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Constructing an Imagined Path to Peace during Conflict: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Human Rights Education in Gaza, Palestine.

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I discovered that…

I am doing this research not only to educate my students of global citizenship,

I am doing it to tell the world what it is to be Palestinian!

Deportation Hall, Cairo Airport, 2014

ABSTRACT

Human Rights Education (HRE) for Palestinian refugees in Gaza Strip is integrated in a context where history, culture and collective memory are priorities in the local discourses of right-hood and justice. Palestinian learners are citizens of a non-recognized imagined community, existing through the processes of collective remembering, and the local discourses on rights. This study examines UNRWA's special HRE curriculum for Palestinian refugees in Gaza Strip. I analyse UNRWA's HRE policy and a sample of secondary level textbooks. This results in forming my original contribution to the field of human rights and HRE in a context of conflict. That is giving voice to a "collective" counter-hegemonic response to UNRWA's model of HRE, which marginalizes the local discourse of right-hood. Collective, not in the sense of generalization, but in recognition of Palestinians' legal and political status, which is a major obstacle for human rights and HRE in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

For this, I use qualitative document analysis and a dialectical-relational approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the materials in relation to the wider geo-political and socio-cultural context. The research outcomes reveal that UNRWA promotes a discourse of Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Tolerance (HRCRT) through a model of HRE which promotes a standardized culture of human rights. The study suggests that, at the level of conflict resolution, UNRWA's discourse of HRCRT overlooks vital political and legal issues that hinder HRE in Gaza Strip. The curriculum is highly de-politicized and knowledge-based that it prescribes a de-contextualized curriculum, which represents the world as it "ought to be" rather than what "it is". Therefore, the study argues that the way forward for HRE resides in directly addressing the complex components of the conflict and acknowledging the importance of the local discourses and collective memory for HRE for Palestinians.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CoE	Council of Europe
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
EU	European Union
FDA	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
HRCRT	Human Rights, Conflict resolution and Tolerance
HRE	Human Rights Education
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
MOEHE	Ministry of Education and Higher Education
OHCHR	Office of Higher Commissioner of Human Rights
PA	Palestinian Authority
PCDC	Palestinian Curriculum Development Centre
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organisation
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee On Palestine
UNWPHRE	United Nations World Programme for Human Rights Education

RESEARCHER BACKGROUND

Being a third generation Palestinian refugee myself- and raised to believe in the right to return, the collective memory and the dreams of the homeland as paradise- could be regarded as an indicator to partiality in this research. Moreover, as the main research tool in this study, my research position can be perceived as significantly subjective. In this section, I hope to challenge these assumptions by giving an auto-biographic account of my background and the ways in which my own lived experience as a Palestinian refugee has enhanced my reflexive and critical skills while carrying out this research. In accordance to this, I justify my research position and aim at producing a piece of work that is informed by the literature and data analysis more than my background as a Palestinian researcher.

I was born in Syria in 1984 and so were my 5 older siblings. My grandparents and parents are, respectively, Palestinians of the first and second generation Palestinian refugees. They took refuge in Jordan and in Gaza post Al-Nakba 1948, which I elaborate on in Chapter 1. I was born in Syria, then lived in Yemen till the age of 10 then moved to Gaza with my family, post-Oslo Accords (1993). Oslo agreement promised peace and co-existence between the Palestinians and the Israelis depending on the negotiations to reach a definitive resolution and a sustainable peace process. However, the situation in reality was far from peaceful as there was no concrete resolution for the Palestinian question, which resulted in worsening the life conditions.

Having lived for around twenty years in the Gaza Strip has contributed to me realising the reality of the situation, which has the main role in reshaping my understanding of my Palestinian-ness. It has also contributed to forming my understanding of the ways in which other Palestinians living in Gaza understand theirs. For this I address Palestinian identity in Chapter 2 as fluid and pluralistic, rather than merely nationalistic. Simultaneously, I use the term "Palestinian identity" rather than "identities" only to refer to the collective aspect of the process of construction of this identity, with collective memory being the main catalyst for providing this sense of unity as I explain in Chapter 2. My understanding of the

fluidity and pluralistic aspect of the Palestinian identity is generated by continuous acts of reflection and observation of the different ways of conceptualizing identity; as a child interacting within the social spaces and people, as a student at UNRWA schools, and later on as a teacher at UNRWA schools in Gaza.

Working at UNRWA schools has given me an insight with regard to teachers' and students' perceptions of HRE during conflict. I have not taught human rights, the subject, but I have been interested in listening to debates surrounding HRE at UNRWA schools. Therefore, I developed my interest in carrying out this research mainly because of the contradicting views on this matter. While some human rights teachers express positive views on UNRWA's HRE programme, others who are not necessarily human rights teachers have opposing views with regard to the discourse of human rights. The main argument of the second category is that the discourse of human rights is a Western agenda aiming at "brain wash" the minds of the younger generation. That is because of the ideals of human rights that, to them, are not applicable in the Palestinian context especially with the failure of the peace process, and the continuing human rights violations on a day-to-day basis. Young learners also have critical views with regard to the discourse of human rights. The majority of comments I used to hear from them were pertinent to their inability to enjoy the rights they learn about because of the Israeli occupation. Frustration was the impression they have with regard to what they learn in the classroom about rights. Therefore, the question on the relevance of HRE to the local context was the most frequent question that perplexed even the teachers of the subject.

My initial intention was to carry out a research study that provides a platform for these views to emerge in response to the discourse of human rights and HRE. Particularly, I wanted to research the ways in which the learners at UNRWA schools understand the concepts of "identity" and "citizenship" in relation to HRE during conflict. The preliminary observations and remarks I have gathered helped me develop the research design and the research questions to carry out a case study on HRE in the Gaza strip. However, the research plan was interrupted, and changed, for two reasons. Firstly the blockade on the Gaza Strip which prevented me from carrying out the research. Secondly was the lack of access to research participants by the gate keepers (UNRWA) to carry out interviews with teachers and students via

skype. Therefore, I revised the research design and methodology to carry out a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the UNRWA's HRE curriculum rather than the learners understanding of identity and citizenship.

As I progressed in the research, I started to discover the criticisms entangling CDA as a methodology. The question of subjectivity pertains strongly to CDA since, in an oversimplified manner, a CDA researcher takes the side of the oppressed to reveal the inequalities and injustices caused by power use and abuse. The fact that I am the main tool of inquiry in this research, and an insider to the culture and context under study, invites more criticism with regard to the issue of bias. Therefore, I sought a supplementary autobiographic statement that can justify my position as a researcher in a quest for understanding the social problem, its causes and the obstacles that cause its proliferation. I maintain a data-driven aspect in this research in order to avoid my presuppositions and research prejudice to direct the data collection and analysis.

