements of Lebanese Students

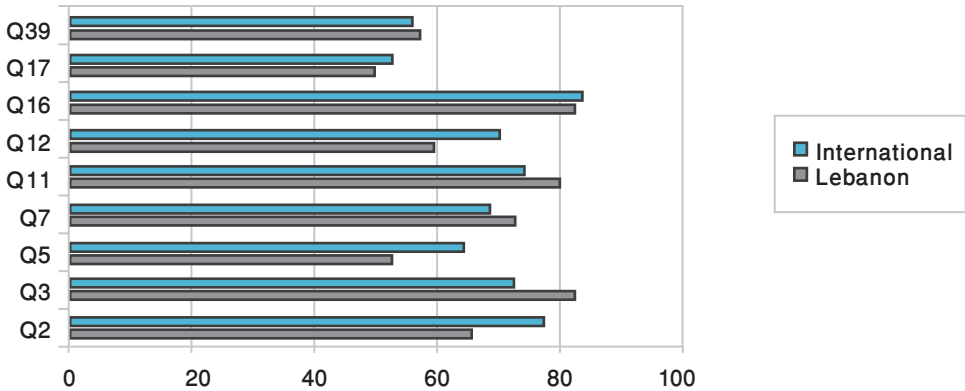
Civic Knowledge in an International Perspective

- Civic knowledge of ninth-graders in Lebanon is modest in comparison to their peers in the 28 other countries covered by the IEA survey. In the distribution of the 28 countries into three groups (low, aver

age, high) on the basis of performance, Lebanon leads the group of countries with a low score in civic content knowledge (the best) and comes last in the same group in civic skills.

- The achievement of Lebanese students in international civic content knowledge was varied and better than their achievement in civic skills. For example, Lebanese students scored higher percentages than the available percentages for the 28 countries that participated in the CivEd study in 4 out of 9 questions (political rights, multiple organizations, more than one political party in democratic systems and on the implications of one publisher buying up smaller newspapers). Their scores decreased substantially in 5 other questions particularly around the laws and gender discrimination. (Figure 1)

Figure 1: Civic Knowledge (International Questions), Comparison between Lebanese and International Percentages



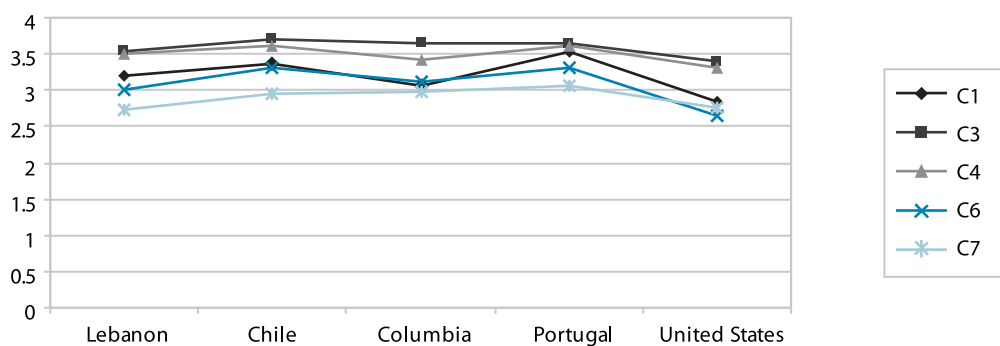
- Q2: Which of the following questions is referring to a legal right?
- Q3: Which of the following is a political right?
- Q5: A mother applies for a job at a travel agency and does not get a job for a reason. Which of the following is considered discriminatory?
- Q7: In a democratic society the number of organizations that individuals can join is important because?
- Q11: What is the advantage of having more then one political party in a democratic country?
- Q12: Who should rule in a democratic political system?
- Q16: What is the main aim of the United Nations?
- Q17: Which of the following would allow us to label a system as undemocratic?
- Q39: Which of the following is most likely to happen if a large publisher buys many of the [smaller] newspapers in a country?

- The score of Lebanese students in Lebanese civic content knowledge is similar to their score in international civic content knowledge. However, the mean of their correct answers in the former was lower than the latter, which means that their performance in civic knowledge is low even when viewed from the perspective of the Lebanese curriculum. For example, students scored an average of 59% of correct answers with the highest frequency of correct answers focused on the payment of taxes by citizens. The lowest frequency of correct answers was in the question related to the meaning of accountability in democratic systems where there was a clear confusion on whether to define it as participation in governance or as responding to citizen questions. The correct answer was of course holding public officials accountable for their actions.

Concepts in an International Perspective

- Lebanese students exhibit a relatively high understanding of citizenship concepts as indicated by their percentages and mean average when compared to their peers in other countries in the IEA study, including developed ones. Even though unexpected [given the ongoing political turbulence], this level of understanding is not reflected in their civic skills where they performed quite poorly. The reasons are not really clear and could be due to either a sense of wanting to say what they believe needs to be said (i.e. applying an academic approach to specific concepts); or due to their limited experience in democratic decision making; or perhaps due to the high sense of polarization in the country.
- The grasp of Lebanese students of the three concepts of citizenship covered in this section of the study, namely democracy, good citizenship, and state responsibilities was uneven. The high percentage of correct answers to descriptions of what a good citizen is, but not to the characterization of democratic systems, drives us to think that they are indeed responding in an academic manner.
- Lebanese students expressed strong support for the security role of the state, perhaps due to the current political turbulence in the country. However, student perceptions of the social role of the state were poor, as was their understanding of the social dimensions of democracy.

Figure 2: Socio-Economic Role of the State from a Comparative Perspective—Statistical Mean



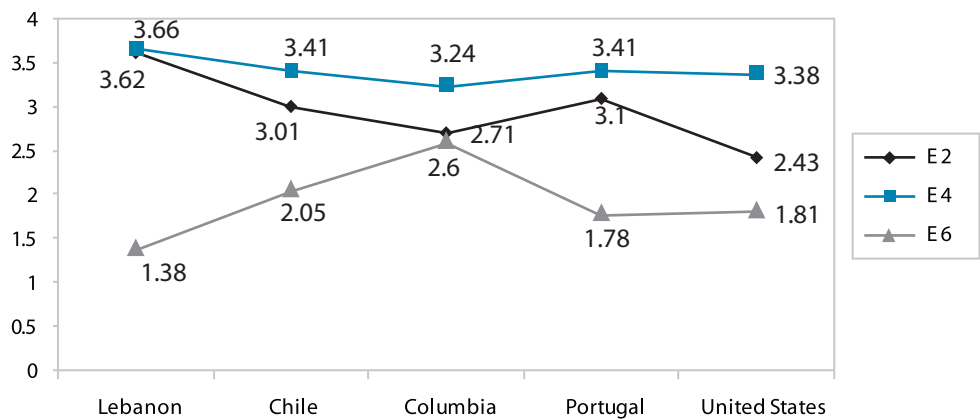
C1: Insure employment for everyone who requires it
 C3: Provide basic health care for all
 C4: Insure an adequate standard of living for the elderly
 C6: Insure an adequate standard of living for the unemployed
 C7: To reduce differences in income and wealth among people

Attitudes in an International Perspective

- Lebanese youth exhibited limited trust in government and related institutions in Lebanon, whether political, judicial, or security establishments. Trust in the mass media is also low. However, they expressed high confidence in religious institutions and private schools.

- National sentiment amongst Lebanese students is also very strong with a powerful penchant to ward protectionism and sovereignty. But, there is no consensus amongst the youth on political options that may be described as national or common. A question on the most important historic leader for Lebanon gleaned an ambiguous result at best. Only one figure, Emir Fakhreddine, had any direct historic connection to Lebanon and was named by around 6.5% of the students. Around 34% of students named too many figures to be classified in one particular category and another 35% did not name anyone. The vagueness of the preferred historical leader suggests that the powerful national sentiment evidenced in their responses is more national glorification than civic culture. A similar ambiguity was apparent in student responses to questions asking them to identify countries considered friends or foes of Lebanon.

Figure 3: Our Nation in a Comparative Perspective–Statistical Mean



E2: We should prevent other countries from influencing political decisions in [Lebanon]
E4: We should always be aware of countries that threaten [Lebanon] and stand up to them
E6: There is little to be proud of in the history of [Lebanon]

- On the social front, the tendency toward social cohesion beyond religious/communal groupings is moderate amongst Lebanese youth. More than a third of the students agree that elections and voting should be condoned by religious leaders while around a quarter believe that voting in elections should take place based on overall family preferences. Furthermore, almost two thirds (64%) of the student population believe that each religious sect should educate its own ‘followers’ and should provide educational grants for them. This reflects the current strength of religious leaders as the place of first and not last resort for the provision of services as well as for guidance on political choices across all sects.

