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Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information

REPORT I:

Analysis and Evaluation of the New Palestinian Curriculum

Reviewing Palestinian Textbooks and Tolerance Education Program

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Executive Summary

The Palestinian Authority (PA) established the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) in 1994. It was commissioned with formulating a Palestinian vision of a national educational policy and of a national curriculum. Work on a comprehensive framework was completed in 1996. Shortly after that, the PA's Ministry of Education (MOE) established a new curriculum center commissioned with writing new school textbooks. The curriculum plan assumed concrete form during the 2000-2001 school year.

In the past three years, the Palestinian MOE introduced a number of new textbooks and a few teachers' guides for grades 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8. The production of these textbooks involved hundreds of authors, reviewers, supervisors, teacher trainers, illustrators and technical support personnel.

The present investigation is an earnest attempt to present a professional analysis/evaluation of the new Palestinian curriculum, especially as it relates to the principles of civil society, peace, tolerance and diversity. It covers all textbooks that relate to the objectives and tasks of the investigation. However, a special focus is placed on language arts, religious education, history, civil education, and national education curricula.

The major goals of the new Palestinian educational system are nationalistic, cognitive and social in nature. A review of the new textbooks revealed that the major goals of the history, national education, civil education, religious education and language arts textbooks are to reinforce the Palestinian national, civic and religious identity and to promote respect for authority (local and national government, family and religious and civic institutions). The curriculum attempts, among other things, to promote national aspirations and condemn occupation practices. In doing so, it briefly and inadequately addresses some of the conflictive and sensitive issues that relate to the prevailing political situation.

Another interesting dimension of the curriculum is its focus on promoting students' faculties of critical thinking, creative thinking, decision-making and problem solving. Moreover, the innovative instructional strategies recommended (role-playing, simulation, case studies, and other cooperative learning techniques) point to the national interest in promoting the principles of human rights, democracy, diversity, tolerance and pluralism which, in turn, help in the development of active learners and democratic citizens.

The curriculum, moreover, attempts to (re)shape students' perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward a number of concepts and issues, many of which relate to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Thus, one finds references in almost all disciplines to the

concepts of loving peace, openness to and respect for other cultures, and promotion of peace, global and environmental awareness. Most of these instances, however, fail to reflect a much-needed practical dimension of a truly regional and global multicultural perspective that promotes mutual understanding, respect, and tolerance.

The curriculum undoubtedly bears the marks of unresolved (historical and contemporary) controversies both among Palestinians and with the neighbors of the emerging Palestinian state. As such, the textbooks do not openly or adequately reflect the multiethnic, multicultural and multi-religious history of the region. Furthermore, they do not present a multi-perspective account of several of the formative historical events and several of the still-unresolved issues (Jerusalem, water, borders, settlements and refugees). According to a MOE position paper (December 2002), "The new curriculum, politically speaking, and as reflected in the textbooks already produced, remains to be a tentative and transitional attempt to account for the political complexities at this political juncture."

Educationally speaking, the curriculum adopts a student-centered pedagogy that acknowledges and utilizes the pluralism of intelligence and a diversity of learning styles in the learning process. It is also an activity-based and issue-oriented curriculum that encourages cooperative learning, and is structured to assist learners in viewing all subject-matter content in the context of their own communities and the surrounding ones.

Peace and Tolerance: The overall orientation of the curriculum is peaceful despite the harsh and violent realities on the ground. It does not openly incite against Israel and the Jews. It does not openly incite hatred and violence. Religious and political tolerance is emphasized in a good number of textbooks and in multiple contexts. Some textbooks devote whole units or lessons to talking about these values and encourage students to adopt them. Inter-religious tolerance towards the followers of the other monotheistic religions, traditionally referred to as "Ahl al-Kitab" (the People of the Book), is emphasized in the framework of the teachings of Islam. In principle, these calls apply to both Christians and Jews. However, the textbooks fail to extend these principles and concepts to include Jews and to the State of Israel. In addition, and although the curriculum provides the opportunity for students to recognize and respect beliefs and practices of "others," the concept of the "other," in most cases, is limited to Christians.

Civil Society: Although many concepts, principles and skills that relate to civil society and democracy figure prominently in the new Palestinian textbooks (human rights, freedom of speech, the justice system, pluralism, the role of central and local government, the legislative council, elections, voluntary work, teamwork, fair resolution and fair competition, a sense of right and wrong, respect for law, and

accepting responsibility), other essential ones are lacking. These include ethical and moral judgment, community understanding, independence of thought, genuine understanding and respect for differences, information management, and taking action.

Also prominent in the new curriculum are attempts to enhance students' social interaction and communication skills such as enquiry and communication, participation and responsible action, active listening, decision-making, problem solving and conflict resolution. These concepts, principles and skills are introduced as they relate to the national and local levels and do not clearly or adequately reflect regional and global dimensions. In addition, the curriculum fails, in crucial instances, to make the connection between local, regional and global concerns, especially as it relates to environmental awareness, community involvement, and global social and moral responsibility.

Cultural Literacy: The curriculum also falls short in its attempt to promote the concept of "cultural literacy" as presented by Hirsch (1987). Although the principles that embody "cultural literacy" are included in the curriculum framework, the authoring teams have failed to adequately translate the principles and concepts into subject-matter content and activities. Thus, one finds few references that focus on the inclusion of people, places, events or any ideas that reflect both a broader nature of multiculturalism and a more international perspective, thereby giving credence to contributions coming from other ethnic and religious groups.

Coverage of Historical Events: Generally speaking, coverage and presentation of history and historical facts can be characterized as being selective. History textbooks, one cannot fail to notice, treat the ancient and modern history of the region and that of Palestine in a selective way, ignoring some historical events while depicting others from one perspective. In particular, one notices a number of cases in which Judaism and the Jews are inadequately and inappropriately represented in relation to their presence in the region. Different dimensions of region's positive and intercultural history are sometimes missing, thus giving the impression of insignificance of other cultures, religions and political institutions in the development of the region's present-day profile.

One also notices the lack of a sustained account of the recent history of Palestine and the absence or the peripheral treatment of some of the formative events in the region's history. The focus, moreover, is on the national Palestinian narrative. The materials do not openly reflect readiness to consider the Jewish and Israeli narratives.

The history curriculum, however, does not show signs of "misuse of history." Although some may feel that history is being used as an instrument of ideological

manipulation, there are very few instances in which texts are implicitly exploited to promote intolerance and ultra-nationalistic or racist issues.

National, Civil, and Religious Identity: In the National Education and the Civic Education textbooks, one notices a focus on Arab and Palestinian ethnic, national, civil and religious identity. The same applies to the focus on the Arab character of East Jerusalem. It does not deny the Israeli and Jewish character of, for example, the Jewish holy places or Jewish history in the city, but does seem to ignore their existence or their importance to Jews and to the State of Israel. One also notices an emphasis on the duty of students to love their land, family, towns, state, the Arab world and the Islamic world.

Palestine/Homeland, Jerusalem: The concept of "Palestine" is used in both historical and modern contexts, the former being in a general geo-historical sense and the latter in reference a political entity in the making. Generally speaking, "Palestine" is mostly presented in its historical context. References to "Palestine" are mostly made to reflect the Palestine of pre-1948 War, the pre-Partition plan. The concept of "The Homeland," in almost all instances refers to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This creates significant confusion particularly when maps are presented showing towns and cities that are located within the State of Israel while indicating a map of Palestine.

Jerusalem is portrayed (historically, religiously, culturally, socially, demographically) in relation to its Arab and Islamic nature. Several references are made of the Christian presence in Jerusalem. All illustrations and photos of Jerusalem reflect those found in the Eastern or Arab part of the city (mostly, the old city). It is also almost always referred to as the "Capital of Palestine." References reflect the national, political, cultural, economic, religious and historical importance of the city and its Arab and Islamic characteristics. However, there is no mention of its religious and historical significance to Judaism and to the Jews, or that of the State of Israel for which Jerusalem is its capital.

Israel/Israelis/Judaism/Jews: Israel, as a sovereign state (political and geographic entity), is not clearly or adequately represented in the textbooks. Israel is referred to indirectly using different terms such as "the Land of the 1948", "the Interior", etc. In some contexts, Jews, in historical and modern-day contexts (occupation, Zionism, settlers) are negatively represented in Palestinian textbooks.

References to the "other/Israel/Israelis" are also presented in excerpts from the modern Palestinian literature. Most references reflect pain, suffering and bitterness experienced by Palestinians as a result of the ongoing Israeli-Arab conflict. In several instances, the State of Israel is presented as a usurper, an occupation force and a

foreign occupier of Palestine. Israel is blamed for the suffering of the Palestinian people.

There are several references to Jews relating to the life and death of Jesus Christ. Jews are also presented in reference to Jesus' teachings on marriage and divorce in the Jewish and Christian traditions. These instances reflect that state of affairs that prevailed in the Holy Land at the time of Jesus, especially as it related to religious and social sects, such as the Sadducees and the Pharisees.

Holy Places: Holy sites in Palestine do not include those of Jews except for the ones that are holy to both Muslims and Jews (Al-Buraq Wall/the Wailing Wall, the Sanctuary of Abraham/Al-Haram al-Ibrahimi as-Shareef, Jacob's Well and Joseph's Tomb). When mentioned, no reference is made to their significance to the Jewish tradition.

Maps: Several books contain and make reference to maps of historical Palestine as a geographical and historical entity. Some of the maps show Palestine as part of the Arab world (regional maps), whereas others show it in isolation. Some maps highlight the location of the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In all cases, the maps are not labeled in any way. In some maps the boundaries of the West Bank and Gaza Strip are contoured. This is the case when reference is made to the demographic distribution of Palestinians and to the administrative breakdown of the PA territory in terms of governorates.)

Jihad and Martyrdom: References to jihad and *shahadah* or *istishad* (martyrdom) are made in historical and modern contexts. References are made in militant as well as peaceful and constructive contexts. Along the same lines, the concepts of defending and liberating Palestine as the "homeland" are presented both in historical and present-day contexts (Crusaders, Ottoman Empire, British Mandate, and Israeli occupation). In several instances, jihad and martyrdom are presented both as a "religious" and a "national" duty. There are also few examples (linguistic and other) that praise the use of violence against others. These examples are present in the framework of talking about the duty to defend and liberate the homeland.

The Right of Return: The right of return of the Palestinian refugees to their homeland, as stipulated in the UN resolutions, is emphasized in several texts. It is also an important part of the Palestinian national anthem, the words of which carry the meanings of sacrifice for the homeland and the determination to reclaim it.

Bilateral and International Agreements: There is not much mention of or many references to the international and bilateral agreements signed between the Israeli government and the PLO. The Oslo Accords, the Declaration of Principles, the Taba and Hebron agreements are not frequently mentioned and not adequately discussed.

When, mentioned, the reference is usually made in the context of talking about the PA, demographic and economic issues.

The Report

Purposes and Parameters of the Present Review

This investigation is at the heart of a multi-phase study currently being conducted by IPCRI – the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information. The first phase of this investigation aims at analyzing/evaluating the Palestinian curriculum as it relates to the principles of civil society and citizenship. In particular, the investigation attempts to identify the elements that reflect the principles of tolerance, co-existence, peace, citizenship, human rights, democracy and other indicators of civil society. It also aims at highlighting the problems that surround both the presentation and the interpretation of ancient and modern historical narrative in the context of an ongoing conflict with the State of Israel.

To gain deeper insights into the aims, goals and objectives of the existing curriculum, the evaluation is situated in the proper theoretical, educational, political and historical contexts. The textbooks, moreover, have been reviewed in light of both the internal domestic struggle that Palestinian society is experiencing and the regional and international conflict that the Palestinians are part of.

The Curriculum

The term "curriculum" as it relates to the modern school setting reflects decisions that have been made relating to the selection and organization of content and learning experiences. The nature of these decisions varies from place to place.