INTRODUCTION

The focus on Human Rights Education (HRE) has increased internationally over more than two decades. Led by the United Nations, the UN Decade of Human Rights Education (UNDHRE) from 1995-2004 and the World Programme for Human Rights Education (WPHRE) (2005- ongoing) have provided the first intensive efforts to support HRE. One of the main goals of the WPHRE is to promote 'a common understanding of basic principles and methodologies of human rights education, to provide a concrete framework for action and to strengthen partnerships and cooperation from the international level down to the grass roots' (OHCHR, 2017). In 2010 the UN Human Rights Council drafted a declaration on human rights education and training, which the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) adopted in December 2011. This has resulted in providing accessibility to human rights education and training for all levels of education. Some UN International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) and other Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) take the role of designing and delivering HRE, in theory and practice, to diverse contexts.

This study examines the United Nations Relief and Work Agency for the Palestinian refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) provision of HRE for Palestinian refugees in five areas of its operations, the Gaza Strip, West Bank, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. UNRWA benefits from the experiences of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in designing materials and projects for human rights, citizenship, peace and intercultural education. UNRWA has developed the Human Rights Conflict Resolution and Tolerance (HRCRT) policy to inform its HRE programme, which covers the five areas' educational systems. UNRWA schools in the West Bank, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan infuse HRE in an extra- and cross- curricular manner whereas in the Gaza Strip, UNRWA schools apply both approaches in addition to the curricular approach, represented in an independent human rights subject. UNRWA's collaboration with the UNESCO, some experts in HRE, Human Rights NGOs, the Red Cross and a wide range of academics has resulted in developing a special curriculum for UNRWA's schools in the Gaza Strip, in particular (UNRWA, 2017b).

UNRWA's integration of the HRE curriculum in Gaza does not take place at governmental or private schools. UNRWA's HRE curriculum takes place only at UNRWA schools, and hence, it offers an opportunity for exploring this particular HRE curriculum in Gaza, which is an understudied area. UNRWA adopts the national curriculum that is authorized and issued by the Palestinian Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MOEHE) and offers its own supplementary 'materials on human rights' to promote human rights principles and values (ibid, 2017b). UNRWA dedicated the special HRE curriculum to the Gaza Strip in 2009. It came into action when teachers started teaching human rights as an independent subject for first through ninth grades (6-14 years old). In that year, UNRWA introduced human rights textbooks in primary schools for first through sixth grades. In contrast, the lower secondary level teachers and students, seventh through ninth grades, did not receive any textbooks. Therefore, teachers had to focus on teaching the content of the 30 articles on the values of human rights, as anchored in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Teachers also had to make good use of their training to teach human rights and design the materials they teach in class. In 2014, UNRWA delivered the new human rights textbooks to the lower secondary level, seventh through ninth grades, but the textbooks were soon withdrawn by demand from the Hamas government, the ruling government in the Gaza Strip since 2007, which till now administers the MOEHE in Gaza.

While UNRWA was content with the textbooks' focus on human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance, the Hamas government argued that it did not match with the 'ideology and philosophy' of the local population (The Associated Press, 13th February 2014). However, at that time, Hamas had met with UNRWA officials and offered to participate in a joint committee to revisit the human rights textbooks for the lower secondary level. Hamas's participation in the joint committee can be interpreted as a step forward in the recognition of international endeavours in spreading HRE to diverse contexts. At the same time, it indicates Hamas's intent to preserve the socio-cultural norms of the Palestinian society. Therefore, part of Hamas's objection to the lower secondary level textbooks belongs to the rigorous debate of cultural relativism vs. universality of human rights. However, this study neither aims at focusing on Hamas's opposition nor on debating the universal aspect

of human rights. Rather, this study focuses on highlighting the local discoursing of right-hood, which represents a response to the international discourse of human rights.

This study presents a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the discourse of Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Tolerance (HRCRT), as represented in UNRWA's HRE policy and curriculum, in the Gaza Strip. Since the study focuses on HRE in the Gaza Strip alone, it is located within a context of conflict zones. Therefore, it considers the conflict and the resultant legal and political status of the Palestinian refugees as pivotal issues for understanding the research's problem. I conduct the research in aspiration, compassion and determination, while maintaining ethical, moral and reasoned attitudes, to best address the challenges for HRE in the proposed context. I use CDA to locate these challenges that hinder HRE in a conflict context. I parallel the local discourses in the Gaza Strip with the dominant discourse of HRCRT. The purpose is to create a dialogic interactive inquiry into these discourses in order to better understand and explain the social problem, and identify a way to move forward with HRE. Therefore, this endeavour aims at generating informed recommendations for moving forward with HRE in Gaza.

The CDA I carry out in this research is profoundly associated with the wider political context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The most opposing narratives are generated in the form of binaries, which are accentuated by the two most predominant political discourses, the Israeli settler-colonial legitimization discourse and the Palestinian discourse of nationalism and resistance. These binaries, therefore, are most evident at the macro level of the conflict. These binaries are shaped and fostered by the intricacies of the conflict itself at the meso and micro levels. Therefore, it is inevitable that I present these binaries in this research for two main reasons. Firstly, I consider binaries such as "we" and "they" as already ingrained in any ethno-national conflict such as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Therefore, presenting these binaries is of extreme importance for the critical analysis of the concepts of identity, collective memory, nationalism, resistance, peace and reconciliation and human rights. Secondly, as an insider to the context of the research, I represent the conflict as it is experienced, and therefore, I find these

binaries significant for understanding the reasons as to why human rights are themselves in a limbo as the conflict is on-going.

Hence, avoiding the representation of such binaries overshadows the insider aspect of my position as a researcher in this context. This position, I argue, adds to the critical aspect of analysing the discourses surrounding the conflict, and proposing ways forward for human rights and HRE within the context of the on-going conflict. My position as an insider researcher acknowledges the importance of presenting and analysing these binaries, which can be avoided within a context of post-conflict, stability and peace. This is discussed in greater detail in the conclusion chapter where I suggest ways forward for human rights and HRE within the context of conflict, in particular. Hence, the contributions of this thesis fall within this scope, which focuses on the protracted nature of the conflict where binaries are inescapable. The contributions of this thesis do not involve any proposals for ending the conflict or engineering a political project for peace-building. Had it been the case, I would have discarded presenting binaries of "we" and "they", and instead, focused on constructing the "us" within a context of coexistence in one bi-national state where all enjoy equal rights. Although this is my political stand from the whole conflict, I deliberately silence it in this thesis in order to be able to represent the conflict as it is experienced by giving voice to the marginalized Palestinians and their history, collective memory and discourse of right-hood in the midst of conflict.