In the same vein more than 75% of the surveyed students agreed that ministries and positions in government should be distributed between political leaders equally while more than half agreed that the three top positions in government should be distributed amongst the three main religious sects. These responses indicate not only an understanding of the state as an arena where spoils are subdivided amongst the religious sects and their leaders and thus an acceptance of the current status quo. It also

points to an alarming reinforcement of this status quo by the youth of today based on criteria that have nothing to do with merit.

- Also while there is a tendency towards social mixing in schools, it decreases considerably when mixed marriages are considered.
- Despite an inclination toward gender equality by students, it does not seem to be based on clear and strong basic concepts. Student support equity in salaried labor but not equally in political matters. Advocacy for gender equity also decreases when it comes to job opportunities at times of crisis where 46.1% of students responded that males should be given priority over females when jobs are scarce. This lack of clarity corresponds to their poor rate of response in the first section on civic knowledge.
- On the culture of law, while students seem to expect others to respect the law, their criticism of violations of the law are quite limited. In other words, violations of the law do not solicit strong adverse reactions from the students and seems to be quasi sanctioned by them, reflecting perhaps a confused understanding of legal sanction. This is also a possible reflection of conditions in Lebanon today, and uneven expectations of themselves and others.

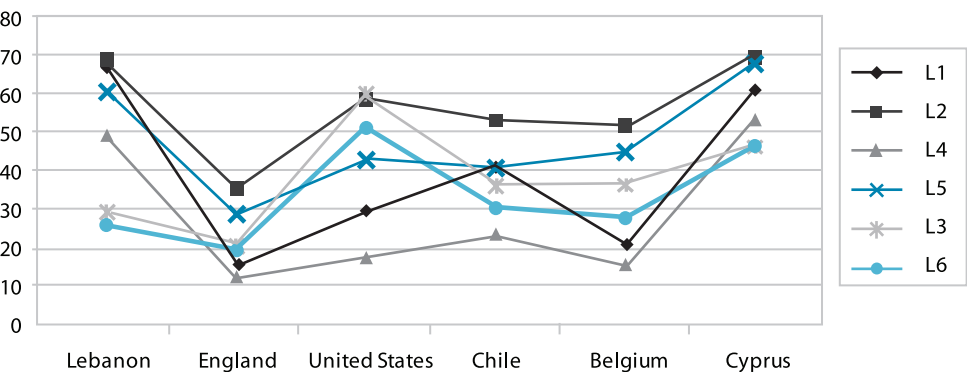
Actions in an International Perspective

- Contrary to their statements on participation as a key element in good citizenship and democratic practices, student participation in voluntary activities such as clubs and associations is generally quite limited. However, it is not clear from their responses whether limited involvement in extra curricular activities is due to lack of interest on the part of Lebanese youth or the absence of such activities in their immediate milieu.
- Lebanese students have a high interest in politics as indicated by their statements, support for certain political parties, or discussion of domestic political matters with peers, family members and adults. Of the 5 countries with which Lebanon was compared to, only Cyprus, another country dealing with ethnic, religious and political divisions, came ahead of Lebanon in student interest in politics. In contrast, Lebanese students fell behind most of their peers in the other countries that participated in the IEA survey in an important matter: student discussion of politics with teachers.

This implies that Lebanese students derive their political positions for the most part from immediate family contexts and not a larger network of peers. It also indicates that their positions on issues of public interest are gleaned from their home environments and that schools in general are basically the place to study and master the requisite responses to pass their exams. In addition to their poor exposure to different media outlets, this situation reinforces their tendency for uncritical engagement in politics.

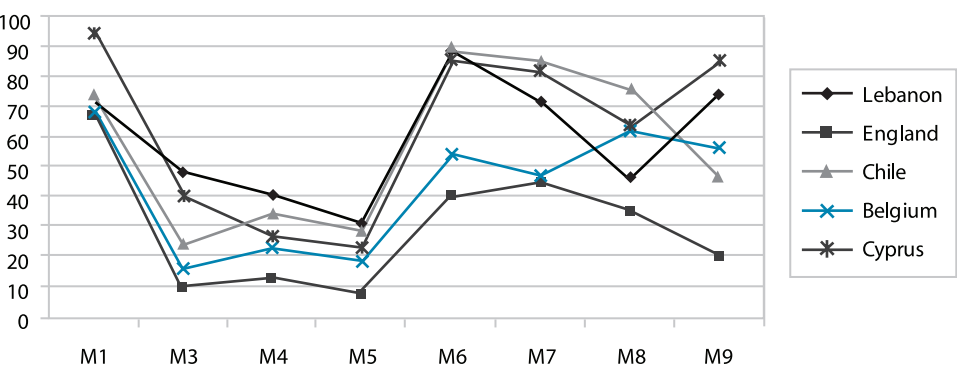
- In tandem, a high percentage of Lebanese students expressed their intentions to participate in political activities in the future, even if to a lesser degree than suggested in their declared interest in politics. In this respect, Lebanese students are similar to their peers in the 28 other countries included in the IEA study but are more inclined to join political parties or to write letters to newspapers on social or political issues. However, of the 5 countries to which Lebanon was compared to in detail and with the exception of England, Lebanese students exhibited the lowest likelihood of participation in non-peaceful protest activities such as spray-painting slogans on walls, blocking traffic, and occupying government buildings.

Figure 4: Discussion of National and International Politics in a Comparative Perspective



- L1: To what extent do you discuss national affairs/politics with your peers?
L2: To what extent do you discuss national affairs/politics with you family and other adults in your family?
L4: To what extent do you participate in discussion on international affairs with your peers?
L5: To what extent do you participate in discussion on international affairs with your family and other adults in your family?
L3: To what extent do you discuss national affairs/politics with your teachers?
L6: To what extent do you participate in discussion on international affairs with your teachers?

Figure 5: Expectations of Future Political Participation in a Comparative Perspective



- M1: Vote in Parliamentary Elections
M3: Joining a Political party
M4: Write a letter to newspapers on political or social concerns
M5: Be a candidate for a local or city office
M6: Volunteer for a social cause
M7: Fundraise for a social cause
M8: Collect signatures on a petition
M9: Participate in a peaceful demonstration

Socio-Economic & Educational Variables

- The results of the study were tested by two sets of independent variables: socio-demographic variables (8 items) and educational variables (7 items). Analysis indicates that both social and educational contexts influenced student responses to the questionnaire. However the overall impact differed whereby socio-demographic variables seemed to have a much stronger impact. This differential effect increased as we moved from the first area of focus (knowledge) to the last area of focus (actions) where it had the most impact. Nevertheless educational factors are still important and open up a relatively wide area for potential intervention in citizen education.
- This variation in influence between socio-demographic and educational contexts can perhaps be attributed to two causes. Evidence from various contexts indicates that the political and citizenship education of the youth is influenced to a far greater degree by the social environment of students than by their educational milieu. This is particularly the case when insufficient attention is paid in schools to factors that may contribute to civic education. It is also probably likely that at times of political crisis such as the one Lebanon is currently going through the influence of the home and the social environment grows in tandem with increased political tensions in the country. As such, it is important to review the educational setting with a view to strengthening the role of schools in the socialization of students.

Social Stratification and Diversity Variables

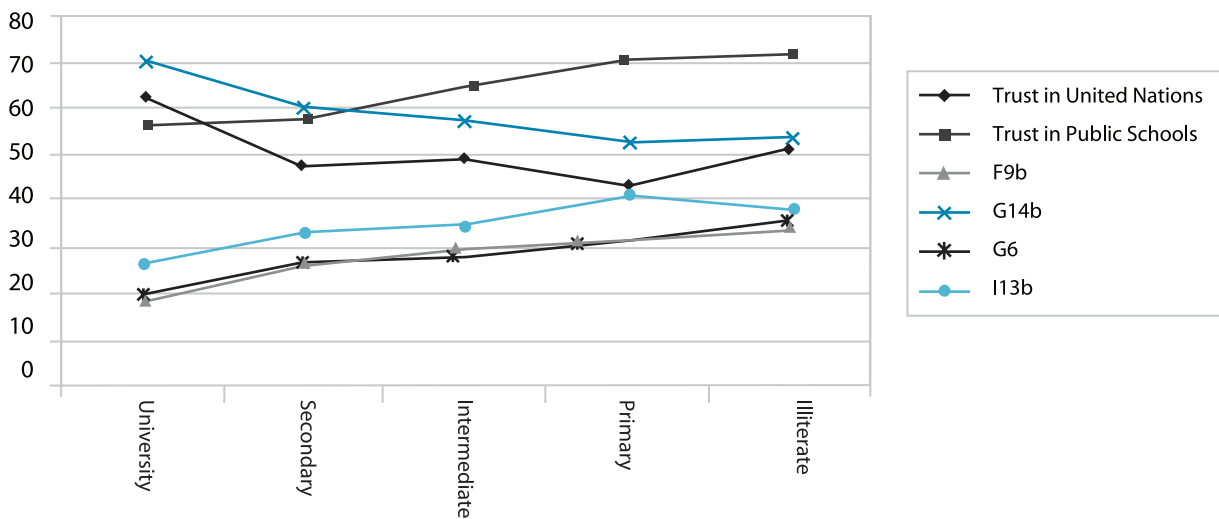
Socio-economic variables can be subdivided in two groups; social stratification factors (such as professional status, educational and economic level of parents, cultural exposure) and diversity factors (such as sectarian or communal affiliation or geographic distribution).