A school curriculum acts as a kind of screen or filter. Because possible information that might be taught far exceeds the time available for us to teach it, there is a need for a mechanism to establish priorities. That is what a curriculum does: it reflects decisions about the goals of education and the kinds of content and learning experiences that should be provided to help learners achieve them. Because different people have different values, their educational priorities differ. Cuban (1993) rightly notes that debates about what should be included in curricula "fire passions, grab headlines, and lead off the evening news" (p. 183).

Some people in the educational arena are strongly committed to a learner-centered approach that emphasizes learners' individual needs more than subject-matter content. Others are convinced that educators should carefully analyze the needs of society and develop instructional programs that will prepare learners to meet them. Still others reject both learner-centered and needs-of-society approaches. They fear that learner-centered programs lack intellectual rigor. They also like to point out that the needs of society change frequently and hence do not provide dependable guidelines for planning and organizing school learning experiences. Instead, these critics call for building the curriculum around the traditional academic disciplines (language arts, history, sciences, math, etc.). Differences in priorities, as reflected in

these positions, underscore the difficulties that policymakers and educators face when they make decisions about what must be taught in schools.

The "Hidden Curriculum"
Schools teach learners more than the topics introduced in the formal, written curricula. Students are also greatly influenced by their exposure to what experts have variously described as the "implicit" or "hidden" curriculum." The hidden curriculum includes all those things in the school setting that send learners messages regarding what they ought to be doing and even how they should be thinking. Educators agree that the "hidden curriculum" can be thought of as having two characteristics: (1) it is not intended, and (2) it is transmitted through the everyday, normal goings-on in school.

Teachers' and administrators' actions help shape the hidden curriculum in the classroom. Teachers send signals to learners about what they consider important and what views and attitudes need to be adopted. If teachers are unconscious of their hidden-curriculum actions, they may not realize that they are sending unintended messages to students. The lessons students take away from classroom experience include what young people learn from their exposure to the hidden curriculum. Some of these lessons have little to do with either formal, prescribed curriculum or with the teachers' academic intentions.

There is consensus that the teachers and administrators should develop sensitivity to any messages that learners may be getting from school programs and the general school environment. What learners take away from exposure to the hidden curriculum can greatly influence their attitudes toward much of the knowledge, skills, practices and values they tend to acquire in school.

The Taught Curriculum
The taught curriculum is what teachers actually do in their courses once they close the door of their classrooms. For different reasons, more often than not there is a gap in quantity and quality between the prescribed and taught curricula, known in the educational jargon as the mismatch between curriculum design and curriculum implementation, and in the sociological jargon as the "relative autonomy" of agency (teachers) vis-a-vis structural constraints. The gap between prescribed and the taught curriculum could be the product of an individual teacher's personal approach to the topic or political position.

The Missing Curriculum
The missing or omitted curriculum is what is excluded, deliberately or not, from the course. In the history, national and civic education textbooks all over the world, the content that is missing, the issues that are censored, and the ideas that are silenced are usually as relevant for the development of informed political subjects and active

multicultural citizens as the content that is selected and approved. Although the missing curriculum varies according to context, it generally includes controversial issues. The missing curriculum refers not only to the content, but also to analytical approaches (e.g., of presenting historical or social events) and to methods (avoidance of participatory or democratic methods and practices in the classroom and school).

The previous discussion is extremely relevant to the Palestinian educational context, especially as it relates to teachers' attitudes, beliefs, competencies and practices. It is also relevant to the incompatible nature of the formal curriculum, on the one hand, and the political reality affecting the agencies of informal socialization, on the other.

The political, economic and educational realities in the region make it incumbent on the educational authorities to address not only the issues relating to the curriculum, but also those that relate to teachers' affective domain and their professional development. Educational reform, as we understand it, is a multidimensional and integrated process that should address multiple issues such as curriculum integration, authentic/alternative assessment, professional development, school-based management and information technology, among other aspects of the educational system.[1]

Features of the Palestinian Educational System
Since its establishment, the Palestinian Ministry of Education (MOE) paid, and still pays, considerable attention to renewing school education and improving the quality of learning in its schools. The ministry has embarked on a plan for reform that encompasses all facets of the educational system, with special attention to curriculum design and development and to teacher training. The plan strives to transform the teacher-centered system into a learner-oriented education, from an academic education foreign to the needs, interests and aspirations of the learners to an education for life and sustained development, from a confining learning environment to a humane one with features of care, responsible freedom, positive interaction, involvement and cooperation.

Through improving school education, the MOE seeks to prepare individuals with traits of personal and social efficacy on the local, regional and global levels, in accordance with the educational policy set forth in the five-year development plan. An essential aspect of this preparation process involves providing learners the opportunity to acquire life skills and to be provided with global education experiences. However, one has to bear in mind that the Palestinian society is one in transition, and so is its education system.

Formal education is viewed by most educators and parents as playing an important role in countering the prejudice, violence and intolerance in society. One has to acknowledge, however, that the impact of the school is limited in relation to that of

the home, the community and society at large. Specifically, the following could prove to be obstacles to progress:

- the dilemma between the "rational objectivity" of studying the past and the emotional involvement of the present.
- the capacity of students to separate school and community.
- the reluctance of some teachers to teach about current events and/or to draw out the contemporary relevance of certain historical events through lack of confidence, training, or fear.

The Palestinian Curriculum: A Theoretical and Practical Framework

To gain a deeper understanding of the issues involved in the design and development of a national curriculum, and to gain an appreciation of the Palestinian experience, it is imperative to situate the present study of the Palestinian curriculum in the proper theoretical and educational framework.

The Foundational Dimensions of the New Palestinian Curriculum

In 1996, the Palestinian Ministry of Education (MOE) published its first document on the development of the Palestinian curriculum. The document entitled "A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of the First Palestinian Curriculum" contained a general report that surveyed the situation and proposed foundations for a new curriculum. The new Palestinian curriculum was envisioned with the following broad foundational dimensions: intellectual and national, social, cognitive and psychological. This document states the following:

1. The intellectual and national foundation is based on the belief in God, loyalty to Palestine the homeland, respect for humanity, promotion of Islamic culture and respect for other cultures, human values and principles, and active participation in the advancement of human civilization, as well as the belief that Palestinians are indivisible part of the Arab nation, that Palestine has its own cultural, religious and geographic significance as the crucible of cultural interaction and as the birthplace of the three monotheistic religions, and that Palestine is a democratic, peace-loving state.

2. The social foundations relate to adherence to social and religious values; promotion of the rule of law; respect for individual and group freedom; participation in social and political activities within the legal framework; social justice and equality; directing education towards the provision of needed human resources; preserving the national cultural heritage; and fostering the family.

3. The cognitive foundations focus on the adoption of the essence of the Islamic faith; promotion of the use of Arabic language; openness to world cultures; conservation of the Palestinian environment and natural resources; interaction with the social

environment; adaptation to contemporary needs; aesthetic appreciation; and promotion of critical thinking, the scientific method and problem-solving.

4. The psychological foundations relate to pride in the national, Arab and Islamic identity, in Palestine and in the Arabic language; awareness of the national heritage; encouragement of individual and group initiatives; cooperation with all Palestinians to achieve a democratic society that fosters positive competition, justice, prosperity and scientific progress; promotion of peace with oneself and among individuals, nationally and internationally; appreciation of the humanity of mankind with positive attitudes towards others; and ability to adapt on the basis of the social and ethical principles of behavior.

These foundations are comprehensive in spite of their focus on both the national and religious identity. Such a focus, however, is compatible with the fact that the Palestinians are in the process of forming and shaping these identities in a global context. This action could be justified in light of the conviction on the part of the political and educational circles that Palestinian national identity, in particular, is threatened and in danger of being weakened or even lost.

The four foundations of the curriculum are translated, with varying degrees of coverage and clarity, into the content, educational objectives, instructional strategies and assessment methods. There are numerous instances of references, in almost all disciplines, to the concepts of loving peace, openness to and respect for other cultures, and promotion of peace, global and environmental awareness. Most of these instances, however, fail to reflect a much-needed practical dimension of a truly regional and global multicultural perspective that promotes mutual understanding, respect, and tolerance. To truly promote openness to and appreciation of the other, competing cultures and religious orientations should be incorporated in the curriculum. From an educational standpoint, it is essential that the general aims, goals and principles be translated in a complete, honest and practical fashion into instructional objectives, content and activities.

Professed and Implicit Aims and Goals of the New Palestinian Curriculum
As mentioned above, a major focus in the Ministry's reform plan targeted school curriculum, the development of which was based on community, individual and cognitive needs deemed fundamental for the survival of the Palestinian society and for its progress.[2] Chief among these needs were those of safeguarding the national history of the Palestinian people and establishing and reinforcing the national and religious identity. These goals are achieved through forming responsible citizens capable of building a cohesive Palestinian society that is based on the principles of freedom, equity, justice, care and responsibility, appreciation of work, productivity, and creativity, and has a strong presence on the Arab and international levels. Thus, the main goal of the new school curriculum is envisioned to provide students with

the knowledge, skills (language, cognitive and life skills), strategies (cognitive and meta-cognitive) and values (religious and universal) needed for life in the 21st century.

A primary, overarching aim of the curricula is to help students to develop higher-order thinking skills (decision-making, problem-solving, critical and creative thinking) in addition to social interaction and communication skills (collaboration) and other life skills (e.g., self-management). To achieve this goal, the curriculum focuses on showing and providing evidence of the relevance and importance of democracy, human rights, pluralism, tolerance, and peace in students' lives. The curricula also emphasize cooperative learning, the interface between government, society and education, and environmental and other global-awareness issues.

The curriculum attempts to (re)shape students' perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward a number of concepts and issues, many of which relate to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is worth noting in this context that national objectives sometimes take precedence over educational objectives, especially in situations in which a people's national identity is an emerging concept.

Curriculum: The Palestinian Experience
The development of the Palestinian curriculum is arguably a unique one. As such, dealing with it calls for unconventional argument and unconventional treatment. The PA, one has to remember, is publishing these textbooks during a period characterized by a violent conflict. The curriculum is essentially transitional in nature and will take a different form, both in terms of objectives and content, once the outstanding political and security issues are peacefully and constructively resolved. "Besides portraying a national identity and legitimizing its National Authority, the curriculum traces the cultural development of the Palestinian people throughout history and celebrates its livelihood, aiming at empowering a people who missed developmental opportunities as a result of occupation" (Position Paper, MOE, 2002). The new curriculum, politically speaking, and as reflected in the textbooks already produced, "remains to be a tentative and transitional attempt to account for the political complexities at this political juncture" (Position Paper, MOE, December 2002).

The textbooks, as noted earlier, go through a long process of evaluation, revision and reproduction. This process is characteristic of the "learners' needs" and "needs-of-society" approaches to curriculum development. The difficulty that educators face in dealing with both approaches is that the learners' needs and the needs of society change frequently. In addition, it is sometimes difficult to identify just which needs to address in school curricula. The advantages of these approaches, however, outweigh the disadvantages. As noted earlier, the most important strengths of the two approaches lie in the fact that they place the individual learner and the society's

concerns at the heart of the planning process. In addition, the "needs-of-society" approach helps young learners integrate knowledge from a variety of sources as they use it to make sense of the world as it really is.

The textbooks, in their present form (in terms of objectives and contents) are not essentially the most objective or the most comprehensive. They may not be reflective of the overall political, social and educational reforms to which the Palestinians aspire. The textbooks, admittedly, do not openly or adequately reflect the multiethnic, multicultural and multi-religious history of the region. As such, they do not represent the other side's perspective on several of the formative historical events and on several of the still-unresolved issues (Jerusalem, water, borders, settlements, and refugees). These issues are still hotly debated and are part of each side's strategic plan for achieving a constructive, permanent, just, peaceful and comprehensive resolution of the conflict. To achieve this strategic goal, the two parties need to prepare their students to address the painful experiences and to deal constructively with conflict. Education, being part of the conflict, should also be part of the solution. Peace is too precious to be left solely in the hands of politicians to deal with. As agents of social change, teachers should work hard to effect attitudinal changes. Educators should not shy away from discussing and debating contentious issues and from challenging students' background knowledge, beliefs and attitudes.