Since I, simplistically, define discourse as 'moving back and forth between reflecting and constructing the social world' (Rogers, et al, 2005, p. 369), the examination of the dominant discourses in this research focuses on showing the ways in which they reflect the social world and therefore presenting binaries is an inevitable part of this process. Also, this examination focuses on the ways these discourses construct this social world in light of the on-going conflict. In the following, I outline the structure of the thesis by highlighting the most important themes and discussions in each chapter that contribute to forming the overall argument of this thesis.

The thesis begins by tracing the development of education, in general, during some of the major geo-political and historical events of the Palestinian-Israeli

conflict, starting from the British Mandate (1917-1948) till the current situation of the 21st century. The conflict is multi-layered and full of major events that have led the conflict to its current situation. It is marked by the following major events, which are the focus of Chapter 1 in relation to education and Palestinian identity construction, as one of the cultural aspects:

- The British Mandate in Palestine 1917-1948
- Al-Nakba 1948, the declaration of the State of Israel 1948
- The Six Day War 1967, the first and second Intifadas (Uprisings) in 1987 and 2000
- The continuing struggle for building the Palestinian nation-state and the peace process post-Oslo 1993 till today.

The most significant event is Al-Nakba (meaning "catastrophe") in 1948. This year is also known as the declaration of the Israeli state. While the Palestinians collectively remember Al-Nakba, disposition, expulsion and refugee-hood of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, Israel celebrates its independence. Education at the times of conflict, specified above, witnessed a gradual development, but it also faced challenges from the ruling administrations, the British and the Israeli. Some of the challenges are negligence and discrimination between the Palestinians' and the Israelis' decision making by the British administration, and a systematic enforced ignorance by the Israeli occupation. With regard to identity construction, it had gone through several processes of construction and reconstruction under fluctuating geo-political circumstances. The nationalist aspect became more plausible with the achievement of Palestinian unity under the nationalist movement, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964. The PLO was recognized internationally and became the legitimate representative of the Palestinian cause. The PLO engaged in negotiations with the Israeli occupation following the burst of the first Intifada 1987, and the result was the Oslo Accords 1993 by which the PLO could establish a self-governing authority, the Palestinian Authority (PA)- known to Palestinians as the PNA, with the N representing National. The peace process, governed by negotiations, between the Israeli and the Palestinian sides was initiated to arrive at a definitive resolution, which has not been achieved. Hence, the Palestinian identity

remains a dilemma with no recognition of the state of Palestine or the nation as citizens. The question of the Palestinian refugees also remains unresolved.

Chapter 1, therefore, explores the implications of the previously mentioned geo-political context on education in more detail, for two purposes. Firstly, to mark the emergence of the discourses of peace, human rights, conflict resolution, and tolerance education. Secondly, to arrive at an understanding of the role of the socio-cultural aspects that inform the process of construction of the Palestinian identity in the absence of the legal recognition by which Palestinians can claim their rights. The cultural aspects refer mainly to the traditions and acts of collective remembering of Palestinians, which are the focus of Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 delves more into the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It establishes a relationship between human rights, the conflict and the Palestinian collective memory. The latter being the focus of this study as one of the main socio-cultural aspects among the traditions and acts of remembering. The argument develops by breaking down the multidimensional aspect of the conflict to clarify the extent to which the absence of the legal recognition causes the continuation of human rights violations. It captures an identity crisis that is mainly caused by the deteriorating political conditions and slackness of the international community in enforcing the International Humanitarian Law (IHL), at least, with regard to the refugees' right to return. The refugees, among the other Palestinians, remain quasi-citizens who develop a collective frustration, "disenchantment," in Weberian philosophical terms, with the effectiveness of the international legal bureaucratic system. Collective memory, and the generated narrative of return of the refugees, become the main source of magic and symbolism for the Palestinians' identity construction. In this sense, Palestine lives in the imagination of Palestinians with national aspirations of achieving their 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). The chapter argues for the importance of the collective memory for conflict resolution, and hence for HRE, which gets entangled in between the conflict and the international discoursing of this education.

In the context of the study presented at the beginning of this introduction, the debate of universality of human rights vs. Cultural relativism is pertinent to the HRE

curriculum in the Gaza Strip. Chapter 3 sets out to explore the different debates surrounding the theory and practice of the international human rights discourse. These include universalism vs. cultural relativism, the North vs. South, the political and civil rights vs. the economic, social and cultural rights, and the individual vs. the collective rights. The chapter demonstrates the variety of the schools/streams of thought on human rights (Dembour, 2010) that inform the frameworks and approaches to HRE. The discourse of rights that began as natural merit to all human beings has evolved through time and space especially in the globalized new world. It is still evolving with, at least, transnational, trans-regional and cosmopolitan attitudes. Consequently, the culture of human rights varies according to the position taken to theorize and reinforce human rights and the implementation of HRE approaches. The chapter advances to compare the different approaches to HRE, amongst which is UNRWA's right-based approach, which follows the standards of the UN and the adopted treaties, strategies and policies. The discussion presented in this chapter informs Chapter 4 on the methodological choices for carrying out the CDA. This is by identifying potential frameworks for analysing the object of the research, UNRWA's HRE curriculum for Gaza.

I use qualitative document analysis to gather data from two sources, the HRCRT policy and a sample from the suspended lower secondary level textbooks, grades 8 and 9. I develop "protocols" by which I question the materials gathered from the HRCRT policy, and the sample of the textbooks, to examine and interpret the (textual/visual) material that is discursively produced to promote a unified culture of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance. This is to be able to make the methodological choices, which help responding to the research questions- stated further down- about the problem with HRE curriculum and the extent to which this curriculum correlates with the Palestinian culture and collective memory which are the fundamental constructs of the Palestinian identity. I apply two approaches to CDA, taken from Fairclough's (2003, 2010 and 2016) dialectical-relational approach and Altheide and Schneider's (2013) qualitative document analysis. The first allows for executing a textual analysis of the materials while the second offers protocols as a tool for data collection and analysis. Both approaches allow me to engage with the study's materials "ethnographically" by encouraging a reflexive and interactive

process of data collection and analysis. I justify this methodological hybridity by explaining the continuous process of refinement that is resultant from the data-driven aspect of the research.