- Generally speaking, social stratification factors have a greater impact on the items related to knowledge, attitudes and concepts as well as social values (liberalism vs. conservatism, gender stereotypes). Diversity factors on the other hand, have a greater impact on student attitudes and actions, particularly in political affairs. The most notable example in this respect are their choices when asked to identify their preferred political leader and the states they consider as friends or foes of Lebanon. In short, student responses to these latter questions reflected strong polarization consistent with their confessional affiliations and the current political crisis.
- The higher the socio-economic ranking of students, as correlated by social stratification factors, the greater the number of correct responses to questions about civic knowledge; the better the understanding of citizenship concepts; the greater the inclination toward openness particularly towards

social intermingling; the greater the tendency to accept gender equality; the greater the trust in the United Nations; the greater the interest in public places; the greater the acceptance of mixed marriages and preference for living outside of Lebanon. There are no distinguishing political choices in this category. In connection with actions, students with a higher economic status (as correlated by the number of possessions) show a greater tendency to join clubs and associations; this is also the case of students from small and middle professional groups. In tandem, students from lower income backgrounds and not highly educated parents were the most involved in opposing political trends and the most to express trust in the political system, in the police, in the media, in public schools and love for the country and to exhibit a highly protective attitude towards it. Not surprisingly they were also the most to express a socially conservative attitude, a desire to study at schools with members of their own religious community and to voice a disregard for gender equity.

- Students born to educated parents and those with a large number of books in their homes also expressed a better understanding of citizenship concepts than children born to illiterate parents.

Figure 6: Difference in Attitudes based on the Educational Level of the Mother



F9b: I would like to study in a school with students from my own religious community
G14b: Marriage of a female to a male of a different religion is acceptable
G6: Women should stay away from politics
I13b: Ministries are carrying out their duties towards citizens properly

Gender

Gender differences were recorded in different spheres particularly in civic knowledge and in attitudes and actions.

- **Females:** Like upper income groups, females performed much better in civic knowledge and showed a greater proclivity for participation in civic and social activities (especially art classes) and a more heightened sensitivity towards gender equity. In attitudes, females expressed a greater trust of civic institutions (municipalities and schools) and stronger proclivity to protect Lebanon and its culture from countries that are perceived as threatening and from 'outsiders'. At the same time, female respondents showed a more conservative attitude than males on social issues particularly inter-sectarian issues such as marriage to somebody of a different religion or sect. In actions their expected future participation was limited to volunteerism and fundraising for social causes.
- **Males:** Male respondents expressed greater trust in the institutions of the state (Parliament, Council of Ministers, Political parties) and in general were more interested in politics. They expressed clear preferences for specific political/historic leader and friendly or enemy states. They were also more amenable to the idea of living in another country, exhibited a general inclination towards gender stereotyping, expressed little trust in participation at school, and a greater interest in participation in clubs and associations. Male students also followed the news through various media outlets much more closely than female counterparts, indicated a greater intention and desire of participating in political activities upon reaching adulthood and expressed a greater willingness to engage in political activities as youth such as 'civic' protests that involve spray-painting slogans on walls, blocking traffic and occupying government buildings.

A- Differences as per Governorates and Religious Affiliation

Specific differences were noted amongst students according to the governorates they live in and religious communities they belong to. It should be noted that all those differences are relative, expressed in terms of higher and significant percentages. In other words, they are NOT characteristic traits of the respective strata or groups. The only exception is the impact of religious or communal origin on the political choices of students, particularly their choice of preferred political leader, where tendencies amongst students were diametrically opposed rather than mere differences in percentages. This will be evident below.

Differences amongst Governorates in Attitudes and Actions

In many instances, the overlap between geographic locations and communal belonging feed off each other and have a definitive impact on student attitudes in different issues and on their expected levels of participation.

Figure 7: Attitudes on Certain Issues as per Governorates

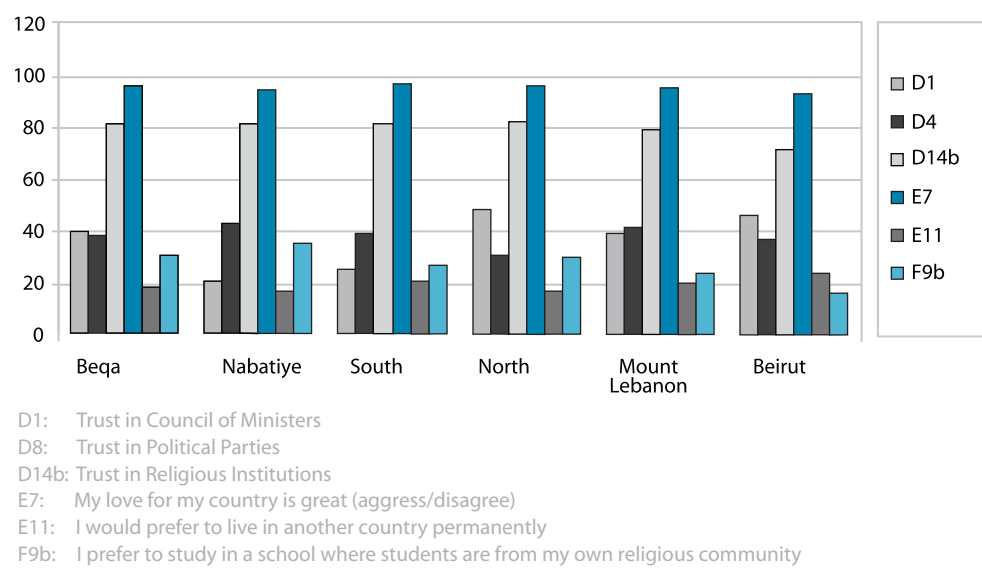
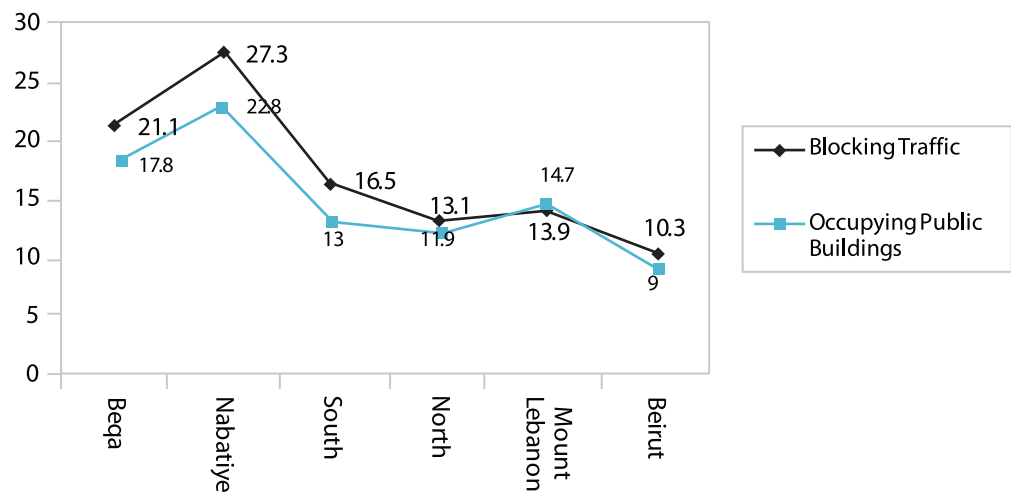


Figure 8: Expected Future Participation in Civil Protest per Governorate



Overall the following are the main statistically relevant characteristics of students in each of these governorates:

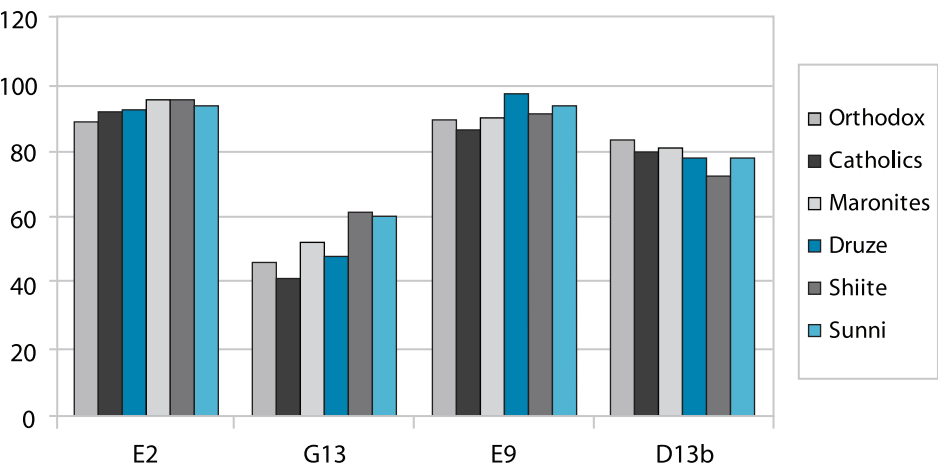
- Students in Beirut scored the highest percentages in civic knowledge and skills. At the same time, they were also more inclined to live in another country, to consider Syria an enemy state and to accept inter-religious marriage. In actions, students in this Mohafaza stood out in a statistically relevant way in one item only; reading newspaper articles about other countries.