Theoretical and Educational Features
The curriculum adopts a student-centered pedagogy that acknowledges and utilizes the pluralism of intelligence and a diversity of learning styles in the learning process. It is also an activity-based and issue-oriented curriculum that encourages cooperative learning, and is structured to assist learners in viewing all subject-matter content in the context of their own communities and the surrounding ones. Underlying this approach to curriculum design and development is a constructivist view of learning and a progressive notion of education.[3] It follows that the rationale underlying the development of the first Palestinian curricula was to involve students more in the learning process by stressing the practical role education plays in the world around us.

The curriculum, although centralized, could be viewed democratic in many respects, but mainly for responding to the popular and nationalistic aspirations, needs and interests of the Palestinian people in Palestine proper, and in the Diaspora. These aspirations are clearly reflected in the Declaration of Independence and in the draft Palestinian Constitution. They are also reflected in the foundational dimensions of the Palestinian educational system. In all three documents, the future Palestinian State is described as a democratic, peace-loving country that acknowledges the legitimate rights of all peoples in the region to self-determination and aspires to a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Declaration of Independence, in

particular, accepts the UN Resolutions, recognizes the State of Israel and denounces terrorism.

Another characteristic that makes the new Palestinian curriculum a democratic one is the fact that its guidelines (in terms of goals, content, instructional methods, etc.) were not imposed in a top-down fashion on those who drafted them or those who translated them into textbooks. More specifically, in 1998, the MOE published the "First Palestinian Curriculum Plan" that was developed by the Ministerial Curriculum Committee and a number of Palestinian educators from all over Palestine and the Diaspora. This document and another broader one entitled, "The Five-Year Education Development Plan 2000/01-2004/5," were presented at the International Workshop on Education held in Ramallah in October 1999. They were later discussed and approved by the Palestinian cabinet and the Education Subcommittee of the Palestinian Legislative Council, and thus may be considered to be the official statement of the foundations and aims of Palestinian educational system. Subsequent to the document's approval at the legislative and executive levels, the Palestinian Curriculum Development Center (PCDC) was commissioned with the production of a unified curriculum for use in the two parts of the Palestinian homeland (the West Bank and the Gaza strip). The PCDC immediately embarked on the process that was envisioned to involve four stages: authoring, trialing and enrichment, content analysis and evaluation. The trial phase was planned to take only one year at the end of which a final edition would be produced based on feedback from the field (i.e., subject teachers and supervisors). Because of the difficult political and security situation, the trial editions are still in use for the second year.

A more detailed plan for textbook production involves the following stages:
a) forming the national teams for course syllabi;
b) forming authoring and supervision teams;
c) writing the subject-matter contents;
d) linguistic and scientific editing of materials;
e) verification and revision of materials;
f) piloting the textbooks;
g) second revision for content and methodology;
h) approval by the PCDC and the technical ministerial committee;
i) final printing.

In Phase One of the project, textbooks for grades 1 and 6 were produced (1999-2000). In Phase Two of the project, textbooks for grades 2 and 7 were produced (2000-2001). In Phase Three of the project, textbooks for grades 3 and 8 were produced (2001-2002).

Another interesting dimension of the curriculum is its focus on promoting students' faculties of critical thinking, creative thinking, decision-making and problem solving. Moreover, the innovative instructional strategies recommended (role-playing, simulation, case studies, and other cooperative learning techniques) point to the national interest in promoting the principles of human rights, democracy, diversity, tolerance and pluralism which, in turn, help in the development of active learners and democratic citizens.

The hidden curriculum, as presented earlier, may assume positive and negative roles. One of the special aspects of the Palestinian curriculum is its attempt (although not fully successful) to expose and directly address positive issues that are usually part of hidden curriculum such as:

a) Students may become better citizens if they are part of a cooperative learning environment where they are given opportunities to (1) learn and apply knowledge and concepts and (2) practice group decision-making.
b) Citizen involvement in public policy is both a right/privilege and a responsibility.

Textbooks: A Conceptual Framework

As a first step in this analysis task, we find it imperative to briefly explore the concept of "textbook," and to outline the underlying theoretical bases, types and rationale for performing this type of analysis/evaluation. We will also argue for the need to situate such analyses in the proper political and historical context.

Before situating textbooks in the Palestinian context, and to better pinpoint the object of analysis/evaluation, we must clarify some terminological issues associated with educational publications for use in schools.

Textbooks have invariably been defined as books used for teaching and learning purposes and that offer didactic as well as pedagogical [4] presentation of a certain discipline or a field of knowledge. Textbooks include the student's textbook, the teacher's guide, exercise or learning workbooks, in-house pedagogical documents and explicitly pedagogical reference tools such as maps and time charts.

To better understand the complex nature of textbooks, we agree with Stray (1993) that the textbook "is situated at the crossroads of culture, pedagogy, publishing and society" (pp. 77-78). Textbooks, furthermore, are simultaneously a medium for academic knowledge, ideological and cultural vectors, and a pedagogical tool. Teachers rely on textbooks to provide learners with both subject-matter content and learning strategies and skills.

School textbooks provide an illustration of shared societal beliefs. They constitute formal expressions of a society's ideology and ethos, its values, goals and myths (Apple, 1973; Luke, 1988). Textbooks, as such, do not provide neutral knowledge, but rather construct a particular society's societal reality.

In the Middle East context, one finds a need to situate textbooks and schools, for that matter, in a political context. Schools and textbooks alike cannot be perceived as reflections of discrete entities of pedagogical practices and knowledge, respectively. In the same vein, textbooks are neither just content, nor pedagogy, nor information, nor literature, nor morals, nor politics. In many instances textbooks use public information freely heedless of consequences, operating in the gray area stretching between home and society, subject-specific content and general education, science and propaganda. In other words, textbooks are multidimensional in nature, incorporating didactic and pedagogical aspects as well as cultural and ideological ones.

Textbooks in Palestinian Education Since 1993
To properly understand and accurately situate the concepts of curriculum and textbooks in the Palestinian context, it is important to go back a little way in time, particularly to the early 1950s. Since that time and until the year 1967, the educational system in the Palestinian territories, traditionally known as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, was part of the Jordanian and the Egyptian educational systems, respectively.

During the occupation years that began in 1967, the Israeli military officers in charge of education denied the Palestinians the right to work on and improve the content and didactics of the existing textbooks. Palestinian educators and administrators were not part of the policy-making team. And at a time when both the Jordanian and Egyptian ministries of education had worked hard on improving their educational systems in terms of philosophy, goals, content and instructional strategies, the curriculum used in Palestinian schools remained the same, at best.

Procedures
1) Levels of Analysis and Evaluation of Textbooks
Given their diverse features and functions, textbooks must be viewed at the heart of educational and socio-cultural contexts. Thus, their examination, analysis and evaluation should ideally be performed at different levels: contents, communication, method, and as material objects (Johnsen, 1993). For the purpose of this investigation, the textbooks were evaluated for their "contents" and "communication" features.

Within the "contents" level, textbooks will be analyzed for their ideological and socio-cultural aspects. At the "communication" level, they will be analyzed in terms of their communicative meaning and the forms of message they carry.

2) Team: the work team is made up of educators in the fields of curriculum design and development, specialists in peace education and education for democracy and human rights, school teachers with wide range of experience and long teaching experience in the subject-matter content of the curriculum.

3) Mode of Operation: an Israeli educator initially reviewed the textbooks from an Israeli perspective. The reviewer pointed out the references (or lack thereof) to Israel, Israelis, Jews, Judaism, and Zionism that he found problematic from an Israeli point of view. Subsequently, a Palestinian and international team analyzed the textbooks keeping in mind the remarks made by the Israeli educator.

The present investigation is an earnest attempt to present a professional analysis/evaluation of the new Palestinian curriculum. As such it is not intended to be prescriptive in nature, although some of the recommendations may reflect this approach. It is hoped that the present (and other) evaluations will serve as an incentive to implement reform in the educational system in the direction of multicultural and global education, much of which is included in the promising foundational dimensions and the five-year plan for the reform of the Palestinian educational system.

4) Analysis/Evaluation Instrument
The survey/evaluation was carried out against the backdrop of a set of multidimensional criteria that relate to themes and topics dealing with the "other." The survey attempted to discern whether the educational approach employed in the design and development of the Palestinian curriculum reflects present-day approaches to curriculum development in regions that have undergone similar transitional periods and that are in the process of making peace with the "other" (i.e., Israelis) and of establishing national and individual identity. In particular, the present study was guided by the following general and detailed sets of criteria.

Major Framework of Criteria
- Aims and goals (cultural and religious sensitivity, content accuracy, authenticity, currency)
- Topics and themes (inclusiveness, suitability, accuracy, balanced distribution, presentation of issues, objectivity)
- Content (stereotype-free content, promotion of tolerance, responsible citizenship, cultural and political literacy, social and moral responsibility, global awareness
- Comprehensive, accurate, and authentic portrayal of events, characters, groups.

- Aspects of a hidden curriculum that are likely embedded in the conceptions and perspectives underlying the curriculum
- Elements of multicultural and global education
- Knowledge, skills and values promoted

Specific Criteria

The following set of criteria is exhaustive. There is essentially an overlap in the different items. Specific criteria are listed below in a categorical form that corresponds to the "findings" section of this report.

Coverage and Treatment of the "History" and "Geography" of the Region
- How is history (both modern and ancient) presented and narrated?
- Are historical accounts accurate?
- Is content authentic and current?
- Does the curriculum address current issues that relate to the political dispute between the Palestinians and the Israelis, and to the prevailing political situation? If so, how?

Tolerance, Peace, Human Rights, Diversity
- Are the goals, aims and objectives of the curriculum culturally and religiously sensitive?
- Do the contents of the textbooks make any reference (discretely or collectively; overtly or covertly) to the principles of peaceful coexistence and tolerance between and among the adherents of the three monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam)?
- Do textbooks use terminology that could be associated with the concepts of political tolerance, peace, coexistence, etc? If so, in which context?
- Does the material promote the idea of valuing and celebrating diversity?
- Are there instances in which wording is likely to create prejudice, misapprehension and conflict?
- Are there stories and anecdotes that reflect non-violent conflict resolution, the love for peace and human concern and global awareness?
- Are there examples (linguistic or other) that lend support to, praise and encourage the use of violence against others?

The Concept of "Palestine," "Homeland," and "Jerusalem"
- How is the Palestinian national identity presented? In which contexts?
- How are the concepts of "Palestine, homeland, and Jerusalem" presented and portrayed?

Civil Society: Democracy, Human rights, citizenship
- Are ideals of freedom, dignity and fraternity promoted and advocated?

- Is the need for international cooperation, for the formation of common human ideals and the advancement of the cause of peace, as well as for the enforcement of law, emphasized?
- Does the curriculum focus on world problems as well as regional issues (e.g., the maintenance of national security, the control of warfare, the reduction of poverty, the promotion of human rights and the preservation of ecological well being)?
- Do the materials, questions and activities develop critical thinking, problem solving and decision-making and other skill essential for developing responsible citizens?
- Does the curriculum encourage students to become morally and socially responsible?
- Are there topics that are divisive in nature? Or are there topics that nurture conformity and reconciliation?

The "Image" of the "Other": Judaism, Jews, Zionism, Israel (in religious, political, historical and modern-day context)
- Is Israel, as a sovereign state, represented in the textbooks? How is it referred to?
- Are there attempts (overt or covert) to de-legitimize and/or reject the State of Israel as an internationally recognized political entity?
- How are Jews, Israelis, Zionism, Jewish religion, culture, holidays, etc. portrayed in the historical, political, social, cultural, and religious contexts?
- Does the curriculum provide the opportunity for students to recognize and respect beliefs and practices of others?
- Are the contributions of Jews and Christian recognized in the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic narratives?

Jihad, Freedom and Martyrdom
- Are references to jihad and *shahadah* or *istishad* (martyrdom) made? In what contexts are these two concepts used (e.g., militant, peaceful and constructive, etc.)?

Refugees and the Right of Return
- What references are made to the right of return of Palestinian refugees? What arguments are made in this regard?