Before commencing with the data chapters, I provide a more specific context of the research in Chapter 5. The policy uses four interrelated terms to describe the integration of HRE programme for the Palestinian refugees in UNRWA's five areas of operations. These are the HRCRT policy, programme, curriculum and approach. This chapter seeks to identify the curricular aspects in particular be able to relate them to the analysis of the special HRE curriculum in the Gaza Strip. It goes further to draw speculations about the reasons UNRWA dedicates this special curriculum to the Strip. Therefore, this chapter contributes to Chapters 6, 7 and 8 on the analysis of the HRCRT curriculum by examining only three aspects, the broader and specific alignment of frameworks and policies, the key guiding principles and the right-based approach, and the teaching and learning. This chapter also provides an overview of the content of the human rights textbooks from primary to lower secondary level. The aim is to trace the progress of knowledge building across the two levels. Therefore, this chapter maps out the curricular aspects of the special HRE curriculum for Gaza. It concludes with speculating the reasons for dedicating this curriculum to Gaza in particular. With this context of research provided, I start the data chapters 6, 7 and 8 to examine the UNRWA's curriculum.

The initial analysis in Chapter 6 is an experimental application of a borrowed model from discursive psychology that suggests an abridged Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) by Willig (2013). Although different from the dialectical-relational approach, this summarized FDA allows for locating power and its dynamics through the analysis of the discourse of HRCRT. It offers an opportunity for identifying the social problem by studying the different discourses that surround it and regulate social practices. Chapter 6 shows the way in which the initial analysis contributes to the study in different ways. First, it is essential for the process of refinement of methodological choices, Chapter 4. Second, it makes a contribution to identifying the power relations that directly affect the construction of the HRE curriculum for Gaza. Finally, the initial analysis assists in strengthening the arguments throughout the thesis by maintaining the research focus on the HRE curriculum as the discursive

object. The initial analysis offers further guidance for the further analysis in Chapters 7 and 8.

The emergent concepts from the initial analysis identify the discursive practices that require further analysis in the Chapters 7 and 8. Hence, Chapters 7 and 8 examine the particular curricular aspects as reflected in the policy document and the sample textbooks. The analysis provided in these two chapters contributes to identifying the particular networking of discourses, genres and styles by which the discourse becomes functional in regulating social practices. With this achieved, I move to applying Fairclough's (2016) dialectical-relational approach to CDA in order to relate the discourse analysis to the wider context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The general discussion in Chapter 9 encapsulates the data analysis in order to be able to respond to the research questions:

1. What are the concerning issues of the HRE curriculum in Gaza in relation to the broader discourses around the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?
2. To what extent does this curriculum correlate with the Palestinian collective memory?
3. What is the importance of collective memory for HRE in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?

The thesis concludes with identifying the research limitations, implications and the way forward with HRE for Palestinians. The data responses to the question on the concerning issues of the curriculum allow for identifying the areas of weaknesses that open possibilities for more critical inquiries in HRE, for the purpose of development. In addition, the responses to the question on the importance of the collective memory, as one of the main socio-cultural aspects of the Palestinian society, makes a contribution to the field of HRE in a conflict context by encouraging recognition of local narratives and discourses of rights.

KEY TERMS

In this thesis, key terms such as discourse, human rights, collective memory and identity are some of the highly contested terms that require definition. The aim of defining these terms is to facilitate understanding as subsequent chapters unfold critical discussions around the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in particular.

Discourse

The word "discourse" comes from the Latin word *discursus*, which means "to run to and fro" (Rogers, et al, 2005, p. 369). Therefore, discourse, in an over-simplified manner, can be understood as moving 'back and forth between reflecting and constructing the social world' (ibid, p. 369) by focusing on the use of language.

Hence, a widely shared tenet is that the social use of language is what constitutes discourse and makes it constitutive of social practice. Discourse is constituted for its tendency to give rise to issues of power (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 6). It is also constitutive for its ability to constitute 'situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people' (ibid, p. 6). Discourse is understood within the context where it originates and can be better analysed in a trans-disciplinary fashion. Discourse analysts come from a variety of disciplines and therefore, offer varying accounts on how to understand and analyse discourse rather than how to define it. However, Gee (2011b) offers one definition of discourse/s as follows:

> '*Discourses are out in the world and history as coordination ("a dance") of people, places, times, actions, interactions, verbal and non-verbal expression, symbols, things, tools and technologies that betoken certain identities and associated activities. Thus, they are material realities. But Discourses exist, also, as work we humans do to get ourselves and things recognized in certain ways and not others. They are also the "maps" in our heads by which we understand society. Discourses, then, are social practices and mental entities, as well as material realities*' (p. 38-39).

Human Rights

Human rights can be understood as rights which are inherent merely for being human beings living within the global community. The term human rights became widely recognised during the twentieth century, specifically, with the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. Prior to that, and particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rights were widely talked about in relation to natural rights, which were derived from natural laws (Griffin, 2008). Until today, human rights are debated in terms of derivation (foundation), universal aspect and practice as Chapter 3 demonstrates. The UN's UDHR is based on the belief that all human being are entitled to enjoy their rights without discrimination of any kind. In Chapter 3, I refrain from defining and founding human rights because of the research position that I adopt as an anti-foundationalist. However, here, I provide the UN's definition of human rights as a start point for the investigation in this thesis. The UN's Human Rights Office of Higher Commissioner (OHCHR) states that:

> *'Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language, or any other status. We are all equally entitled to our human rights without discrimination. These rights are all interrelated, interdependent and indivisible. Universal human rights are often expressed and guaranteed by law, in the forms of treaties, customary international law, general principles and other sources of international law. International human rights law lays down obligations of Governments to act in certain ways or to refrain from certain acts, in order to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals or groups'* (OHCHR, 2018).

In Chapter 3, I represent a critical view of the tenets of human rights mentioned in this definition such as the universality and indivisibility of human rights by examining the Palestinian case.

Collective Memory

Collective memory is formed by shared communications about the past that are reflected in the experiences of the individuals who interact within a collective community such as families, social class, nations, and religious, ethnic and regional groups (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 188).

Collective memory can be profoundly associated with national memory especially wihin the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. National memory '*is constituted by different, often opposing, memories that, in spite of their rivalries, construct common denominators that overcome on the symbolic level real social and political differences to create an imagined community*' (Confino, 1997, p. 1399-1400).