- Students in Mount Lebanon rarely exhibited any strong trends in any of the key areas addressed in the study. However they expressed a greater understanding for some concepts, to consider France a friendly state and to support gender equity. They were also the most to agree with the statement that “an employee that makes additional income (other than salary) on the job is smart.”
- Students in the Northern governorate stood out statistically in several ways. They expressed the highest percentage of trust in government institutions, particularly the Council of Ministers, the courts, the Police, the United Nations, public schools and religious organizations and were the most vocal with regards to their love for Lebanon and pride in the country, the most to support the Hariri family, to consider Saudi Arabia a friendly country, to express gender stereotypes and to consider that governing leaders are doing what they can for their people, that parliament accurately represents the Lebanese population and that ministries are carrying out their responsibilities properly towards their citizens. In actions, in contrast to other peripheral governorates (Beqa, South and Nabatiya), northern students were the most to join clubs and social organizations, to express their intention to volunteer for social work and to participate in municipal elections when reaching adulthood.
- Students in the South and Nabatiya governorates scored the highest on questions related to knowledge in the context of Lebanon (questions created specifically for the Lebanese questionnaire) and to statistically stand out in the domains of attitudes and actions. They were the most to express trust in existing political parties, in parliament, and in Hasan Nasrallah. For the most part they also considered Iran a friendly nation and the United States an enemy state, and were more inclined to gender stereotyping. They were also the most to state their support for one political party and to exhibit a higher proclivity to discuss political affairs with their teachers, to read about local news in the newspapers and to listen to the radio. They were also the most supportive of statements such as “the state should provide educational grants to needy students;” and “I would like to study in a school where all the students are of one religion.” They were also the most to express an intention to participate politically in the future through membership in a political party, or by writing letters to the press or by taking part in civic protests that may include spray painting slogans on walls, occupying public buildings and disrupting traffic.
- Students in the Beqa were the most to consider Syria a friendly state. In actions they expressed interest in politics but were more inclined to discussions with parents and elders rather than teachers. They were also the most to follow the news through TV channels.

B- Difference amongst Students according to Religious Affiliation

Differences were also noticed amongst religious sects, especially in attitudes and engagement.

Figure 9: Difference in Attitudes based on Religious Community



E2: We should prevent other countries from influencing political decisions in Lebanon
G13: Men are better suited to be political leaders than women
E9: I trust the United Nations
D13b: I trust private schools

Overall the following are the relatively relevant characteristics of students in each of these governorates:

- Students who reported themselves as Catholic scored the highest percentage of correct answers to questions related to knowledge. Similarly, along with students reported to be Christian Orthodox and Druze, they expressed a better understanding and appreciation of civic values. In attitudes, while they did not express statistically relevant political positions, they stood out on social issues. They were the most inclined towards gender equity and supportive of citizenship laws for children born to Lebanese mothers. In actions they expressed a higher faith in school participation and intention to vote in parliamentary elections upon reaching adulthood.
- Students who reported themselves as Christian Orthodox exhibited the highest levels of comprehension of citizenship concepts. In attitudes they expressed the most trust in the United Nations and in private schools. In actions they stood out through their level of participation in clubs and other social organizations and in their willingness and interest in volunteering to help others.
- Students who reported themselves as Druze also expressed a high degree of comprehension of civic values and in attitudes they expressed the most confidence in the courts, the police and the municipalities and were the most to express their love for Lebanon and support for Walid Jumb-lat. In actions they only distinguished themselves in one area; the desire to fundraise for a social cause.

- Students who reported themselves as Sunni were the most supportive of the Council of Ministers, acceptance of the current distribution of the three main positions in government amongst the three main religious sects in the country and to support the statement that “governing officials do what they can to discern what citizens want.” They were also very inclined towards gender stereotypes, to support Saad el Hariri and to consider Saudi Arabia a friendly state. In actions, they were the most to trust participation in schools, to belong to family associations and to discuss politics with their peers.
- Students who reported themselves as Chiite expressed the most confidence in political parties and Parliament and were the most supportive of the following statements: “We should keep other countries from trying to influence political decisions in Lebanon”; “We should always be alert and stop threats from other countries to Lebanon’s political independence” and “Children from poor families have fewer chances than others to get a [good] secondary education in this country.” They were also quite inclined towards gender stereotyping, the most supportive of Hasan Nasrallah, and to consider Syria a friendly state. In actions they were the most to participate in the scouts and in computer clubs and the most to declare their support for specific political parties and to discuss politics with their peers. They were also the most to expect future participation in civic protests including the writing of slogans on walls, blocking roads and traffic and occupation of institutional buildings as a means of protest.
- Students who reported themselves as Maronite scored the highest in terms of knowledge (particularly on international issues) and were the most to participate in cultural organizations related to their community or to a family organization. In concepts and attitudes they did not exhibit any distinguishing trends.

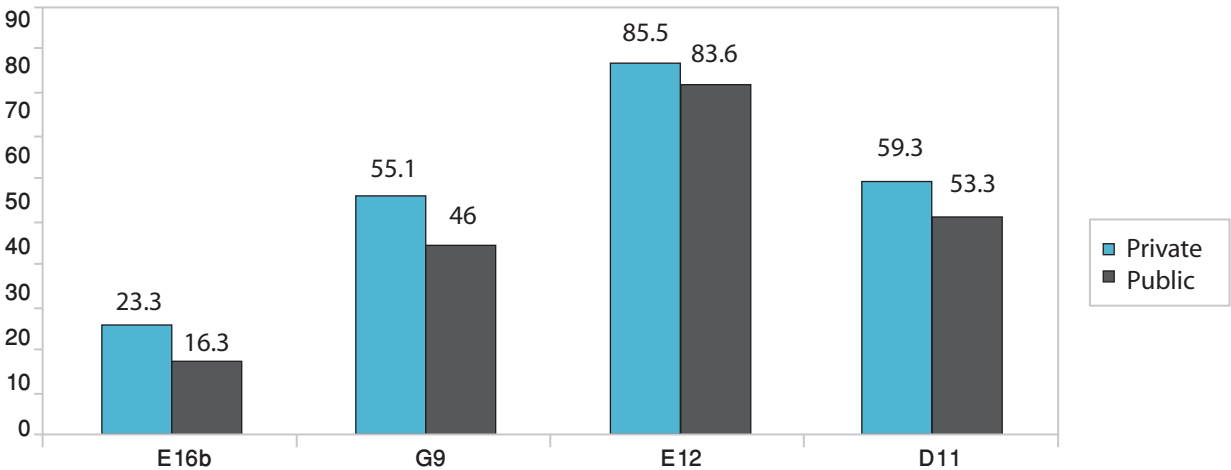
Educational Milieu

School Sector

- Overall survey results also indicate that public schools seem to be the domain of political action whilst private schools seem to be the domain of clubs and other kind of associations.
- **Private** school students performed better than public school students on issues related to civic knowledge and exhibited a greater understanding of citizenship concepts. In attitudes, the former expressed a higher degree of trust in the mass media, the United Nations, and private schools as well as approval of mixed marriage and acceptance of gender equality. In connection with actions, public school students were more interested in politics whilst private school students were more interested in participating in associations and clubs. In actions they had a greater proclivity to participate in clubs and other organizations.

- Public school students expressed a greater trust in government institutions, in public schools, and more explicit expressions of love of country, protectionism toward Lebanon and its industries, as well as proclivity towards gender discrimination. They were also the most supportive of the statement that “the state should provide educational grants to needy students” and generally more supportive of Hasan Nasrallah.