Defending and Liberating Palestine as the "Homeland"
- Are there any references in the textbooks to the concepts of liberation, armed struggle, resistance, etc. In what context are these references made (historical, modern, nonviolent, militant, etc.?).

The Oslo Accords and the Declaration of Principles
- Are the international and bilateral agreements signed between the Israeli government and the PLO mentioned? If so, how and in which contexts?

- Is there any reference to the final status issues? If so, how are these issues presented and from what perspective?

Maps
- How are regional and historical maps drafted?
- How do visual texts portray the region's political boundaries?
- Are illustrations, maps and graphs up-to-date and accurate?

Findings

The PNA established the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) in 1994. It was commissioned with formulating a Palestinian vision of a national educational policy and of a national curriculum. Work on a comprehensive framework was completed in 1996. Shortly after that, the PA's Ministry of Education established a new curriculum center commissioned with writing new school textbooks. The curriculum plan assumed concrete form during the 2000-2001 school year.

In the past three years, the Palestinian MOE introduced a number of new textbooks and a few teachers' guides for grades 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8. The production of more than forty textbooks involved hundreds of authors, reviewers, supervisors, teacher trainers, illustrators and technical support personnel.

This review covers all textbooks that relate to the objectives and tasks of the investigation. However, a special focus is placed on language arts, religious education, history, civil education, and national education.

The findings of the present analysis/evaluation will be presented under the following major and sub-headings:
- Coverage and Treatment of the History and Geography of the Region
- The concept of "Palestine," "Homeland," and "Jerusalem"
- Peace, Tolerance, and Pluralism
- Civil Society: Democracy, Human Rights, and Citizenship
- The "Image" of the "Other": Judaism, Jews, Zionism, and Israel
  - religious and historical contexts
  - present-day context
- Jihad, Freedom and Martyrdom
- Refugees and the Right of Return
- Defending and Liberating Palestine as the "Homeland"
- The Oslo Accords
- Maps

Coverage and Treatment of History and Geography of the Region

A review of the first generation of textbooks produced by the PA in 1994 (National Education textbooks) shows that the authoring teams made every effort to restrict their coverage to the territories occupied during the 1967 War. This attempt explains the awkward treatment of certain historical events and unresolved historical and political issues. It also accounts for the gaps and omissions in the historical time-line of the region. The fact that so little, if anything, is mentioned about Israel and the Jews could be attributed to the attempt to avoid delving into some controversial and unresolved issues in the present-day Arab-Israeli conflict.

The second generation of textbooks produced since 2000 attempts, among other things, to promote national aspirations and condemn occupation practices. In doing so, it addresses some of the conflictive and sensitive issues. A logical explanation for this shift, if one can call it so, is the fact that a good number of the new textbooks is geared towards older (7th and 8th graders) and more cognitively mature students. In addition, after several years of political diplomacy (within the framework of the Oslo Accords, the Declaration of Principles, the Taba and Hebron agreements, etc.) most students have become more aware of the controversial issues and more knowledgeable of the formative events and unresolved final-status issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Generally speaking, coverage and presentation of history and historical facts is characterized as being selective. In addition one notices some elements and dimensions of imbalance and bias in the presentation of some ancient, recent and modern historical events that transpired in the region. Jewish presence in historical terms is not addressed, although the Kingdom of David, the Kingdom of Judea and the Northern Kingdom of Israel are listed in the historical timeline of "Palestine across the Ages" (National Education, Grade 7, p. 3). The text, however, makes no mention of the Jewish civilization in ancient Palestine. Some recent formative events (e.g., the end of the British Mandate, the United Nations' Partition Plan and establishment of the Jewish state of Israel, the 1967 War, the 1973 War, the first Intifada and the establishment of Hamas, the Oslo Accords, the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, etc.) are presented briefly, if at all. In addition, some unpleasant events are not presented in full historical context, giving the impression that they are insignificant.

The Concepts of "Palestine," the "Homeland" and "Jerusalem"

Palestine
The concept of "Palestine" seems to be used in both historical and modern contexts, the former being in a general geo-historical sense and the latter in reference a political entity in the making. Generally speaking, "Palestine" is mostly presented in its historical context. References to "Palestine" are mostly made to reflect the Palestine of pre-1948 War, the pre-Partition plan.

Thus, in several instances, the reference is made to Palestine as "the Homeland." In almost all such instances, the concept of the "homeland" refers to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. As such city names, holy sites, illustrations, etc. are those that fall within this parameter (National Education, Grade 1, Part 2, pp. 51-52; National Education, Grade 2, Part 1, pp. 18, 19, 32; National Education, Grade 2, part 2, p.10).

In several instances, however, we notice a listing of some cities, holy sites, and geographical locations that include ones in Israel proper, such as Jaffa, Haifa, Acre,

Nazareth, Caesarea, the Negev Desert, Erma Mountain/Safad (National Education, Grade 2, Part 2, pp. 10, 22, 61; National Education, Grade 2, Part 1, p. 19; Arts and Crafts, Grade 7, Part 2, p. 23, National Education, Grade 7, p. 47). According to a MOE Position Paper (2002), "the curriculum traces the development of the Palestinian people throughout its history; therefore, mentioning the names of certain cities that are related to particular historical events is natural and bears no political ramifications."

It is unclear whether some of these references were meant to serve a double purpose or were a function of the fact that a large number of curriculum designers, materials writers, supervisors and reviewers, etc. was involved in the process. One has to note in this context that the working teams came to the task holding varied beliefs and attitudes and having different educational, political and ideological backgrounds. It is assumed that the final review will clarify the confusion and impose a measure of consistency in dealing with all knowledge-related (epistemological) and political issues. This is necessary so as not to create confusion with regard to Palestinian national aspirations and in order to avoid the possible understanding that the Palestinian educational system is preaching a political philosophy of a "greater Palestine" including the territories of the State of Israel.

The Homeland
The homeland, in present-day context, is presented as comprising the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In historical context, the homeland covers the whole of British Mandate Palestine.

The preface in all new textbooks produced in 2002 states that "the MOE, since its inception, has placed the subject of curriculum development as one of the strategic goals for its operation. On the one hand, it actually has started the unification of the curriculum in the two wings of the homeland in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip…"

The "Homeland" is mostly used to refer to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (National Education, Grade 2, Part 1, pp. 8, 9, 11, 18, 32). There are, however, some instances in which the reference is made (within the framework of the homeland) to sites and cities in Israel proper. Example: Our Beautiful Language, Grade 2, Part 1 has a lesson that talks about "a trip to the lands of the homeland", p. 60. The trip takes the family to Jaffa. Our Homeland, Palestine mentions the city of Acre (Our Beautiful Language, Grade 6, Part 1, p. 121). "Landmarks of my Country" talks about and shows a photo of Al-Jazzar Mosque in Acre (Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Part 1, pp. 10, 12).

Jerusalem

Jerusalem is portrayed (historically, religiously, culturally, socially, demographically) in relation to its Arab and Islamic nature. Several references are made of the Christian presence in Jerusalem. All illustrations and photos of Jerusalem reflect those found in the Eastern part of the city (mostly, the old city). It is also almost always referred to as the "Capital of Palestine." References reflect the national, political, cultural, economic, religious and historical importance of the city and its Arab and Islamic characteristics. However, there is no mention of its religious and historical significance to Judaism and to Jews nor that the State of Israel considers Jerusalem its capital.

Several of the new textbooks contain a boxed section entitled "Did You Know?" This section provides additional information not included in the texts proper. One of the boxes appears in the Religious Education textbook for Grade 2 and describes Jerusalem as "a Palestinian city built by the Arab Canaanites and named 'Jebus' or 'Yabus.' Later, it was renamed Ursalem or Urushalim, and after that it was called by many names such as: City of Justice, the Holy City, and Noble Jerusalem. The prevalent name, however, is al-Quds."

In particular:
- Jerusalem is presented as the capital of the future state of Palestine.
- The photos and illustrations exclude any parts of West Jerusalem. The claim is made only for East Jerusalem that was occupied in the 1967 War.
- Geographical maps show all historical Palestine. Administrative maps show the West Bank and Gaza.
- The maps in the textbooks represent Mandate Palestine and when the reference is to the PA territories or the Palestinian homeland, the areas are contoured. No map, however, bears the name of the State of Palestine and none portrays the "Land of Israel" or "Israel" as part of the emerging Palestinian State. Israel, as a political entity, does not appear in any map.
- The term "entire national soil," as it appears in the context of "the establishment of the independent Palestinian State on our entire national soil," is sometimes interpreted as including Israel proper.
- There is a mention of Jerusalem's importance to the three monotheistic religions.
- Final status issues as they relate to East Jerusalem and Palestinian refugees are mentioned within the context of UN resolutions and the Oslo Accords.
- The homeland, in present-day context, is presented as comprising the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The homeland, in historical context, covers Mandate Palestine.
- The Arab and Islamic character of East Jerusalem is emphasized. The locally, regionally and internationally accepted reference to Al-Quds is limited to East Jerusalem.

- The concepts of "flag, homeland, freedom and nation" are repeated in several locations and in different contexts (visually and in writing).

Peace, Tolerance and Pluralism

The concepts of tolerance, social justice, respect and love for others are only some of the values promoted by Islam. Religious and political tolerance is emphasized in a good number of textbooks and in multiple situations and contexts. Some textbooks devote whole units or lessons to talking about these values and encourage students to adopt them. Inter-religious tolerance is emphasized in the framework of the teachings of the Koran and Hadith. It is based on Islam's tolerance towards the followers of the other monotheistic religions, traditionally referred to as "Ahl al-Kitab" (the People of the Book). Theoretically speaking, these calls apply to both Christians and Jews. However, the textbooks are almost devoid of any references to Jews, either in historical or in modern-day contexts.

Peace, as a universal and religious value, is emphasized in the Palestinian textbooks. Political peace in modern terms, however, is not reflected in the new textbooks. Although the textbooks make multiple references to official national, regional, and international documents and resolutions (Declaration of Independence, draft Constitution, Elections Law, the Central Bureau of Statistics, UN Resolutions, the International Declaration of Human Rights, etc.), few references are made to the Oslo Accords and to the Declaration of Principles (DOP) that ushered in the peace process between the Palestinians and the Israelis (National Education, Grade 6, p. 23). The "peace" dimension of the Accords and the DOP is not mentioned. No material is included that explicitly talks about peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis. According to a Position Paper issued by the MOE (2002), "peace is a political issue not a historical one, and consequently, it is dealt with as such."

- Several examples, both in print and in illustrative form, are found in the new textbooks that convey and reflect positive attitudes towards the principles of tolerance, diversity, freedom, justice and acceptance of pluralism within Palestinian society (Unit on Values, Tolerance, Freedom, Justice and Equity, National Education, Grade 6, pp. 64-82).
- Peace and tolerance concepts: Peace and tolerance are presented as central values of Islam and other monotheistic religions. The text on the peaceful entry to Mecca is a reflection of this orientation.
- Symbols of peace are included in both written and illustrative forms.
- The general values of all three monotheistic religions that call for peace and tolerance are highlighted. No reference is made regarding tolerance towards Judaism in the present-day context.
- There is emphasis on the need for inter-religious tolerance, primarily as it relates to Christian and Muslims.