Collective memory in this research refers to Palestinians traditions of remembering past experiences during contemporary circumstances and political context to be able to mobilize for a future of a Palestinian imagined community, hence transforming "Palestine" from imagination to reality. Collective memory, plays a crucial role in this mobilization, which operates within the framework of human rights but differs in approach according to the discourses surrounding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Chapter 2 critically discusses collective memory in further details to explain the way in which collective memory plays a constructive and important role within the framework of human rights, and to highlight the different discourses that reduce its role and frame it as a tool for othering, exclusion and conflict. National memory is recognised as an integral part of the Palestinian collective memory in this thesis. However, it is represented as a challenging aspect for resolving the conflict and moving forward with the correlation between collective memory and the framework of human rights.

Identity

I examine identity in this thesis from a social identity theory. This is by understanding identity within the political and the historical context of its formation. Palestinian identity in constructed by history, narratives and other forms of collective

remembering that are important for the local discourses of nationalism, resistance, and dignity as well as right-hood.

Collective memory constitutes common social practices and ways of representation (Confino, 1997, p. 1399). This thesis explores the Palestinian ways of representation or under-representation (identity) in the international normative discourse of human rights. Identity in this thesis is '*fluid, changing, negotiated definitions that recognize individuals as co-participants in complex sociohistorical-political contexts*' (Bekerman, 2009, p.80). Identity is discussed throughout the thesis as fluid mainly to represent the pluralistic aspect of the Palestinian society and to move out from the purely nationalistic representation of this identity at the time of ill-recognition of the Palestinian legal identity.

CHAPTER 1

A HISTORICAL AND GEO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

Introduction

One important element that contributes to understanding the complexity of the Palestinian identity is grasping the history and geopolitics of the space in which this identity is constructed. Another element resides in understanding the socio-cultural context of that space. In this research, the socio-cultural aspects mainly refer to traditions, values, identity, collective memory, narratives and the struggle for claiming human rights. These aspects also contribute to understanding the complexity of the Palestinian identity at a profound level. By history and geopolitics, I refer to the different political powers that have had an impact on the geographical and political realities of Palestine at different stages throughout history. In particular, I start from the British Mandate period (1917-1948). Scholars (Khalidi, 2010; Pappe, 2006) would go further back in history to outline the implications of the historic and geopolitical context on this specific territory. However, this research takes this precise period as a starting point to capture the process of Palestinian identity construction, and trace it within the consequent and more crucial period. That period is marked by Al-Nakba 1948 (meaning "catastrophe") and the establishment of the state of Israel. Therefore, the Post-Nakba period is crucial for this research as it marks the creation of the Palestinian refugee issue, the unresolved and most negotiated issue in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Pappe, 2005, 2006).

More than 700.000 Palestinians became refugees in three geographical areas. Some became refugees in Palestine itself- before the establishment of the state of Israel- and this includes what we know today as Gaza and the West Bank. Some others became refugees in countries bordering Palestine, as I clarify in this chapter. The rest of the refugees became citizens holding nationalities of other countries virtually around the world. The dispersion of Palestinians introduced a new episode in the process of construction of the Palestinian identity. This episode is informed by the collective memory, which is resultant from Al-Nakba and the national aspiration for a future of Palestine- Chapter 2 focuses on collective memory and the complexity

of the Palestinian identity in more detail. During the Post-Nakba period, the Palestinian collective memory became salient as a socio-cultural aspect of the Palestinian society. It found its course through different aspects of life including education.

The latter, which is also influenced by the historical and geopolitical context, was never directly administered by Palestinians (Assaf, 1997) during and after the British Mandate. It was only after the "Renaissance" period post-Oslo accords 1993 that the Palestinian Authority (PA) could lay the cornerstone of education provision in the territories under its jurisdiction which I also discuss in this chapter. For this research, education plays a prominent role in highlighting the socio-cultural aspects that are essential for understanding the complexity of the Palestinian identity within the proposed context. Education plays a role also in reflecting the social construction of Palestinians' understanding of human rights and Human Rights Education (HRE) in the context of the ongoing conflict. This is extremely important for the thesis as it casts light on the local discoursing of human rights in relation to the global discourse of human rights. Therefore, the aim of the first section of this chapter is to elucidate the influences of the contingent historical and geopolitical context on the construction of the Palestinian identity through education provision during critical periods. Mainly, Mandate Palestine (1917- 1947), Post-Nakba (Post-1948) and the establishment of Israel, and finally, Post-Oslo Accords (Post-1993).

The Mandate period witnessed the British Mandate's involvement in the process of building a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. This period briefly highlights the implications of the Mandate administration on education conditions in both the Palestinian and the Jewish communities, and more significantly; the impact it had on Palestinians' construction of their identity. The Post-Nakba period discusses the partition of Palestine, the creation of the refugees' question, and the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA), and its role in protecting the Palestinian refugees and providing education. This part of the chapter further clarifies the Israeli military administration and consequent control over education, and the subjugation of education to external powers of Jordan and Egypt. The discussion of the Post-Oslo Accords period seeks to illustrate the relative educational paradigm shift to peace education and tolerance in Palestine, and the spread of the

global human rights culture. At which point, UNRWA's role becomes pertinent to the argument around the construction and reconstruction of the Palestinian identity, as Shabaneh (2012) terms it.

The second section of this chapter moves to focusing on contextualising UNRWA's HRE provision in Palestine, and the Gaza Strip, in particular. The aim is to connect the previously discussed influences on education and identity with the evolving "culture of human rights" and the continuous process of identity construction. This part of the chapter limits the focus to UNRWA's work and relationship with the Palestinian refugees to be able to draw a clear picture of education and HRE provision. Moreover, this part explains the reasons this research examines UNRWA's education provision, in particular, in relation to the HRE discourse. This section of the chapter discusses *Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Tolerance* (HRCRT) as the dominant discourse for spreading the global *culture of human rights*. In light of the developed discussion of the chapter, I rationalize the reasons I consider HRCRT as the dominant discourse, which governs the practices of teaching and learning about human rights.

The purpose of the whole chapter is to clarify the complexity of the Palestinian identity under the influences of the different discourses throughout the highlighted historical and geopolitical events. By doing so, the chapter concludes with some of the socio-cultural and political aspects of the Palestinian society that are the focus of this research investigation on HRE.