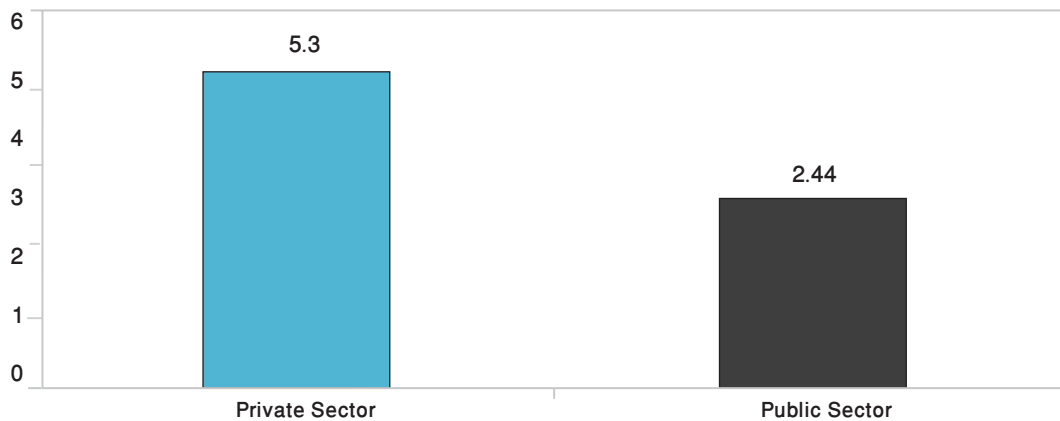
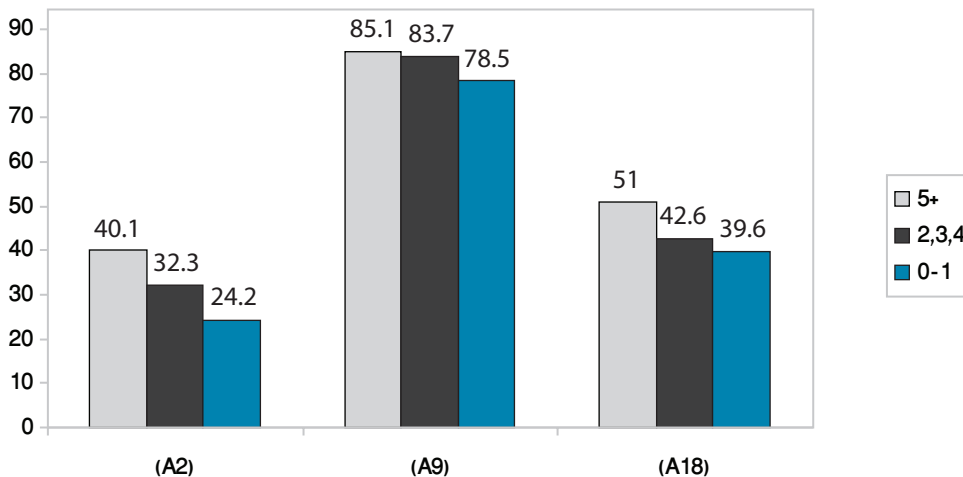
Figure 10: Attitudes based on School Sector



E16b: France is the friendliest country to Lebanon
G9: When jobs are scarce men should have priority over females in employment
E12: We should limit the influence of others on Lebanon’s culture and traditions
D11: Trust in Parliament

Extra-Curricular Activities

- As the figure below indicates there is a substantial difference between the public and the private sector in the percentage of extra curricular activities that they have.
- Analysis indicates that as the index of extra-curricular activities increases the performance of students in civic knowledge and their understanding of civic concepts improve. However participation overall remains quite limited and oscillates between 4% as a lower limit and 37% as a higher limit. On the whole most of these are located in private schools.
- Attitudes and actions were variable and had no clear connection to such activities.

Figure 11: Average Number of Extra-Curricular Activities in Schools/Sector**Figure 12: Levels of Extra-Curricular Activities and Civic Concepts**

What is good or bad for democracy?

A2 : When difference in income and wealth between the rich and poor are small

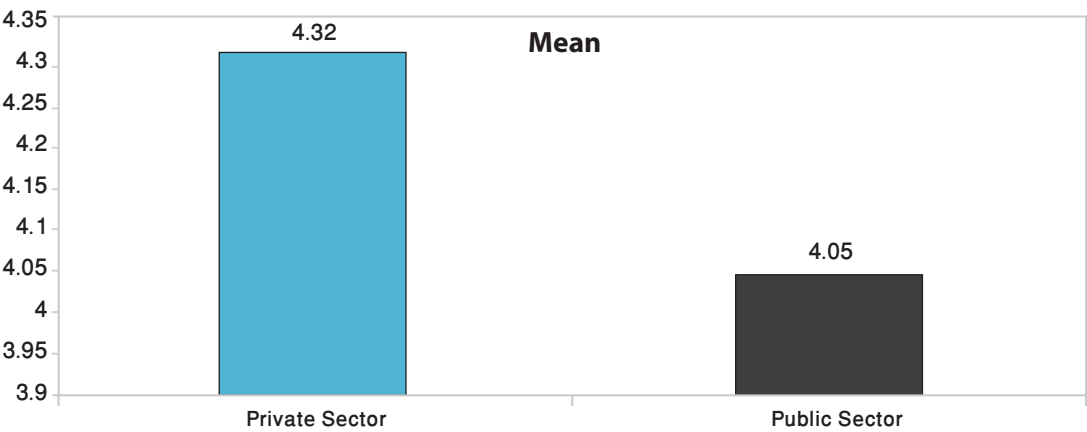
A9 : When political parties have rules that support women to become political leaders

A18 : When citizens participate in political parties so as to influence government

Parents Council

- As per the school principles' questionnaire, the majority of schools (96%) have a parent's council and in the majority of these schools the council is in contact with the school. Moreover, around 75% of those councils are considered elected by the parent body. However, even though these councils meet regularly, decision making by these councils decreases to around 66% and the intensity of parent participation in the running of these councils to 33%. On average, parents' councils in both the public and the private sectors seem to be equally active.

Figure 13: Parents Council Index according to Sector



Note:
The index was calculated by adding the 6 elements needed for a parents council and giving them grades from 1-6. If there was no council a grade of 0 was given. Only 28 schools (25%) had all 6 elements.

- Increased interaction between a parents’ council and the school and intensity of parent participation in decision making had a positive impact on student performance in civic knowledge. A decrease in this index impacts attitudes and actions leading to greater confidence in religious institutions, a stronger desire to learn in a school affiliated with their own religious community, a higher rate of gender discrimination, and greater trust in government institutions (Councils of Ministers and Parliament) by the students. In short, a decrease in this index is generally associated with an increasingly conservative attitude. In actions, the only impact was registered in the domain of participation whereby an increase in the index was associated with an increase in political involvement or engagement with associations and confidence in participation in schools.

Student Elections

- A higher index of school elections is closely connected to better student performance in civic knowledge, greater trust in the United Nations and in private schools, and increased support for inter-religious marriage. A decrease in this index is associated with an increased trust in state institutions and public schools, enhanced nationalism and a stronger protectionist tendency, greater demand for educational grants for the needy and a more pronounced tendency towards gender discrimination. The impact of student elections on actions is contradictory and not statistically relevant.

Pedagogical Context

- There is a greater understanding of citizenship concepts in schools that adopt interactive teaching methods in comparison with schools where more traditional methods of instruction (such as an

over reliance on memorialization practices) prevail. In the domain of attitudes, improvements in this index were closely correlated with: increased trust in state institutions, greater nationalist tendencies, support for state scholarships for needy students and for joint activities with other schools, respect for public property and acceptance of gender equality. All of these attitudes can be considered as closely associated with citizenship values. However, this was also correlated with more 'conservative' attitudes previously connected with specific social or communal groups. These included trust in the current political system, agreement with the statement that "the three lead state positions [Presidents of the Republic, Council of Ministers and Parliament] should be distributed equally amongst the main religious sects in the country." In the domain of actions, improvements in this index was associated with a greater interest in politics, a stronger tendency to discuss politics, greater exposure to the mass media, clearer intentions for political participation in the future, and greater trust in participating in school activities. However these results are a little ambiguous since an increase in this index was also connected with greater participation in only 4 of the 16 different associations and clubs listed: student councils, volunteer groups, sports groups and religious associations.

School Type

- Students attending co-educational schools perform better in civic knowledge items than students in other schools. In attitudes, inter-religious marriage is more widely accepted and trust in private schools is stronger. In terms of actions, more students read articles about other countries and participate to a larger degree in clubs, environmental, UN, voluntary, professional and family associations.
- In boys only schools, conservative attitudes generally increase. Trust in the Council of ministers, in the UN and in public schools increases as does a desire to prevent other countries from influencing the political decision making process in Lebanon, the belief that each religious community should educate its own students and that women should stay out of politics etc. In terms of actions, students in those schools express a higher interest in politics, exposure to the mass media, intended future political participation, intended participation in the scouts, and in youth, voluntary, sports and religious organizations.
- At girls' only schools, students talk more about gender equity and there is greater trust in school participation.