- Tolerance is defined in a way that reflects its multifaceted nature (religious, political, social, etc).
- Several educational/learning objectives aim at fostering positive attitude toward the followers of the other monotheistic traditions.
- Christian religious education textbooks highlight the fact that Christianity (following Christ's teachings) calls for securing and safeguarding the principles of freedom and human dignity for all humans.
- Sociopolitical tolerance is promoted in the framework of the Palestinian Declaration of Independence (confirming that all Palestinians are equal before the law and that citizens will not be discriminated against because of their religious or ethnic affiliation).
- Some texts encourage students to adhere to the principles of tolerance and fairness in sports and other activities that involve competition.
- There are references to the openness of Arab and Islamic civilizations, which are described as being based on the principles of monotheism, tolerance towards non-Muslims, inclusiveness, originality, and humanism.
- There are references to just rulers, e.g., the need to have just caliphs (rulers).
- Qur'anic verses that promote and encourage "forgiveness and justice" are abundant.
- The texts help develop principles of civil education by speaking of civil society with a focus on pluralism, democracy, and respect for opinion of others.
- The books deal with discrimination and equality: references are made and excerpts taken from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Excerpts from the Declaration of Independence emphasize "the development of national and cultural identity" in which there is justice, equality and non-discrimination for all, and religious and political beliefs are protected.
- It is emphasized that Palestinian national culture is based on tolerance and coexistence between religions across the ages.
- References to the "freedom of formation of political parties" draw on excerpts from the Elections Law.
- Democracy, plurality and diversity are presented as pillars of democratic rule
- The books reject violence and call for non-violent resolution of societal conflicts.
- Love of others and discouraging hatred and vindication, especially in the school context, are encouraged.

Civil Society

Great efforts are made to provide students with information, skills and values that relate to active citizenship. One of the major aims of the materials is to develop students' awareness of the need to adopt the principles of civil society.

The concepts and principles of human rights, the justice system, diversity and respect of others, mutual respect and understanding, the role of central and local government, the legislative council, elections, voluntary work, fair resolution and fair

competition, all figure prominently in the new Palestinian textbooks. Also prominent are attempts to enhance students' social interaction and communication skills such as enquiry and communication, participation and responsible action, active listening, decision-making, problem solving and conflict resolution.

References are made and excerpts are taken from the Declaration of Independence, draft Palestinian Constitution, and Elections Law.

Excerpts from the Declaration of Independence are selected that emphasize "the development of national and cultural identity that promotes equality for all, protection of religious and political beliefs, social justice, non-discrimination, tolerance, coexistence between religions."

- The 6th Grade Civic Education textbook highlights the role of civil institutions in people's lives, the role of the individual in society, and the role of the family as an agent of socialization. It aims at enhancing the spirit of citizenship, focusing on the importance of becoming aware of responsibilities and rights, and the practice and implementation of democratic values as a way of life.
- The societal goal of protecting the environment and conserving water is addressed throughout the curriculum.
- Subject matter content, activities and extracurricular projects promote knowledge, skills and values associated with civil society. These include: respect and concern for others, respect for laws and rules, a sense of right and wrong, accepting responsibility for one's own action, independence of thought and the ability to think critically, understanding of and respect for differences.
- The materials also promote some citizenship competencies such as teamwork, ethical judgment, and community understanding.
- Materials highlight and promote non-violence and dialogue as desirable practices.

Reference to and the Image of the Other (Israel, Israelis, Jews, Judaism, Zionism)

Israel
- Several of the references to Israel and the Jews (in recent and modern times) come in the form of excerpts from official documents and encyclopedias (Encyclopedia of Jews, Judaism and Zionism, Balfour Declaration, proceedings of the Islamic Organization for Education, Sciences and Culture).
- References to the "other/Israel/Israelis" are presented in excerpts from the modern Palestinian literature. Most references reflect pain, suffering and bitterness experienced by Palestinians as a result of the ongoing Israeli-Arab conflict. In several instances, the State of Israel is presented as a usurper, an occupation force and a foreign occupier of Palestine. Israel is blamed for the Nakbah (catastrophe) of the Palestinian people (National Education, Grade 6, p.

16). Timetables in the National Education and History of the Middle Ages, Grade 7 textbooks talk about the establishment of the State of Israel on Palestinian land (pp. 3 and 105).

- Some textbooks posit that Israel's policies, since its establishment, have resulted in the misery of the Palestinian people, the expulsion of the Palestinian population during the 1947-48 War, the destruction of some border-line villages, the creation of the refugee problem, the exploitation of the region's natural resources, the demolition of houses and uprooting of trees, restriction of movement, discrimination against the Palestinian population, especially in East Jerusalem, undermining Palestinian national, political and cultural identity, restricting access of worshippers to holy sites, the negative impact of occupation and military measures and restrictions on the Palestinian economy, ecological and environmental problems and the dismemberment of the geographic and demographic unity of the Palestinian territories (National Education, Grade 7, pp. 54-57, 78-81; National Education, Grade 6, p. 60).
- Some of the instances refer to historical Palestine prior to the 1948 War; others refer to the territories occupied in the 1967 War. In most presentations, Israel is implicitly referred to in different terms such as "Land inside the Green Line," "the Land of 1948, "the interior").
- Many cities and sites (inhabited by Arabs) in Israel proper are mentioned in reference to "Historical Palestine." These references are made in the contexts of talking about the geography and topography of historical Palestine. Examples include references in the National Education, Grade 6 (pp. 9, 11, 14), Civic Education Grade 7, (p. 21), Geography of Palestine, Grade 7 (pp. 8-10, 19, 23, 28-29, 46, 55, 56, 65, 76-77, 80), Arabic Language: Our Beautiful Language, Grade 6, part 1 (pp. 44, 64, 120), National Education, Grade 7 (pp. 19, 47, 55, 75), General Science, Grade 1, Part 2, pp. 5, 7), National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (p. 22) and Part 2.
- Restrictions imposed by the Israel government on Arab tourist agencies are highlighted (National Education, Grade 7, pp. 78-81).
- Zionism and Israel are sometimes used interchangeably.
- Israel, as a sovereign state, is not presented in the textbooks except with reference to the Oslo Accords and the ensuing treaties and agreements.

Jews and Judaism in Historical Light
- There is very little mention of the Jews, in general. However, when mentioned, references are usually positive. Several references are made to both Jews and Christians as part of "the People of the Book." References are made to their prophets, messengers and apostles that are also revered by Muslims (National Education, Grade 2, Part 1, pp. 8,10; National Education, Grade 7, p. 54).
- There is clearly an avoidance of dealing with Jewish-Islamic relationships (especially in the Prophet Muhammad's relationship with the three Jewish tribes-- Bani Nadir, Bani Qurayzah, Bani Qunuqa) -- in and around Medina) in negative

contexts. Only tolerant and positive aspects of the historical relationship are presented. The textbooks highlight the peaceful agreement reached between the Muslims and the three Jewish tribes living in Medina/Yathreb and Khaibar (Islamic Education, Grade 7, p. 74).

- There is also a positive reference to Jews and Muslims as being members of "one Umma" (community) and to the Jews as people who did not convert to Islam but did not oppose it or fight against it (pp. 75-77).

- Another positive reference that shows tolerance towards Jews and Judaism is reflected in an agreement they reached to the effect that any dispute between Muslims and Jews would be resolved by reference to the Torah and the Qur'an.

- Judaism is not mentioned as one of the religions of the past and present-day communities of the region. In the Christian religious education textbooks, the other monotheistic religions are referred to without identifying them.

- A number of verses in the Koran and "Hadith" (sayings) of the Prophet Mohammad make reference to Jews and Christians, most notably to Jewish prophets that are revered by Muslims and Christians (Abraham, Omran, Moses, David) alike, and to Jesus Christ and Mary (Islamic Education, Grade 3, pp. 5, 6, 15, 20, 23, 88).

- References are made to the prophets and messengers of Judaism in the form of lessons that retell their mission (Abraham's story, Islamic Education, Grade 3, pp.7-11); lessons on belief in all the messengers and prophets of God and in their holy books (Islamic Education, Grade 3, pp. 15-18; Islamic Education, Grade 7, p. 40); complete Sura (The Family of Imran, Moses' father), Al-A'raf (the wall between Heaven and Hell).

- The Jews of medieval times are presented only in the religious context in as much as they related to Islam. Some of the religious texts cited carry indirect references to Jews, Christians and non-believers as hypocrites. There is also a reference in which Muslims are urged to collect and codify the Qur'an for fear that it would be "altered" or "distorted" the way the other holy books (the Old and New Testaments) were (Religious Education, Grade 7, p. 9).

- There are several instances in which Jews are presented in religious contexts and in instances that relate to the agreements made between the Muslims of Medina and the Jewish community there.

- There is no account of the Jews' historical presence in the region or their contributions to its development and to humanity (culturally, religiously, scientifically, educationally, artistically, etc.).

- There are several references to Jews relating to the life and death of Jesus Christ. Jews are also presented in reference to Jesus' teachings on marriage and divorce in the Jewish and Christian traditions. These instances reflect that state of affairs that prevailed in the Holy Land at the time of Jesus Christ, especially as it related to religious and social sects such as the Sadducees and the Pharisees.

- There are no overt references to Jews as "the evil enemy" or as being "treacherous." These representations were previously made in the ancient

historical context of the dispute between Muslims and Jews at the time of the Prophet Mohammad.

- As part of Ahl al-Kitab (the People of the Book) and in reference to the composition of Islamic society, especially in the early days of Islam in Medina. Other implicit references to Christians and Jews are made in relation to the composition of the Arab/Islamic communities in Spain (Al-Andalus).
- It is noted that the Prophet Mohammad's urged his followers to learn foreign languages and asked one of them (Hassan Ibn Thabet) to learn the language of the Jews (History, Grade 8, pp. 92-3).
- The role of non-Arabs and non-Muslims in the development of Islamic and Arab civilization is not highlighted, although Jews and Christians were instrumental in the development of Islamic civilization.

Jews in Modern History
- The Jews of modern days are mentioned in the narration of some historical incidents that transpired in the first half of the 20th century (e.g., the British Mandate, Jewish immigration to Palestine in the late 19th century and first half of the 20th century, War of 1948, the Massacre of Deir Yasin). The image of Jews who immigrated to Palestine is reflected in negative light (invaders, etc.). Their goal was to liquidate Palestinians and expel them from their land (National Education, Grade 7, p. 20). References are also made to the "Zionist Terror Organization" in the context of reviewing the 1947-48 Arab-Israeli War (National Education, Grade 7, p. 21).
- Israel and the Israelis are accused of stealing the Palestinian national heritage and culture and of claiming some of its features (songs, food, etc.) as Jewish (National Education, Grade 7, p. 55).
- The Jewish presence in the State of Israel is ignored as it relates to the names of cities, towns and communal settlements.
- Zionism (the Jewish national movement in modern times) is mentioned in several locations in the textbooks. In a few instances, the references are negative but there are some instances in which Zionism is mentioned without any comments or elaboration.
- Inscriptions in Hebrew are omitted, e.g., on a stamp of Palestine from the British Mandate period (National Education, Grade 2, Part 1).
- Some of the cities, historical sites/archaeological sites, geographical features in Israel proper are mentioned, in the context of recent history, and are defined as Palestinian.

Jewish Holy Sites
- Holy sites in Palestine do not include those of Jews except for ones that are holy to both Muslims and Jews (Al-Buraq Wall/the Wailing Wall, the Sanctuary of Abraham/Al-Haram al-Ibrahimi as-Shareef, Jacob's Well and Joseph's Tomb).

When mentioned, no reference is made to their significance to the Jewish tradition (National Education, Grade 7, pp. 67-9, 83).

- Jewish holy sites are presented and referred to in historical and religious contexts (as they relate to the life of Jesus Christ).
- In listing the historical and archeological sites in Jerusalem, reference is made to Greek, Roman, European/Crusader/Christian and Islamic sites. No reference is made to Jewish holy or archeological sites (National Education, Grade 7, pp. 72-3).
- The instructional objectives of a unit on "I and the Others" focus on equipping students with skills and knowledge that relate to tolerance and nonviolence in the three monotheistic religions. Students are guided to visit holy places of the three traditions. No direct mention is made to the traditions although the reference is clear (National Education, Grade 6, p. 65).

Jihad, Freedom and Martyrdom

Jihad and martyrdom are two concepts that appear frequently in different religious, militant and social contexts. In the Islamic tradition jihad implies more than a "Holy War." It signifies a physical, moral, spiritual and intellectual effort. It is rich word with a wide range of connotations. One notices that jihad is not one of the pillars of Islam. It is not the central theme of the religion, despite the common view. Jihad, however, was and remains a duty for Muslims to commit themselves to a struggle on all fronts--moral, spiritual, and political--to create a just and decent society, where the poor and vulnerable are not exploited, in the way that God had intended man to live.