1.1. Education, Identity and Collective Memory

In the course of history, Palestine has gone through a number of colonial and occupational powers that have caused turmoil and instability in the territory. During the twentieth century, in particular, this instability extended to change not only the geographical landscape, but all aspects of life including education. Hence, the historical and geo-political context, in this regard, becomes crucial for understanding education provision in Palestine and its course of development under different rules. Education, in this sense, was not perceived as just a means for improving the socio-economic status. But rather considered by Palestinian families, as well as individuals, as a form of resistance (Veronese, Castiglioni, Tombolani & Said, 2012). Therefore,

the historical and geopolitical context is fundamental for its effects on the changing role of education from the classical function of literacy and numeracy improvement to building a national identity with an agenda for resistance, which is a peaceful approach of resistance. One form of this resistance resides in Palestinians' ability to preserve the collective memory of the Palestinian struggle, the culture and folklore, the values and the national identity for generations Post-Nakba. Hence, education was, and still is, an essential tool for supplementing such endeavours because it plays a role in shaping people's understanding of their identity (Podeh, 2000).

In addition to the historical and geopolitical context of Palestine, education as a socio-cultural component is equally a quintessential element for understanding and unravelling the conundrum of the Palestinian identity. The association between education and identity is particularly important for this research to explore the refugees' collective memory in relation to UNRWA's Human Rights Education (HRE) curriculum for Gaza Strip. But first, it is important to illustrate the complexity of the Palestinian identity and collective memory by exploring some of the most crucial periods of Palestine modern history. Namely, Mandate Palestine (1917-1947), Post-Nakba (Post-1948) and the establishment of Israel, and finally Post-Oslo accords (Post-1993), as I show in the following section.

1.1.1. Education during the British Mandate (1917- 1948)

The British Mandate 1917-1948 took control over an under-developed educational system that was inherited from the previous Ottoman rule (1516- 1917). The educational system, under the Ottoman government, provided education for Palestinian children through governmental schools, private Muslim institutions (kuttabs) as well as missionary schools that were run by European Christian churches (Abu-Saad & Champagne, 2006, p. 1036). Similarly, Jewish students attended public and missionary schools. However, near the end of the Ottoman rule, the Jewish community had access to their private schools that gained support from the collaboration between the European Jewish Immigrants and the Zionist Movement (ibid, p.1037). In a more recent study, Halperin (2014) emphasizes that the Hebrew Zionist education system was nearly becoming the exclusive provider of education to

Jewish youth at that time. A few Jewish families, however, continued to send their children to missionary schools during the Mandate (p.737-738).

The new rule of the Mandate started administering education in governmental and private schools that primarily provided elementary level education, which officially ended with the completion of seven years. Unlike the Ottoman period, high schools- four more years after elementary education- became more common under the Mandate administration although limited in quantity, as compared to the numbers of eligible students. Only 12% of the "school-age population" could receive elementary education near the end of the Ottoman rule. The number had increased to 22% by the year 1946, during the Mandate (Abu-Saad & Champagne, 2006, p. 1038). Receiving high school education at that time was associated with holding a better status in society, and achieving a recognizable position in relation to the administration of the British mandate. Simultaneously, it involved that youth develop more awareness and become nationally and politically active in addressing the injustices of the administration (ibid, p. 1038).

Scholars record that the mandate administration had indeed worked on the expansion of the public education system in Palestine. However; they assert that it had as well reinforced the separation between the Palestinian and the Jewish communities (Abu-Saad & Champagne, 2006; Schneider, 2013; Podeh, 2000). The Palestinians' educational system in governmental and private schools was wholly run by the Mandate administration with no say from the Palestinians who administered and taught in the schools. Concurrently, the Hebrew Zionist education system had gained autonomy over the private Jewish schools. According to Halperin (2014), this autonomy entwined with the "vernacularization" of Hebrew, contributed to the success of the national Hebrew educational system. Thus, it became one of the achievements of the Zionist movement (ibid, p.737). There existed unequal power relations at the time that indicate the Mandate's bias which was a catalyst for the advancement of the Zionist project, namely, establishing the state of Israel in Palestine. At the same time, the Mandate administration had denied the Palestinians autonomy over the educational system. Such an act resulted in developing more antagonistic feelings and reactions to the Mandate administration. Palestinian educators were observing the formation of the new state as a 'real threat to

Palestinian Arab national aspirations, identity, and unity' (Abu-Saad & Champagne, 2006, p. 1039).

With regard to the separation policy, Schneider (2013) criticizes this separation of the two communities, which was justified as a pedagogical necessity. She asserts that the separation had in fact affected the public space between both communities, and therefore, resulted in Palestine becoming a multi-lingual space where each community knew only its 'own tongue' (p. 69). The multi-lingual aspect in this context bears a negative connotation as it played a role in widening the gap between the different ethnic groups and highlighted cultural and political differences amongst them. This "pedagogical necessity" worked in juxtaposition with the educational policies and the curriculum imposed on Palestinians, by the Mandate. In his analysis of the Israeli educational system under the Mandate, Podeh (2000) confirms that this system had focused on instilling the Zionist values and creating a new Jewish collective memory that excludes the "Arabs" and their culture, language and history (p. 74-75). Simultaneously, in the estimation of Tibawi (1956), the Mandate administration had alienated the Palestinian syllabus from the context of the contemporary history that was taught to Palestinians (p.196). This caused escalation in the reactions towards the Mandate authorities by demanding Palestinian autonomy over education. To approach the Palestinian demand, the Mandate administration called for the formation of several Palestinian councils for the purpose of participation in the policy making and educational development in Palestine. The councils failed and tended to collapse shortly after their establishment as they had no actual influence/power in policy making or educational development (Mar'i, 1978).

More generally, the encounter of the Zionist movement agenda in nexus with the Mandate bias and discrimination against the Palestinian majority, Muslims and Christians, had instigated people for resistance and revolt. This resistance began as early as the Mandate when the Palestinians could unite under the banner of opposition to the infamous Balfour Declaration, November 1917, to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The resistance continued during the Mandate rule, but the 1935-1939 period witnessed the greatest revolt against the injustices inflicted on the Palestinians (Pappe, 2006). The Palestinian resistance, nonetheless, promoted the process of construction of the Palestinian identity that was national and liberation-

oriented. I specify 'national' in agreement with Khalidi (2010) who asserts that the construction of the Palestinian identity had always 'intermingled with a sense of identity on so many other levels, whether Islamic or Christian, Ottoman or Arab, Local or Universal, or family or tribal' (p. 6). However, I avoid limiting the Palestinian identity to the "national" aspect alone in this research by acknowledging the pluralistic aspect of the Palestinian society. I refer to identity in its more fluid and complex nature, as I explain in the following Chapter 2 on human rights, conflict and the Palestinian collective memory. However, for sake of argument, during the Mandate period national identity was the strongest source of unity among Palestinians.