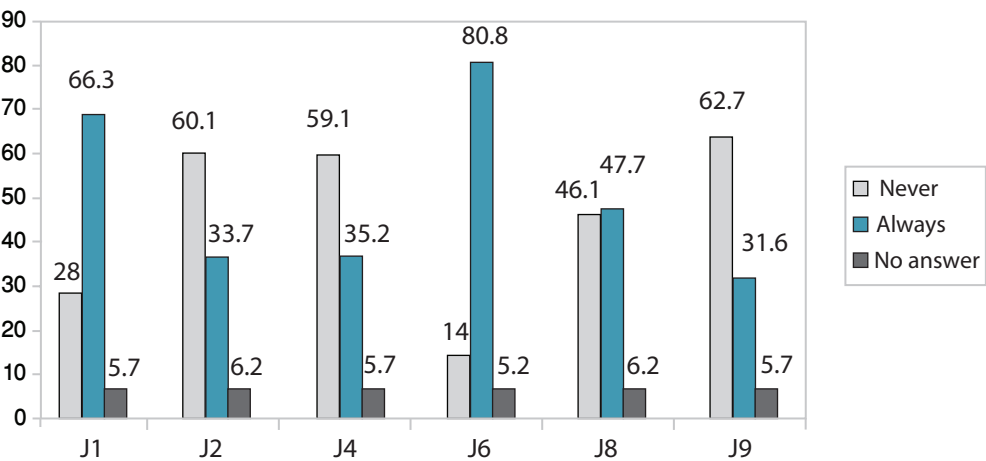
Citizenship Education

- Overall study results indicate a general weakness in the impact of educational factors as compared to social factors particularly in the domains of concepts, attitudes and actions. However, while

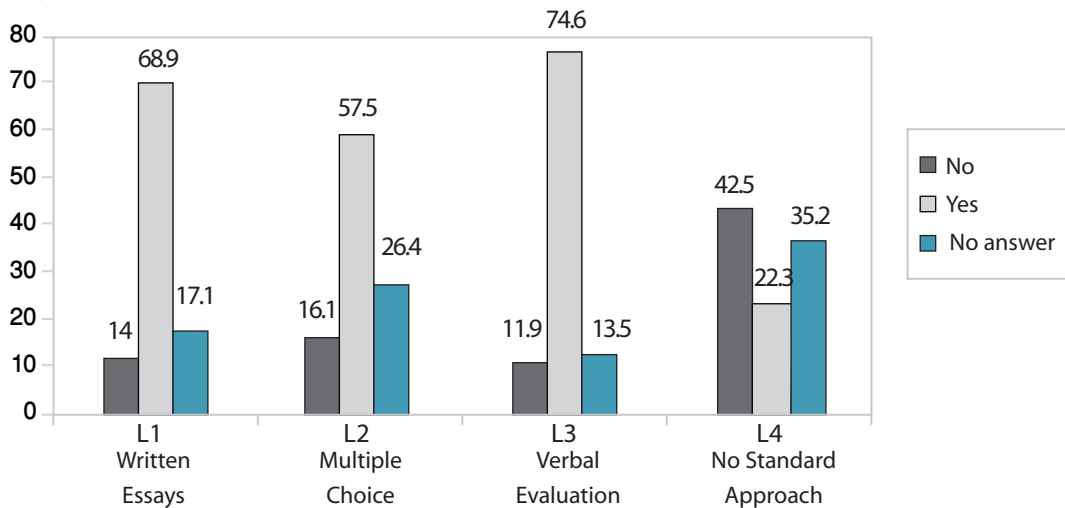
the responses of students, teachers and school principles to items related to the educational context (repeated in all three questionnaires) claim the opposite; that is that citizenship education in schools could not be better, the weakness of the system is apparent in items related to teaching methodologies. These indicate that the pedagogical approach of many schools continues to rely on a simple transfer of knowledge to students with no exposure to alternate points of view or training in debating difference. Furthermore and even though responses to some items in the survey indicate that students have relative freedom when stating their opinions, the overall pedagogical approach is not conducive for citizenship education. In other words, it does not encourage debate and discussion nor does it grant students the opportunity to conduct research and carry out projects and present alternate points of view etc.

- Teachers are not well equipped to teach civic education. Of the 191 teachers surveyed, 41% of teachers do not hold a degree in education. Rather they hold university degrees in different disciplines mainly history (29%) law and political science (25%). Most of those have not received any sustained training (less than half have received training of a day or two) nor are they required to undergo any sort of qualifying exams.

Figure 14: Pedagogical Approach (Student Responses)



J1: Teachers choose topics to be discussed in class
J2: Students carry out projects that require research outside of school
J4: Students work in groups and prepare joint presentations on projects
J6: Teachers ask questions and students respond
J8: Teacher presents debatable topics for discussion in class
J9: Students participate in social events and activities

Figure 15: Evaluation of Students

- Nevertheless teachers express total confidence in their abilities. At the same time, they also express their need for training on the content and methods of teaching civics, for expert technical support; and for cooperation with colleagues. One indicator of the relative contradiction between their preparedness to teach civics and their capacity to do so is their answers to questions about the availability of primary documents (such as the constitution or the international declaration of human rights) whereby one third said they did not know whether these documents were available in the school and another third stated that they were unavailable. And while responses suggest the use of interactive teaching methodologies, the general evaluative mechanisms of student work listed by teachers indicate that they rely more on indoctrination and memorialization techniques.
- Furthermore, a majority of teachers hold conservative views on teaching methodologies. In general, they refuse to discuss the choice of topics with students or approach to teaching particular topics and do not believe civic education should be merged with other humanities such as history or geography and should not be taught as an extra curricular activity. In general they prefer to adhere to the official curriculum and express support for the Ministry of Education.

Concluding Remarks

Analyses of the survey results indicate the following five major conclusions:

1. Improvement in student's Knowledge, Concepts, Attitudes, and Actions in the area of citizenship need greater attention at the educational level. Contradictory answers in various areas and the mismatch between concepts, attitudes and actions indicate that in various instances students, teachers and school

principles respond to certain questions in an academic manner (i.e. the way they think they should respond) whereas current or intended actions fall within a different sphere of value system.

2. The prevalence of social variables over educational variables, which may at the present time be attributed in part to the current political tension in Lebanon, points to a general weakness of the educational system and in ingraining civic knowledge and values amongst students. Addressing these weaknesses in the educational system requires a comprehensive review of the educational context and of the civic education curricula. Such a review would also need to encourage students (as well as teachers and principals) to communicate their opinions with greater freedom and transparency, and to provide them with the tools to express themselves without concern for what should be said.

3. Of all the apparent educational variables, the educational environment (student activities, elections, etc.) seems to be extremely important for the development of citizenship education amongst students.

4. The results of this study need close consideration and extensive discussion by those responsible for education, with a view to formulating an effective and consistent educational plan of action to be implemented in the near and medium terms. This should include items that address both the legislative framework that guide teaching practices or revisions of the existing civic education curricula and general school curricula, as well as teaching methods and training of teachers.

5. The creation of an Education and Citizenship Observatory in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and Higher Education should be pursued. As discussed by the steering committee for this survey, the role of this observatory would be to conduct annual or bi-annual evaluations of progress in citizenship education and the promotion of civic values amongst Lebanese students.

ANNEXES

ANNEX I

Survey Themes and Framing Questions

I- Survey Themes

The IEA survey is organized around three main themes:

I—Democracy/Citizenship

II—National identity and regional/international relations

III—Social cohesion and diversity

The first core has to do with what 14-15 year-olds have learned through their civ-ed classes about the *meaning of democracy in their national context*. More specifically, “What does democracy mean, and what are its associated institutions and practices (including constitutions, rights, and obligations of citizens)?”

The second core domain focuses on describing a *sense of national identity or national loyalty* among 14-year-olds and how it relates to their *orientation to other countries and to regional and international organizations*.

The third core domain is concerned with what 14 year-old (9th graders) students have learned about issues of *social cohesion and social diversity*.

From these three core domains, statements of what 14 year-old students might be able to know and believe about the three domains were developed and used as the basis for defining the types of items planned to be included in the instruments.

Five types of items were developed for the student questionnaire:

- Civic content items (Type 1) assessed knowledge of key civic principles and pivotal ideas (e.g., key features of democracies) measured by multiple-choice items.
- Civic skills items (Type 2) assessed skills in using civic-related knowledge through multiple-choice items (e.g., understanding a brief political article or a political cartoon).
- Survey items measured students’ concepts of democracy, citizenship, and government (Type 3);
- Attitudes toward civic issues (Type 4);
- Expected political participation (Type 5).

Additional survey questions assessed students’ perceptions of the climate of the classroom as well as other background variables.