In the Palestinian curriculum, jihad and martyrdom are presented as both a "religious" and a "national" duty. Jihad is referred to in several locations and in different respects:

1) Peaceful
- jihad as a search for wisdom and education
- serving one's parents and family (in the Hadith)
- passive and peaceful resistance as in the cases of Gandhi and Nelson Mandela.

2) Militant
- Glorifying militant positions as in the case of jihad against the Crusaders (History of the Middle Ages, Grade 7, pp. 50-77).
- War of Ramadan (October 1973).
- In some references, the concept of "martyrdom" is mentioned, primarily as it relates to historical events (pre- and during the 1947-48 War). The majority of references to martyrs relate to those who lost their lives in defense of historical Palestine (against the British Mandate and during the 1947-48 War). Examples include National Education, Grade 6, pp. 15, 19 and National Education, Grade 7,

p. 50. Limited references are made to recent martyrs of the Palestinian Resistance/PLO (e.g., Abu Jihad, Grade 6, p. 18).

Refugees and the Right of Return
The right of return of the Palestinian refugees to their homeland, as stipulated in the UN resolutions, is emphasized in several texts. It is also an important part of the Palestinian national anthem, the words of which carry the meanings of sacrifice for the homeland and the determination to reclaim it (National Education, Grade 1, Part 2).

Several references are made to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian refugees to return to their land. Some references are expressed in the form of poems or literary works (some implicit and some embedded in metaphorical terms). In one instance an ancient Canaanite myth about the phoenix is introduced and students are asked to relate it to the Palestinian refugees in the Diaspora (National Education, Grade 7, p. 7); others are made directly in the context of talking about the camps in which they live and about the Declaration of Independence and UN resolutions. It is worth noting in this context that some verses that are militant in nature were omitted from the selections used in the textbook.

Liberation of Palestine and Resisting Occupation
Several historical references are made to the liberation of Palestine from foreign (Byzantine and Crusader) rule (Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 1, pp. 28, 32; History of the Middle Ages, Grade 7, p. 38).

Several references are also made that reflect resistance to the British Mandate (National Education, Grade 7, p. 21; National Education, Grade 6, p. 13).

More frequent references are found that relate to resisting the Israeli occupation and the national and religious duty to liberate the occupied territories. Examples include: Our Beautiful Language, Grade 6, Part 1, p. 27; National Education, Grade 6, p. 23; Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 1, pp. 41-2; Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Part 1, p. 132. The liberation of the land occupied during the 1967 War figures prominently in some textbooks in symbolic forms (in poetry).

There is, however, one instance in which we find a call for Arabs and Palestinians, in particular, to work for the goal of "rescuing" Palestine. Since the excerpt is taken from the Encyclopedia of Palestine, first published in 1964 (Mustafa Al-Dabagah/Our Country Palestine), the call is understood as that of liberating historical Palestine (Our Beautiful Language/Language Arts, Grade 6).

Some texts note that it is incumbent on the occupied to resist the occupier. However, there are no open calls for the destruction of Israel similar to those that permeated the pre-1967 narratives.

Several references are also made to "prisoners of war" jailed by the Israelis (for political and/or military reasons) from the period extending from 1967-2001. These include those who are detained "administratively" without trials. Prison literature figures frequently in the textbooks (Our Beautiful Language, Grades 2 & 6, several locations; National Education, Grade 6). The narratives talk about and glorify the sacrifices made by the prisoners in their struggle to liberate their land from Israeli occupation. Texts are also accompanied by visual art depicting the prisoners' longing for freedom and their desire to be united with their families.

- The history textbooks talk about Palestinian struggle against occupation and highlight the revolts, general strikes and the uprising against the British. They also underscore the birth of the modern-day Palestinian resistance following the UN Partition resolution of November 29, 1947.
- The present-day struggle against Israeli occupation is also highlighted with emphasis on the rights of the Palestinian people to live in Palestine.

The Oslo Accords and Other Agreements and Declaration of Principles
Several references are made to the Oslo Accords. Some are presented in relation to the establishment of the PA, e.g., the entry of the PLA into the PA territories after the signing of the Oslo Accords and the DOP in 1993 (National Education, Grade 6, pp. 23-4). Other references relate to the demographic and economic realities post-Oslo such as the decline in the population of Palestinians in the Diaspora and the patterns of social, educational and economic development in PA areas after the signing of the Accords.

Maps
Several books contain and make reference to maps of historical Palestine as a geographical and historical entity. Some of the maps show Palestine as part of the Arab world (regional maps), whereas others show it in isolation. In all cases, the maps are not labeled in any way. Maps also appear on children's clothing as motifs. Maps are used for different purposes: to situate Palestine with reference to the Arab and Islamic worlds, in relation to the lines of latitude and longitude, for identifying the four directions, locating the different cities and sites in historical Palestine (under Ottoman rule, British Mandate), medieval history (during Islamic rule, the Crusades and Salah Iddin, etc.), Bilad As-Sham/Fertile Crescent as well as ancient history (the time of the Canaanites). Some maps highlight the location of the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

In some maps the boundaries of the West Bank and Gaza Strip are contoured. (This is the case when reference is made to the demographic distribution of Palestinians and to the administrative breakdown of the Palestinian State in terms of governorates.) Some of the "administrative maps" also show names of cities that were predominantly inhabited by Arabs prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. These cities include Acre/Akko, Nazareth/An-Nasirah, Safad/Safad, Haifa/Haifa, Jaffa/Jaffa, Lod/Al-Lud, and Ramle/Ar-Ramleh. The same was found for a lesson on "tourism" in which the accompanying map includes the names of Haifa, Nazareth and Acre (along with two photos showing the Church of the Annunciation and the Al-Jazzar Mosque, respectively). The name "Israel" does not appear on any map.

General Remarks

Analysis and evaluation of any textbook, but especially history and national education textbooks, need to be situated in the proper historical and political contexts; otherwise, one risks making inaccurate and biased conclusions due to a dishonest or uninformed reading. In addition, such investigations should take into account the existing conditions in the political arena and on the ground.

Firstly, the Palestinian MOE should be applauded for its willingness to embark on replacing the existing curriculum in spite of the difficult situation on the ground and several unresolved major issues in the conflict. The MOE is doing its best to do away with many stereotypical references to Jews and Israelis. This process, however, cannot be completed in a short period of time or, more importantly, without the implementation of reforms in the entire educational system. The events of the last two years have not been conducive to the endeavor. It is hoped that, in the near future, the situation will become more opportune for such reform.

It is true that the curriculum is very nationalistic in its attempt to set the ground for the future Palestinian state and to establish and reaffirm the Palestinian national identity. Education, after all, is not and has never been neutral. It is an instrument to promote a nation's national and social agenda. The Palestinian narrative, one has to acknowledge, has short-term as well as long-term bearings on the political questions and the political agenda of the different parties of the region. These are legitimate aims and are not to be construed as denying others, particularly Israelis, the right to a secure and peaceful existence.

The textbooks undoubtedly bear the marks of unresolved controversies both among Palestinians and with the neighbors of the emerging Palestinian State. This observation was pointed out in other reviews and may reflect that fact that several major issues remain unresolved. The textbooks, moreover, and especially the history books, could be viewed as having an "interim" nature. As such, they reflect current

political and social realities. Once the existing conditions are altered or modified, the textbooks will certainly reflect the changes.

The overall orientation of the curriculum is peaceful despite the harsh and violent realities on the ground. It does not openly incite against Israel and the Jews. It does not incite hatred and violence. The curriculum promotes peace and tolerance within the Palestinian society but fails to extend these principles and concepts to include the Israelis.

The review of the new textbooks reveals that a major goal of the history, national education, civil education, and language arts textbooks is to reinforce the Palestinian national, civic and religious identity, and at the same time promote respect for authority (local and national government, family and religious and civic institutions).

As far as the history textbooks are concerned, one cannot fail to note that the treatment of the ancient and modern history of the region, and that of Palestine, ignores some historical events while depicting others from one perspective. One also notices the lack of a sustained account of the recent history of Palestine and the absence or peripheral treatment of some of the formative events in the region's history. This phenomenon, like other similar ones, could be explained by the PA's attempt to avoid domestic and regional controversy over unresolved issues. It should not, however, be construed as an attempt to present an inaccurate or dishonest reading of history.

In addition, the historical timelines in several textbooks show a continuous Arab presence in the region. This does not necessarily constitute a challenge to Israel's biblical and modern claims of presence in the region. For an honest, complete and accurate representation of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious culture of the region, non-Arab and non-Muslim presence and history should be included.

In the context of the modern history of Palestine and the region, the textbooks do not adequately represent the other side's point of view on several unresolved or final-status issues (Jerusalem, water, borders, refugees, settlements). These issues, one has to admit, are still hotly debated and are part of each side's strategic plans for a constructive, permanent, just and comprehensive settlement for the conflict. The present situation on the ground, especially in the absence of any progress on the diplomatic and political fronts, makes it harder for the MOE to even attempt to give a balanced and unbiased account of the issues that surround the conflict, especially the "final status" issues. It may in fact backfire, thus fueling a feeling of mistrust and suspicion. This, however, does not mean that attempts should not be made by all parties to avoid all types of historical distortion and of using history as a vehicle for ideological manipulation.

The territory of the State of Israel is shown on the maps without any label. No reference is made to Palestine, either. The rationale for this approach, as explained by political officials and educators alike, is that Israel itself has not yet marked its borders and that no final agreement has been reached with the PLO and the PA as to the final status of the borders between the two political entities. This, however, does not mean that maps included in the textbooks should be left without labels that reflect the historical as well as the present-day political reality. Thus, until a solution is reached with regards to the disputed borders, maps should be described in more accurate terms (e.g., such as being typographical, demographic or geological maps of Historical Palestine). In addition, maps should reflect the present-day political realities in terms of labeling the regions as they are described in internationally adopted documents, accords, resolutions, and treaties, etc. (e.g., Israel, the Palestinian Authority, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip).

The National Education and Civic Education textbooks make frequent references to official publications and documents at the national, regional, Pan-Arab, and international levels. These references come in the form of excerpts and quotations from the UN Charter and Resolutions, Declaration of Independence, the Legislative Council, the draft Constitution, the Oslo Accords, Elections Law, ministerial publications and publication and documents of the Central Bureau of Statistics. The references are made to reinforce students' affiliation and beliefs in the legislative, judicial and executive branches of the government, and to encourage students to refer to legal and official documents in their discussion, debates and dialogues over political and religious issues.

More specifically, official documents and publications are used to instill the principles and values advocated by a democracy. They are also used to acquaint the students with national and international rules and regulations as facets of civil society and democracy. Thus, the draft Constitution is used to show that the future State of Palestine will be a parliamentary democracy headed by a president; to highlight the borders of the future state, to indicate that although Islam is the official religion of the state, the sanctity of places of worship and respect for other religions would be guaranteed. It also guarantees the civil freedoms of its citizens. The draft Constitution also reiterates that Jerusalem is the capital of the Palestinian state.

The Declaration of Independence is used to reflect the policies of the future state. It reiterates some of the principles found in the draft Constitution. In addition, it highlights the recognition by the Palestinian people (represented by the PLO) of the State of Israel and all the UN resolutions that relate to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The principles of the Declaration of Independence, moreover, promote peace, plurality and tolerance.

In the National Education and the Civic Education textbooks, one notices a focus on Arab and Palestinian ethnic, religious, geographic and religious identity. This does not mean the denial of the Jewish and the Israeli narrative of the same ethnic and geographic dimension. However, the materials do not openly reflect readiness to consider the Jewish and the Israeli narratives.

The same applies to the focus on the Arab character of East Jerusalem. It does not deny the Israeli and Jewish character of, for example, the Jewish holy places or Jewish history in the city. One also notices an emphasis on the duty of students to love their land, family, towns, state, the Arab world and the Islamic world. These pronouncements, on the one hand, are not incompatible or in conflict with calls for recognizing, respecting and understanding others. On the other hand, they do not constitute a clear call for doing so.