To sum up, the Mandate period was characterised by the repression of Palestinians' autonomy over the educational system while allowing the same privilege to the parallel system of the Jewish community. The mandate administration of education in Palestine was characterized by the expansion of governmental schooling, especially high schools. This is regarded as a contribution despite all the other problems of a precarious educational system that lacked facilities, planning and expertise. Although not sufficient, neither in shape nor in number, to accommodate all the school-aged children, education under the mandate would produce more educated Palestinian youth who soon became nationalists and leaders. This period is also significant with regard to the transformation of the Palestinians' conceptualization of their national identity. This conceptualization became associated with the greater historical calamity of Al-Nakba 1948 (Catastrophe) that involved the dispossession, expulsion and ethnic cleansing of Palestine (Pappe, 2006).

1.1.2. Education Post-Nakba (Post-1948)

1.1.2.1. Al-Nakba and the Creation of the Refugee Question

The British Mandate decided in February 1947, to hand over the issue of Palestine to the United Nations (UN) which delegated the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), to carry out the partition of Palestine into two ethnic states (Pappe, 2006; Khalidi, 2010; Masalha, 2005). The UN Resolution 181 for this plan proposed that the Palestinian state was to extend to 46% of the land, and

the Jewish state on the remaining 54%. Jerusalem was to remain under the UN administration (Abu-Saad & Champagne, 2006, p. 1040). However, soon after the partition plan, Palestinians along with other Arab countries declared war on the new state of Israel, thus; renouncing the UN Resolution 181 on the partition. By the time of the ceasefire, January 1949, the Israeli military had occupied 78% of Palestine (ibid, 2006), Map 1.1. Before long, Israel and the neighbouring countries, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria signed the Armistice Agreements, also known as the Green line agreement. It aimed at ending the hostilities rather than to allocating any permanent borders (Pappe, 2006, p. 135).

Resolution 181 included a pledge by the UN, as an international body, to protect the rights and well-being of the Palestinians throughout the process, thus; declaring responsibility for the fate of the indigenous people. However, the pledge proved to bear no credibility, in Pappe's (2005) opinion, with the Israeli military takeover and expulsion of Palestinians (p. 245). The year 1948 marked Al-Nakba and the creation of the Palestinian refugee dilemma, or the 'birth of the Palestinian refugee problem', in Morris's words (2003). More than 700.000 Palestinians were forced to abandon their villages and take refuge in other places in Palestine itself, mainly Gaza and the West Bank, or some surrounding countries, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan (Pappe, 2006; Morris, 2003; Masalha, 2005). Only 160.000 Palestinians remained according to Abu-Lughod (1971) and Pappe (2006), and later became minority Palestinian "Arab" Israeli citizens.

The UN's recognition of its failing pledge resulted in the United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) passing the Resolution 149 (III) by the end of 1948, to address the issue of refugees. The resolution recognized the fundamental right of the dispossessed Palestinians to return to their lands and properties. This right to return was not actualized for two main reasons that Pappe points out. First, what he calls the Israeli anti-repatriation policy to deny the right of return, depopulate the Palestinian villages and weaken the international endeavours to reaffirm the repatriation right. Second, the declining pressure imposed by the United States on Israel, regarding the repatriation, for sake of pursuing other interests in other parts of the world (2005; 2006). As a result, the aftermath of Al-Nakba, and the situation of the dispersed refugees, entailed a long process of identity reconstruction of the Palestinian society

inside and outside Palestine. It involved coping with the huge transition of the massive number of the displaced Palestinians who awaited in tented camps, in the places mentioned above, for the fulfilment of the UN's promise of repatriation. Pappe describes refugees at that time saying:

'*Whether camp dwellers or not, rich or poor, they had all experienced the collective and personal trauma that would consolidate their future ties as a national community, their sense of identity centred on their lost homeland*' (2006, p. 141).

United Nations Partition Plan
UN Resolution 181

Rhodes Armistice Line

1947

1949

PASSIA

PASSIA

Acre
Haifa
Nazareth
Jenin

Mediterranean Sea

Nablus

Tel Aviv
Jaffa

Ramallah
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Gaza
Hebron
Khan Yunis
Beersheba

Dead Sea

N e g e v

Acre
Haifa
Nazareth

Jenin

Mediterranean Sea

Nablus

Tel Aviv
Jaffa

Ramallah
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Gaza
Hebron
Khan Yunis
Beersheba

Dead Sea

N e g e v

Proposed Jewish State
Proposed Arab State
Internationally administered
'Corpus Separatum'
of Jerusalem

Proposed Jewish State
Arab territory
Territories seized by Israel
beyond the area for the
proposed Jewish State

**Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs
(PASSIA)**

Map 1.1   UN Partition Plan 1947 and the Armistice Line 1949

This interpretation of identity is extremely important for understanding the core issues of this research, the collective memory and the narrative of return, which I elaborate on in the following chapter to explain further the importance of collective memory for identity construction, and moreover, for HRE for refugees.

It is worth mentioning here that there is another type of refugees, recognized by Pappe (2005), Abu-Saad and Champagne (2006) and Masalha (2003) as the internal refugees or the present absentees. They are some of the 160.000 Palestinians who remained within the territory which became the Israeli state- see Map 1.1. These people had temporarily left their homes and lands during Al-Nakba but stayed within the borders of the newly established state, and hence became *present* citizens. The scholars, mentioned above, agree that Israel has, between 1948 and 1966, treated them as a *fifth column* that was brought under a severe military administration that reinforced movement restriction practices, expulsion to outer countries, detention without charges and military trial for "lawbreakers". Therefore, Abu-Saad and Champagne (2006) explain that these refugees were present in a sense that they became Israeli citizens with obligations towards the state, yet they had not acquired their actual civil rights as equally as other Jewish Israeli citizens. Simultaneously, as a consequence for the Israeli regulations enacted to confiscate more lands, these refugees were deprived of returning to their homes or to acquiring their rights to property and land, and therefore, they were considered *absentees*. Moreover, they were absentees from participation and representation in the state institutions, and decision and policy making (Abu-Saad & Champagne, 2006, p. 1042). In 1966, the Israeli occupation terminated its military rule and moderated its restrictions and discrimination against these Palestinian, labelled as "Arab-Israeli" citizens in the Israeli political discourse. This act had, to Pappe's (2005) mind, contributed to promoting an 'explicitly articulated collective national Palestinian identity, which recognised the limits of living as second-class citizens in a state that continued to exercise apartheid and discrimination policies against them' (p. 248).