Intersecting the five types of items with the three domains of the study produces the matrix shown in figure 1, which served as the basis for the test and survey design.

Figure 1: Framework for the Development of the CivEd Items

Domains	Assessment			Survey	
	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5
Democracy/ Citizenship					
National identity and international relations					
Social cohesion and diversity					

Source: IEA, Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-Year-Olds Tested in 1999.

A little less than half of the final testing time was devoted to multiple-choice cognitive items in the “assessment,” in contrast to the “survey,” which refers to the items in the areas of concepts, attitudes, and actions.

II- Framing Questions for The Study

A series of 18 framing questions were identified for the IEA study where countries were asked to answer these questions to help define the universe of domains considered relevant to the study. For the most part, these were found to both relevant and important for shedding light on the relationship of citizenship and education in Lebanon. A few were adapted to the Lebanese context, some were eliminated and new ones were added.

1. What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 from study of the nation’s history or literature (or the arts) as a guide to understanding their country, their government, and the rights and obligations of citizenship?

What are the texts, role models, historical events, and ideas that are widely believed to be an important orienting force for all citizens to know about—for example, constitutional principles; national liberators; decisive wars, revolutions, or uprisings; national traumas or periods of oppression. Who are the heroes and role models thought to be worthy of national pride, and how are they presented to students?

2. What are young people expected or likely to have acquired as a sense of national identity or national loyalty by age 14 or 15?

To what degree is loyalty or sense of belonging to the nation, to its various communities, and to its traditions and institutions thought to be important to develop among young people? What attitudes are students expected to develop toward the institutions of government, authorities, and office holders? How much and what kinds of criticism of or skepticism about national leaders are thought to be appropriate? What, if any, symbols (such as the national flag) are thought particularly important for students to respect?

3. What are 14- or 15-year-olds expected or likely to have learned about relations between their country and other countries?

Which countries or groups of countries do they learn about as past, present, or future threats, and what is the nature of these threats? Which countries are allies? What are young people likely to learn about the nature and appropriateness of the role their country has played and continues to play in global and regional spheres of influence? What supranational structures or international organizations are thought to be important enough to have a place in the young person's awareness or loyalty? How important is it in this country to speak of young people acquiring "a global perspective," or an "international outlook," and how are those terms interpreted? What countries are considered as "natural allies" and what countries are considered as "natural enemies"?

4. What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 about the role of the military and the police? (guardians of the nation's security or something to be feared?)

How is military service viewed? Is it considered a normal and important part of preparation for adulthood and citizenship- a part of national or communal obligation? Are other forms of service considered more important? Do young people trust in the fair treatment of local police and the army or do they learn ways to deal with perceived misuse of power by the military or police? What are these ways? Are there likely to be differences in the ways in which individuals of different social classes or ethnic groups view these authorities?

5. What are young people expected or likely to have learned by age 14 or 15 about those belonging to "minority groups" or other groups which see themselves as disadvantaged or disenfranchised (as defined by ethnicity, race, immigrant status, or other characteristics) in relation to the rights and obligations of citizenship?

What groups, if any, are viewed as most subject to discrimination? What can be said about the social identities advocated for young people from minority groups or non-citizens? How are instances of past

discrimination or oppression to be dealt with? Are attitudes and behaviors of respect and tolerance toward difference encouraged explicitly or implicitly, and how?

6. What are young people in their role as citizens expected or likely to have acquired with regard to the understanding of religion or the acquisition of religious-based values by age 14 or 15?

What importance is ascribed to religious identity by young people today, and what is their perception of others who do not share their own beliefs? What is expected of young people from families who do not share the dominant religions(s) or moral beliefs? Is the treatment of religious minorities or nonbelievers an issue in citizenship education?

7. What are young people by age 14 or 15 expected or likely to have learned about whether the rights and obligations of citizenship differ (in law or in fact) according to gender?

Are young people taught that men and women have different rights and responsibilities of citizenship? If differences exist between men and women in the society in actual levels of political participation or if there are very few women in positions of national leadership, are these matters discussed as problems or issues with young people, or are they largely ignored? Is the issue of the differential treatment of women/children based on different religious groups or on cultural/traditional stereotypes discussed at all? How do they feel about particular citizenship rights when it comes to gender concerns?

8. What are young people of age 14 or 15 expected or likely to have learned about the rights of the family or the confessional group to which they belong relative to the State?

To what extent is the young person to be taught that the rights of the family supersede those of the State and to what extent is he/she taught that they are subordinate? What is the role that young people see today for the role of religious based institutions or religious leaders in their daily lives and in the affairs of the state? How do they view the relationship of religious/communal groups to positions of power in the state?

9. To what extent are young people expected or likely to have learned by 14 or 15 that economic principles (such as free market principles vs. state intervention and control over the provision of goods and services) are connected with government or political issues?

Are young people taught anything at all about the social and economic obligations of the state towards its citizens or the connections between politics and economics. Are young people to be taught that it is the State's responsibility to give protection from such threats as unemployment, illness,

homelessness, or hunger, or are they to be taught that these are private matters, which are not the responsibility of the State? If youth unemployment is high, is this dealt with as a political issue in school?

10. If “democracy” is a central concept, what does it mean within the national context and what are young people expected or likely to learn about it by age 14 or 15?

Is the concept presented primarily in an idealized form? Is the practice of the democratic values included every day in the school or community (e.g., the right to appeal decisions thought to be unjust, or to participate in decision making in schools or classrooms)? With what alternatives (e.g., totalitarianism, authoritarianism) is this conception of democracy contrasted? Are young people expected or likely to learn mainly about one particular conception of democracy (e.g., about representative democracy with its emphasis on leaders chosen through contested elections; or about more participatory or direct forms of democracy; or about substantive views of democracy in which economic and social equality are argued to be of great importance)?

11. If “human rights” are a central concept, how are they defined and what do they mean, and what are young people expected to have learned about them by age 14 or 15?

Are fundamental human rights taught at all in schools? Are they defined primarily in a national context (with references to rights guaranteed by the State) or an international context (with reference to documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights)? Are distinctions made between civil/political rights and social/economic/cultural rights? Is there attention to children’s rights?

12. What are young people expected or likely to have learned about law and the rule of law, the constitution (written or unwritten), the courts, the national/regional legislature, elections, and other institutions of government by age 14 or 15?

Do they read the constitution? What sort of understanding of these matters are young people expected to achieve—one that is largely limited to the memorization of facts about the structure and processes of government or one that is analytical in addressing questions of how well these structures and processes operate? Are issues such as the relations between different parts of the government, including separation of powers, important? What civic responsibilities are stressed—for example, obeying the law, paying taxes?

13. What sorts of political communication and active political participation are encouraged or likely for those aged 14 or 15 and what sorts are discouraged or unlikely?

Are there certain topics or opinions that students are discouraged from discussing in their classes? To what extent are young people expected to know about and participate in election campaigns and

political parties? Are they encouraged, allowed, or not allowed to discuss in school the disagreements that exist between candidates or parties? Are they expected to learn to compare positions on political issues? How are they to be prepared to vote in an informed way when they are of an age to do so? Are young people expected or likely to believe that the government is responsive to citizens' expressions of political views and to feel confident or efficacious about their ability to make their opinions heard?

14. What are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to know and believe about dissent or protest as a way of changing government policy?

Are they expected to learn that conflict between groups about issues is normal, exceptional, or deviant? Are students allowed to express dissent openly in the classroom? More broadly, what kinds of dissent or criticism of the government are to be encouraged and what kinds are to go ignored or suppressed? For example, what is taught about participation in political protests of different types?

15. What are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to believe about the mass media as sources of information about politics and government?

Is more emphasis put on the media as reliable and to be trusted, or are the media more likely to be thought of as biased or unreliable? To which media sources are students encouraged to pay attention, and to which are they likely to attend? Are they encouraged to listen to different channels representing different political views/perspectives? What are young people expected or likely to learn about freedom of expression and the conditions (if any) under which it can be restricted, and who can invoke such censorship? What forms of freedom of expression are considered acceptable and when are they seen as infringing on others?

16. What are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to know and believe about the source and nature of specific local problems, especially those existing in their own communities?

Is there special concern about environmental problems, problems relating to poverty, or problems of violence and disregard for laws (for example)? Does the school provide for or encourage the involvement of students in community action or service to ameliorate such problems in their local community or in other local communities? Are young people likely to be optimistic or pessimistic about their ability to contribute to solving these problems? Are they encouraged to think about these problems in a broader context (e.g., the global nature of environmental problems or the national economic structure as it relates to poverty), or is that level of analysis ignored or discouraged?

17. What are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to have learned about the role and influence of extragovernmental groups in governmental and political processes?