In the civic education textbooks one notices that, although the curriculum promotes the principles, concepts and competencies of civil society, it fails to account for other important ones (e.g., information management and taking action). It also fails, in crucial instances, to make the connection between the local, regional and global concerns, especially as it relates to environmental awareness, community involvement, and global social and moral responsibility.

The curriculum also falls short in its attempt to promote the concept of "cultural literacy" as presented by Hirsch (1987). Although the principles that embody "cultural literacy" are included in the curriculum framework, the authoring teams have failed to adequately translate the principles and concepts into subject-matter content and activities. Thus, one finds few references that focus on the inclusion of people, places, events or any ideas that reflect both a broader nature of multiculturalism and a more international perspective, thereby giving credence to contributions coming from other ethnic and religious groups.

The concepts and principles of civil society, human rights, democracy, tolerance and constructive conflict resolution along with the skills and competencies associated with them appear frequently in the new Palestinian textbooks. However, these concepts, principles and skills are introduced in the national, local dimension and fail to reflect regional and global dimensions. Students need to recognize that social and moral responsibilities extend beyond local and national borders. In other words, there should be increased focus on global issues that transcend national boundaries. Students need to be constantly reminded and/or made aware that the battle against injustice, insensitivity, and inequity is an ongoing dynamic process.

Educators, historians and politicians alike have long argued that in the context of a conflict, there is no escape from presenting the "other" in stereotypical references. This, however, should not be interpreted as a call to condone such practices. In the

spirit of peace and tolerance, the "other" – in this case Israel – should be portrayed in proper terms (neutral and/or positive light). The authoring teams made every effort to avoid stereotyping and incitement. This is reflected in the practice of omitting explicitly defiant verses or excerpts from poems and literary works included in the subject-matter content.

The curriculum highlights the multiplicity of cultures and religions in Palestine and the Arab World. It fails, however, to reflect the plurality of world cultures.

Educational Remarks

Generally speaking, the content and the accompanying activities succeed in the development of multiple perspectives, behaviors and conceptualizations. However, more work needs to be done to make the connection between the local, regional and global levels more visible.

The content and activities foster respect, appreciation and equality among diverse students as equal members of their school and nation. These feelings and attitudes need to be extended to cover the global community.

The curriculum promotes and encourages the use of diverse teaching strategies and methods to reflect the diverse learning styles of students, including an awareness of multiple intelligence (MI) and cultural diversity.

Recommendations

Education has a duty to become involved in the resolution of conflicts. Education is sometimes blamed as being part of the problem; it, then, has to be part of the solution.

Education should foster peaceful relations between Palestinian and Israelis. The educational system should be used as a primary vehicle for promoting the principles of tolerance, peace, respect for diversity, human rights and citizenship, and for promoting the peace process between the two nations. Opportunities should be provided for students to explore the relationships between the Israelis and the Palestinians, both historically and in the context of the present-day context.

- **General Recommendations**

National curricula in conflict-ridden regions, and in societies undergoing a process of building their national and cultural identity, should encourage the development and fostering of peaceful relations between the neighboring nations. This can be achieved through various means, chiefly relating to the educational system they

adopt and the types of knowledge, values and skills with which they try to equip the students. In particular, the school curricula in Palestine (and in Israel) should aspire to promote mutual understanding, tolerance and peace between the two peoples and to work out a constructive resolution of the outstanding issues.

The curriculum, in natural settings (formal school setting), should provide learners with a model based on a combination of cultural/linguistic knowledge and experiences that will result in development and refinement of positive attitudes of tolerance and peace. The curriculum, moreover, should present content, methods, and values in a way that takes into consideration increasing globalization that is transforming personal and collective identities into both more privatized and more globalized forms.[5]

Both the affective and cognitive approaches should be used in programs aimed at promoting tolerance, coexistence, peace, and democratic concepts, the former being teaching for peace whereas the latter is teaching about peace. Unfortunately, most programs focus mostly on the cognitive dimension at the expense of the affective one.

The principles and techniques of "culturally responsive pedagogy" (Gay 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994) should be adopted in multicultural and global education programs. This approach in pedagogy emphasizes using students' background as assets in the learning process.

Mutual understanding and confidence between peoples can be strengthened, particularly through a history curriculum intended to eliminate prejudice and emphasizing positive mutual influence between different countries, religions and ideas in the historical development of the Middle East.

The 21st century will probably be the century in which pluralism and diversity would be celebrated and appreciated. It follows that different and/or alternative narratives of historical events will be accepted and even promoted. National identities should be respected and reinforced if peace is to become a reality in the Middle East region. Asserting a single identity in the region will not serve the cause of peace and reconciliation between the Palestinians and the Israelis because it will mean denying the "other" national identities. This in turn will widen the gap between the two peoples and will contribute to the alienation of the Palestinians and the persistence of the conflict.

Israel and the Jewish people should be clearly identified and described as legitimate neighbors with needs and aspirations of their own. The same applies to the Palestinian people. Their national identity and their political, economic, religious,

educational, historical, and cultural identities, needs, interests and aspirations should be recognized as genuine and legitimate.

Citizenship education will empower the students to participate in society effectively as active, informed, critical and responsible citizens of a democratic state and of the wider world. As such it should be promoted and extended to reflect more adequately the different features of citizenship such as political literacy, social and moral responsibility and community involvement.

Education for peace and tolerance should aim at fostering understanding and respect of the national, cultural and religious identity of the other party. The Israeli perspective should be mentioned, without necessarily accepting it, or even sympathizing with it.

- **Practical Recommendations**

The achievements and contributions of others to humanity should be extended to include Jews, in line with the concept of tolerance and the principles of cooperation, peaceful coexistence and the constructive resolution of conflicts.

Periods of relative coexistence in ancient, recent and modern history should be given more coverage.

Political disputes should be presented in an objective, complete and accurate manner. The "other" should be depicted in a positive way that highlights the commonalties and intersections between the Jewish, Christian and Muslim religions and cultures.

Students should be provided with texts that contain scholarly information about the others (Jews and Christians), their heritage, history, culture, feasts and religious holidays, prophets and holy men and their contribution to humanity. This information should be integrated in proper contexts that reflect commonalties, while pointing to and respecting differences.

Students need to be aware of the fact that the "other" may have a version of historical events that is not necessarily the same as the one presented in the students' books. One way to achieve this is to ensure multi-perspectivity in historical narratives.

It would probably be valuable to include in the language arts, history and social studies textbooks, narratives that describe the horrors of wars and armed conflicts as a mechanism for highlighting the price of wars. The inclusion of such narratives is also intended to make students aware of an alternative to solving conflicts militarily, namely constructive and peaceful conflict resolution. One has to remember that

students need not only be equipped with content knowledge but also with the skills and values needed to arrive at such alternatives.

Some Thoughts on the Teaching of Tolerance and Peace in the Palestinian Context
This section will address the issues surrounding peace and tolerance education in the Palestinian context. It will provide a definition of the target terms and explore the sources of intolerance in both the global context and the regional one. It will also show the interrelationships between intolerance and prejudice and between and among intolerance, identities (national, religious, and civic) and attitudes. The argument will focus primarily on political and religious tolerance and intolerance. Finally, we will offer some general comments on the feasibility of teaching the values of peace, coexistence and tolerance in the Palestinian schools as part of the national curriculum, the impediments to implementing such a program and the prospect of such programs in the short term. Finally, and as part of Phase II of the investigation, we will provide a comprehensive framework for teaching tolerance, peace, coexistence, human rights, citizenship, democracy and other related themes and topics. This phase will involve the design and development of supplementary materials (lesson plans and sample units).

Introduction
Any educational program should have theoretical underpinnings. This is true for programs in tolerance and peace in the Palestinian context. The following argument will benefit from the literature in the fields of social psychology, cognitive psychology, and educational psychology, multi-cultural and global education.

What is "Intolerance?"
Intolerance to "others" is one of the reactions that often accompany the cognitive distinction between "us" and "them," especially in prolonged situations of inter-group conflict. Intolerance of others is hard to define and much debated. Some claim that tolerance is a thoroughly dispensable idea and that to tolerate another view is to look down upon it or to be indifferent to it (Kerlinger, 1984). Others suggest that tolerance reflects acceptance of others' views despite one's own disapproval (Minow, 1990). Little (1997), on his part, contends that tolerance has to include the possibility of disapproval and basic disagreement. To tolerate is, at a minimum, to resist a temptation to interfere with or to try to influence or suppress the beliefs and practices of others by using force. It is, in essence, "to leave the offending beliefs and practices alone," despite an inclination to act otherwise. All these definitions refer mostly to tolerance of beliefs, but tolerance is often directed against an out-group whose characteristics or customs differ from those of the in-group.

As such, intolerance may be considered one of the major impediments to democracy and peace in the Middle East. The region is afflicted with extreme inequality, acute

poverty, deep national, ethnic and religious divisions, and horrendous loss of young lives on all sides. All of these factors contribute to intolerance of the other that is portrayed as the cause of anguish and injustice. Thus, according to social identity (Abrams et al., 1992) and political tolerance theories (Sullivan et al. 1982; Avery, 1992; among others), in a culturally pluralistic and conflict-ridden region, the more people identify with their in-group and see themselves part of its suffering, the less tolerant they are of the out-group to which they are bound.

Sources of Intolerance

In many conflict-ridden regions of the world, intolerance towards "others" has reached horrifying proportions, especially when the conflict is intractable and prolonged. The sources of conflict are not always clear. However, religion, ethnicity and nationalism often seem inseparable. According to Little (1997), religion and ethnicity are a "veil" for prior nationalist interests, which are the majority's attempt to "gain control over the political and legal life of the inhabitants of particular territory, using ethnicity and religion to justify their claim to power" (Little, 1997, p. 1). Thus, as part of an effort to create a nation-state, a majority group may attempt to assert exclusive ethnic (or religious) domination over minority groups.

Whether such conflicts are between national, ethnic, religious, racial, and/or political groups who share the same land and resources, they tend to create a conflictive ethos, i.e., the value-orientations, social identities, beliefs and feelings toward the out-group that are prevalent in a society (Bar-Tal, 2000). The ethos that each side in the conflict creates provides a different – often opposing – interpretation of the same events, which becomes part of the already existing divisions.

Intolerance and Prejudice

Intolerance is linked to prejudice, discrimination, exclusion and related concepts. It is considered one of the motivating forces that translate behavioral tendencies to hostile actions against out-groups. Augoustinos and Reynolds (2001) refer to intolerance as one of the more common negative, unjustified and irrational consequences that prejudice can foster. Prejudice, defined as a negative attitude towards a person or group of people, is not based on objective facts but on stereotypes, which are simplified and generalized views of social groups. Social psychologists and educators agree that attitudinal change is very hard to effect and almost always takes long time. Attitudinal change is feasible, however, through education at school and through the varied socializing agencies (family, religious and civil society institutions, etc.).

The forms and causes of intolerance and prejudice vary across societies and across groups within societies, often leading to the exclusion of national, ethnic, racial, religious and /or political groups (Ashmore, Jussine and Wilder, 2001).

Intolerance, Identities and Attitudes

Intolerance could also be analyzed as part of the unintended consequences of the structuration process (Giddens, 1984, 1994). Structuration theory's major assumption is that in any socio-historical context, the intensity of intolerance toward the out-group is influenced by an interaction of political attitudes and collective identity.

In the Israeli-Palestinian context, religiosity represents the socio-historical context of each group in the conflict, because many consider it one of the main dividing issues within and between the Palestinian and Israeli societies. Therefore, it is one of the major forces that determine and shape the conflictive ethos. However, religious and secular groups and individuals perceive and react to the context very differently. They define the nature of the state and its boundaries differently, they understand the Arab-Israeli conflict and the possible solutions differently, and they relate to different "others" as their out-groups (Moore and Aweiss, in press, 2003).

Consequently, being religious or secular, Muslim, Jew, or Christian, is expected to influence all other factors in the equation: salience of diverse collective (national and civic) identities, political attitudes, and through them, the intolerance of out-groups.

Intolerance and Prejudice in the Educational System

Education is one of the vehicles used to inculcate national identity. It is also a means of instilling religious and universal values, for teaching knowledge and the skills associated with civil society and for creating a culture of peace and tolerance at the local, regional and global level.

However, it is not unusual in conflicts that the other side is portrayed as brutal and inhuman. In some cases, the very existence of the "other" is denied. These issues become more serious if these portrayals are transmitted through the formal curricula and the mass media.

Attitudes to and beliefs about tolerance and peace fall within the realm of teaching for affect. It is important to keep in mind that, unfortunately, the Palestinians and Israelis are in the midst of a bitter and violent conflict. Even in peaceful situations, it usually takes years, and even decades, to effect attitudinal change of the type we have in the Israeli-Palestinian context. It takes even longer for a society to feel secure enough to present to its future generations a version of some historical events that reflect the "other" in a favorable and positive light. History tells us that, even in conflicts that have ended (militarily or peacefully) decades ago, fair-minded and

objective textbook authors or teachers still face very big challenges when dealing with controversial issues.

More specifically, teaching for tolerance of diversity of belief is not a simple task. Societal norms, school structures, and curriculum guidelines often militate against the in-depth study of conflict. And individuals are not innately tolerant. A curriculum may promote more tolerance among students, but the sustenance of tolerance is an ongoing process that requires a commitment on the part of all educators.

In the Palestinian context, one has to remember that the Palestinians are still engaged in a struggle for independence, a struggle that inevitably influences Palestinians' attitudes and mindset. The ongoing conflict also influences their perception of the "other" in the various aspects of life, including education.

But, in spite of the difficult situation (politically, economically, logistically and security-wise), and despite the lack of progress on several of the major final-status issues, the PA has showed willingness to embark on the long and complex process of reforming the educational system in the Palestinian territories. Part of that involves replacing the existing curriculum and doing away with many stereotypical references to Jews and Israelis.

Several legitimate, fair and well-intentioned questions should be posed in relation to the Palestinian curriculum, and for that matter, to any other curriculum developed-- or being developed--in politically and socially unstable situations:

1) Can we envision education for peace and tolerance programs when confrontation, misery and violence are the main features of daily life?

2) Is it too heavy a burden on the Palestinian curriculum to expect it to reflect the principles of tolerance, peaceful coexistence, irrespective of the political reality on the ground?

3) Can we truly promote tolerance, mutual understanding and respect for the other in a situation that is characterized by a climate of distrust and acute violence?

4) Are the present-day conditions conducive to an objective and multi-perspective approach in dealing with the "other's" narrative?

5) Can the two parties truly and sufficiently detach themselves from the political and historical realities and engage in an objective and critical analysis of history?

6) Should history be viewed as a process of reconstructing the past or should it be viewed as a process of interpreting the past?

Some Thoughts on the Teaching History in the Palestinian Context

It is not unusual in situations similar to that of the Palestinian educational system that some forms of bias be detected in the national curriculum, especially in the history, language arts, religious education and national education textbooks. Bias, in fact, has been detected in almost every curriculum around the world, and strangely enough, in peaceful regions and established Western democracies. History textbooks in particular have been condemned for their ideological bias in Europe and in the US (Ferro, 1981, FitzGerald, 1979, Mariet, 1982, Moniot, 1984).

The forms of bias include *invisibility* (in the form of giving minimal treatment of the significance, relevance and contributions of others), *stereotyping* (in the form of assigning a rigid set of characteristics to all members of a group), *imbalance and selectivity* (in the form of presenting one interpretation of an issue, situation, or a historical event), *unreality* (in the form of glossing over some unpleasant controversial events), *fragmentation* (in the form of isolating or assigning peripheral importance to a certain event or a particular narrative), and *linguistic bias* (in the form of subtly or blatantly denying the full participation and recognition of others). A review of the Palestinian history textbooks reveals some elements and facets of bias in the presentation of some ancient and modern historical events.

Generally speaking, history teaching in the region is characterized as being selective in nature. Teaching is mostly driven by content rather than skills (critical thinking, historical and analytical thinking, and inquiry skills). Several sensitive historical milestones and formative and controversial events receive no or minimal treatment. The textbooks, moreover, use the method of text analysis in presenting historical material. This method is not conducive to enabling students to practice analytical and historical thinking. There is an inclination to present the historical fact from only one facet and neglect the importance of "historical proof" in providing reasonability to the historical facts (explanations). Therefore, it is uncertain whether students can develop the ability of analytical thinking, including the ability to distinguish between the historical events and the historical view and understand the ideological bases of the text's view and explanation of the historical event.

However, there is no evidence of the "misuse of history" in the Palestinian curriculum. Although some may feel that history is being used as an instrument of ideological manipulation, there are very few instances in which texts are implicitly exploited to promote intolerance and ultra-nationalistic or racist issues. No attempts are made to falsify or create false evidence, to doctor statistics or to fake images. The past is in no way distorted for the purpose of propaganda, nor is an excessively

nationalistic version of it given. In general, history as it is presented in the Palestinian history textbooks is compatible with the fundamental values and statutes of the UN. However, one cannot fail to notice a number of cases in which Judaism and the Jews are inadequately and inappropriately represented in relation to their presence in the region. Different positive dimensions of the region's intercultural history are sometimes missing, thus giving the impression of insignificance of other cultures, religions and political institutions in the development of the region's present-day profile.

Teaching History for Peace
In teaching history, we cannot afford to steer away from controversial and painful issues for fear they may create a problem for the school or ourselves. We should stand firm against historical distortions in school textbooks, and in any book, for that matter. If we do so, we are likely to produce students who possess the skills of independent, critical and analytical thinking and decision-making.

History curricula should be looked at as being dynamic in nature. This belief was translated into reality in the 6th grade history textbook. According to a Position Paper issued by the MOE, the authoring team made it a point to end the section on the "Crusaders" with "an attempt to mollify the reader and help him to recognize the good present relationships with Europe." It is hoped that this spirit will prevail in future editions of textbooks that deal with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

It would be appropriate for history teaching in the Middle Eastern context to play a role in the promotion of fundamental values such as tolerance, mutual understanding, human rights, and democracy. It should, moreover, be one of the fundamental pillars of building peace in the region. As such, it is recommended that history teaching in the 21st century Middle East:
1) Show continuing historical relationships between local, regional, national and global levels;
- Introduce or develop teaching about the history of the building of Palestine itself without undermining or ignoring the formative variables;
- Develop pupils' interest in the history of all the religious and ethnic groups that have or have had a presence in the region;
- Encourage teaching about periods and developments with the most obvious regional dimension, especially the historical or cultural events and tendencies that underpin regional awareness;
- Present historical information in an accurate and multi-perspective fashion;
- Emphasize the process of enquiry;
- Be founded on an understanding and explanation of heritage and of highlighting the cross-border nature of Arab and Jewish heritage;
- Develop key concepts and skills and apply them to knowledge deemed important to understanding the Israeli-Arab conflict;

- Place acquired concepts and knowledge in the pan-Arab, regional and world contexts.

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Notes

1. Educational reform is multifaceted in nature. It addresses several aspects of the learning-teaching process.

School-based or site-based management involves decentralizing decision-making power by expanding the authority of teachers and administrators at the individual school level to make all kinds of decisions related to the operation of the school

Authentic assessment tasks (as opposed to paper-and-pencil assessment instruments that mostly require students to complete tasks with one predetermined "right" answer that is usually a single piece of information) are authentic in the sense that they are meaningful to both teachers and students, are framed by the student, and require the student to construct knowledge, to locate and analyze information as well as conclusions about it, to communicate results clearly, and to work together for at least part of the task. Authentic tasks require students to compare, contrast, classify, induce, deduce, construct, provide evidence, abstract, analyze perspectives, make decisions, carry out historical investigation, do experimental inquiry, etc.

Curriculum integration is an approach that seeks to respond to certain criticisms of curricula that have organized around academic subjects. In this scheme, several traditional subjects are combined into broader areas that center on large themes such as industrialization, the environment, values, religion, culture, sports, hygiene, evolution, etc. We can use these themes to prepare lessons that draw on knowledge from several subject areas. We can also address the same theme from different dimensions. It is assumed that learners who are exposed to such programs will develop the ability to transfer what they have learned to new situations.

Professional development involves providing future teachers with the best possible training (pre-service training) and present teachers with the finest staff-development opportunities (in-service training). Such training includes attending workshops, academic and educational conferences, peer observation, apprenticeship, etc. with the aim of acquiring and/or fine-tuning needed instructional strategies and competencies (e.g. questioning techniques, classroom management, cooperative learning techniques, assessment, providing correction and feedback, etc.).

2. Curricula based on the needs of the society: part of the reason for the existence of schools is that they fulfill social needs. Societies establish schools to help further their goals and promote their values in successive generations. Curricula developed from this perspective may be one of several basic types, chief among which are those organized according to a "problems approach" and those designed to promote "citizenship development." Proponents of citizenship development, for example, point out that adult members of the society need certain basic skills in order to make a contribution. A problems approach is predicated on the assumption that schools should provide experiences designed to help learners develop skills and insights relevant to solving pressing social problems. In that sense schools are viewed as institutions charged with ensuring social survival. Curricula that reflect a needs-of-learners orientation place learners at the center of the planning process. These

curricula are alleged to motivate learners because they respond to their needs, interests and aspirations.

3. Constructivism is based on the principle that individuals cannot simply be given knowledge. Rather, they must construct knowledge through interacting with the world (the physical and social environments) around them. Students' construction of knowledge is rooted in their prior knowledge. Knowledge grows as individuals compare new information to what they already know. The social and cultural context within which learning takes place plays an important role in what is constructed or learned.

4. Teaching material is considered to be didactic if it relates to the knowledge to be taught (e.g., textbooks, movies, videos, maps, timelines, etc). Otherwise it is considered to be pedagogical, in that it promotes or provides support to teaching and learning activities (e.g., overheads, workbooks, posters, etc.).

5. In public schooling, globalization blurs national boundaries and undermines national authority. Education typically has been defined by and situated in the nation-state, with the purpose of preparing future labor for the nation's economy and of preparing citizens for the nation's polity. Two possible futures are envisioned under globalization: (1) the undermining of democratic possibilities for civic life as nation-based governance over economies and (2) the possible extension of human rights across traditional national boundaries. Consequently, educators (e.g., Torres, 2002) call for the reexamination of education in general and democratic education, in particular, in light of increasing globalization.

Appendix A: List of Textbooks Reviewed

All of the new PA-produced textbooks were reviewed. The following is a list of books where specific issues cited in this report were found:

Civic Education, Grade 1, Parts 1 & 2
Civic Education, Grade 2
Civic Education, Grade 3, Part 1
Civic Education, Grade 6
Civic Education, Grade 7
Civic Education, Grade 8

Language Arts: Arabic Language
Our Beautiful Language, Grade 1, Part 1
Our Beautiful Language, Grade 2, Parts 1 & 2
Our Beautiful Language, Grade 3
Our Beautiful Language, Grade 6, Part 1
Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 1
Our Beautiful Language, Grade 8, Part 1

National Education, Grade 1, Parts 1& 2
National Education, Grade 2, Part 2
National Education, Grade 6
National Education, Grade 7
National Education, Grade 8

Islamic Education, Grade 1, Parts 1 & 2
Islamic Education, Grade 2, Part 2
Islamic Education, Grade 3, Part 1
Islamic Education, Grade 6, Parts 1 & 2
Islamic Education, Grade 7, Parts 1 & 2

Christian Religious Education, Grade 1
Christian Religious Education, Grade 2
Christian Religious Education, Grade 6
Christian Religious Education, Grade 7

Arts and Crafts, Grade 1
Arts and Crafts, Grade 2
Arts and Crafts, Grade 7

English: English for Palestine, Grades 1, 2, 3

Principles of Human Geography, Grade 6
Geography of Palestine, Grade 7

History of the Arabs & Muslims, Grade 6
History of the Middle Ages, Grade 7
History, Grade 8

Mathematics, Grades 1, 2, 3, 6, 7
Health and Environment: Health and Environment, Grade 7