For example, what is to be learned about the role of organized interest groups? To what extent are young people expected or likely to believe that elites in the nation (e.g., people of great wealth or high levels of education) possess or deserve special influence or power? Are business organizations, professional organizations, or trade unions thought to possess or deserve special influence or power? What other nongovernmental organizations are young people likely to believe to be important or powerful? Are there social groups that are widely recognized as lacking in power or as disenfranchised?

18. What “culture of law” and notions of “the public” are young people of 14 or 15 expected or likely to acquire?

To what extent do young people today believe in the rule of law? What is their understanding of public space do they have and what are the boundaries between private and public domains that they perceive? What influences their perception of the rule of law?

ANNEX II

Civic Concepts and Civic Skills

Average civic knowledge achievement of ninth grade students, by subscale and nation:1999			
Civic Content		Civic Skills	
Nation	Average	Nation	Average
Poland	112	United States	114
Greece	109	Finland	110
Finland	108	Cyprus	108
Cyprus	108	Austarlia	107
Hong Kong (SAR)	108	Poland	106
Slovak Republic	107	Greece	105
Italy	105	Italy	105
Norway	103	England	105
Czech Republic	103	Hong Kong (SAR)	104
United States	102	Slovak Republic	103
Hungary	102	Norway	103
Slovenia	102	Czech Republic	102
Russian Federation	102	Sweden	102
Denmark	100	Switzerland	102
Australia	99	Hungary	101
Germany	99	Germany	101
Bulgaria	99	Denmark	100
Lebanon	97	Slovenia	99
Sweden	97	Russian Federation	96
Portugal	97	Belgium (French)	96
England	96	Bulgaria	95
Switzerland	96	Portugal	95
Belgium (French)	94	Estonia	95
Estonia	94	Lithuania	93
Lithuania	94	Latvia	92
Romania	93	Lebanon	90
Latvia	92	Romania	90
Chile	89	Chile	88
Colombia	89	Colombia	84
International Average	100	International Average	100

Source: IEA Civic Education Study, Standard Population of 14-Years-Olds Tested in 1999, Lebanon results added.

ANNEX III

Characteristics of Sample Population

The sample consisted of 3111 students distributed over 113 public and private schools in the six mohafazat of Lebanon. The following are the detailed characteristics of this sample.

Gender, Sector and Mohafaza

The number of students in private schools (62%) was significantly greater than students in the public sector schools (38%) while the number of female students (55%) is larger than male students (44%). Students from Mount Lebanon form 39% of the student body and are more than any other Mo-hafaza.

Age

The average student age is 14.7% which is similar to their peers in other countries. However the average student age in public sector schools (15.2%) in Lebanon is slightly higher than private sector schools (14.5%)

Religion and Sect

In general students from Muslim backgrounds (63.3%) form a larger percentage of the student body than students of Christian backgrounds (31.1%). Similarly amongst Muslim, the percentage of stu-dents from Sunni backgrounds is higher than those from Shiite backgrounds, whilst amongst Chris-tians, students from Maronite backgrounds form the highest percentage. Around 5.3% of students did not declare their religious affiliation.

Figure 1: Sample based on Gender

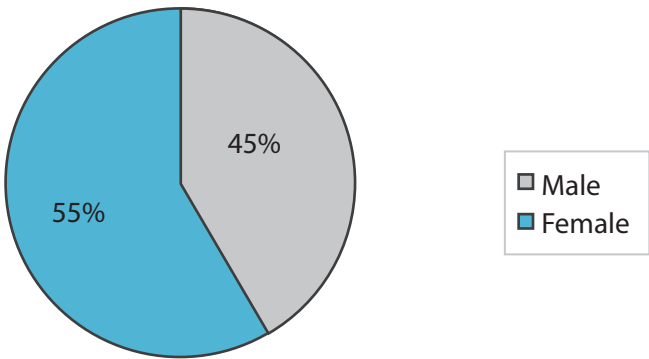


Figure 2: Sample based on Mohafaza

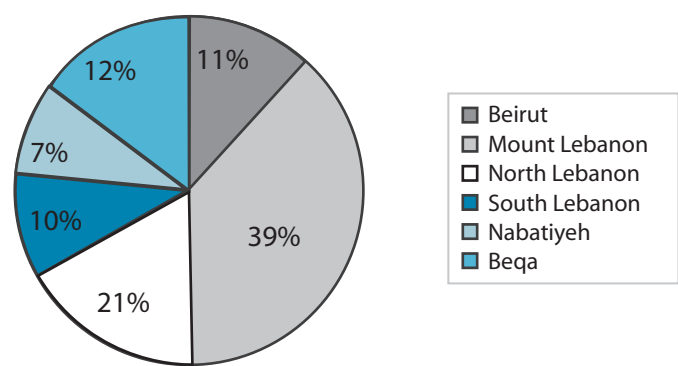


Figure 3: Sample Distribution based on Sector

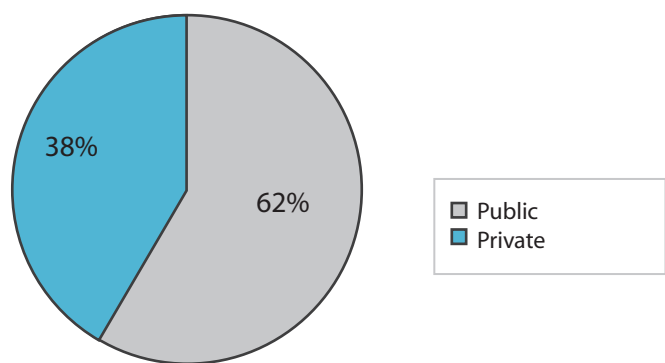
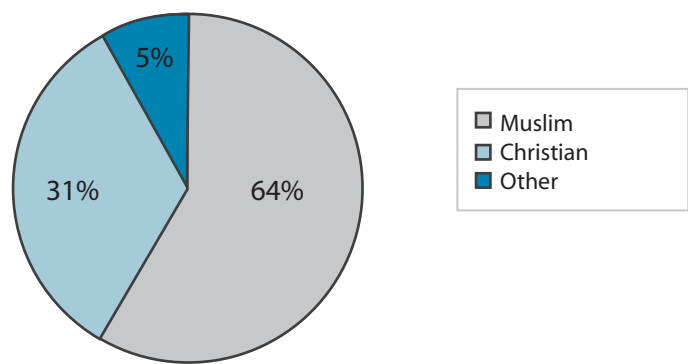


Figure 4: Sample Distribution based on Religion



Social Mix

Inter-sectarian mixing within Christian sects (24%) is more prevalent than amongst Muslim communities (7.6%). Inter-religious mixing is much more limited and is similar in both major religious communities (1.3% for Christians and 1.6% for Muslims). Mixing with individuals from other nationalities is greater (around 6%) and is also similar in both communities. This is also the case for the nationalities of both parents with a slightly higher percentage of mothers of a non-Lebanese nationality.

Household Size

The average household size is around 6 people (range is between 2-14 individuals). A grandfather lives with the family of around 4% of the students, and a grandmother with around 9.5% and another member of the family with around 11.4%.

Economic Status

The economic status of households was estimated based on 5 proxy indicators (more than one car, availability of internet at home, ownership of a cellular phone, availability of a domestic worker and of a personal driver). According to student responses to these questions around 50% of the student families have a car in their home, (only 11.2% do not have a car); around a third have internet (34%), or a cellular phone (32%); around 16% employ a domestic worker and 6% a personal driver. Based on the compound indicator created (each indicator counted as 1 except those with a car were given 2) it becomes evident that around 8% of the students did not own any of these possessions and an equivalent percentage had all of these items. Around 30% owned one item, another 44.7% had 2-3 items and 9.4% had all three. The average was estimated at 2.15% with a statistically relevant difference between public sector (1.66%) and private sector (2.45) students.

Parents Profession

Around 15% of students in the survey come from families where one or both parents belong to a higher professional category (such as liberal professions, large business owners, highly ranked civil employees) whereas 51% belong to middle and smaller professional categories (traders, contractors, managers, teachers, technicians, army personnel etc.) and close to 30% to menial and seasonal workers (farmers, seasonal workers, artisanal workers etc.). Furthermore, the data indicates that students in public sector schools come from families with lower to medium level educational levels in comparison to those in private sector schools.

Around 73% of mothers do not work and those employed are in small scale employment rather than liberal professions. Moreover the percentage of working mothers increases for students in the private sector.

Educational and Cultural Level

Educational and cultural levels are more or less the same with the exception that the percentage of illiterate mothers (5.5%) is higher than illiterate fathers (1.8%). However, when included with parents who have achieved elementary school education they become almost equal (18.8% mothers and 17% fathers). Around 31% of students in the private sector come from families whose parents have a university degree as compared to around 8% in public schools. Also one fifth of students have a daily newspaper at home and almost 25% have more than 100 books at home.

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