Although these particular types of refugees are not directly relevant to the research focus, it helps in the clarification of two points. First, it shows a different level of identity reconstruction under different conditions if compared with the previous type of refugees outside the Israeli state. Second, studying the Israeli

discriminatory practices against its own Palestinian-Israeli citizens gives indicators to the potentiality of co-existence between Israel and its neighbours, the Palestinians. The dominant Israeli political discourse frames the Palestinians as no peace makers while the Palestinian discourse, in turn, is doubtful of the Israeli intentions. The research examines such pre-suppositions made about Palestinians by examining the representation of Palestinians in the HRE curriculum. The analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 of the HRCRT policy, and the sample textbooks are informative of this issue of representation.

1.1.2.2. UNRWA and the Right to Return

For humanitarian causes, the UN decided to establish an ad-hoc entity to care for the relief and well-being of the Palestinian refugees as part of its pledge to protect them. The United Nations Relief and Work Agency in the Near East (UNRWA) was established by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 302 (IV), 8th December 1949, after the Arab-Israeli war (UNRWA, 2017a). According to Pappe (2006), UNRWA was the brainchild of some American and international aid organisations that solely focused on the welfare aspect of the refugees issue rather than the actual political dimensions of it (p. 142).

In May 1950, UNRWA started, and has continued since then, to provide work and human development for four generations of dispossessed and refugee Palestinians. Its services extend to cover education, health care, camp infrastructure and improvement, and emergency assistance (UNRWA, 2017a). Today, UNRWA provides its services to more than five million registered refugee Palestinians. One-third of the registered Palestinians live in 58 refugee camps in Palestine (West Bank & Gaza) and the surrounding host countries, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. The remaining two-thirds live in or out of other cities in Palestine and the host countries but are registered and can benefit from UNRWA's services (UNRWA, 2017d). In Gaza alone, there are more than 1.3 million registered Palestinians most of which live in eight camps. In the West Bank, there are 774,167 registered Palestinians and 19 camps (UNRWA, 2017c).

Due to the unresolved refugees' question, the General Assembly continues to renew the UNRWA's obligation repeatedly (UNRWA, 2017a). It is thus the reason historians such as Pappe (2006) point out the UNRWA's failure in turning the right to repatriation into reality. The tented camps that sheltered Palestinian refugees after Al-Nakba are now concretized and the refugee question remains unresolved as UNRWA fails to guarantee protection for Palestinian refugees or their right to return (p. 142). Therefore, in spite of UNRWA's efforts in improving the life conditions for refugees inside and outside Palestine, its role is perceived as involving another dimension that focuses on achieving justice for the refugees' cause. However, Bowker's (2003) examination of the UNGA's resolution 302 reveals that no political role is ascribed to UNRWA in relation to the refugees' right to return. Bowker (2003) breaks the "myth" related to UNRWA's commitment to the refugee question by highlighting its role in providing humanitarian assistance rather than searching for a political solution (p. 125- 126). Therefore, the role of UNRWA is limited to providing relief and work programmes to ensure that the refugees have a good quality of life while awaiting the implementation of the right to return. With regard to education provision, UNRWA's role in providing HRE is extremely important for this research. This is because of the presence of another myth or expectation from UNRWA to provide a HRE model that is transformative, in principle. I state this expectation based on my preliminary observations of teachers' and students' responses to HRE at UNRWA schools, in Gaza. Having said that, this research also examines UNRWA's role in HRE provision by analysing the discursive construction of the HRE curriculum and its correlation with the context, identity and collective memory of refugees' in Gaza. The data Chapters 6, 7 and 8 examine this by analysing the discourse of HRCRT, which I establish as the dominant discourse in section 1.1.3.3 of this chapter.

The unresolved question of refugees is also extremely important for this research for three reasons. First, it highlights the paradoxes that entangle the UN's discourse of human rights in comparison to the application on ground- Chapter 3 elaborates on these paradoxes in more details. Second, it strengthens the bond between the right to return and identity construction through the socio-cultural practices of collectively remembering the past and experiencing the present human rights violations. Third,

and resultant from the first and second reasons, it raises concern regarding the inclusion of a HRE model that may not fully consider the legal status of the Palestinian people, including refugees. With this status depriving Palestinians from claiming, practicing and enjoying their rights, it is important to examine this model of HRE to depict the extent to which it recognizes the local discourse of human rights. Since this research focuses on UNRWA's HRE for the Palestinian refugees, the right to return is an extremely important aspect of the local culture, again, as informed by the collective memory, history and the struggle for rights. Chapter 2 focuses on these cultural aspects, in a conflict context, and the ways in which they are important, or challenging, for the construction of a HRE curriculum for Palestinian refugees.

1.1.2.3. Education Post-Nakba

After the ceasefire 1949, the conflict was not completely resolved and the refugee question was pushed aside in the negotiations over years. The ongoing struggle of Palestinians continued affecting all aspects of daily life including education. Drastic changes affected the educational system of Mandate Palestine to fit with the repercussions of the new situation Post-Nakba. Palestinians who did not leave their homes during the Israeli takeover became subjects under Israeli rule. This category of the Palestinian population suffered from socio-economic and political discrimination against them as a minority living under occupation. The political discrimination provided a clear and substantive predictor of the widening gap between this minority and the majority of Jewish Israeli citizens. Abu-Saad and Champagne (2006) assert that this has resulted in the waning of the socio-economic status of the Palestinian minority in comparison with the Jewish majority. In the same respect, the levels of education varied as the dominant power granted more privileges to the Jewish Israeli citizens and subordinated the Palestinian Israeli citizens who could receive education only at the state's schools.

Gaza and the West Bank, however, were appropriated under the rules of Egypt and Jordan, respectively. The Palestinian population had to conform to each one of the hegemonic rule. Consequently, education and schools in the two territories were administered by those 'external powers' (Abu-Saad & champagne, 2006, p. 1041).

Palestinians in these two geopolitically separate entities could access education in government and private schools. Gaza and the West Bank accommodated huge numbers of refugees, inside and outside camps, who could gain access to free education at schools that were built by UNRWA in the camps. Most of the other refugee population, the refugees who resided in camps in the host countries, could receive education at UNRWA schools in the camps whereas others residing in urban centres of most of the other Arab countries could benefit from free education where they lived (Pappe, 2006, p. 150). The different geographical sites where the refugees had to reside suggest a different processes of construction and reconstruction of the Palestinian identity, each according to the social order of the ruling/host country. As I mentioned earlier, this affirms the aspects of fluidity and complexity of the Palestinian identity, which becomes hard to address as one rather than many- as I discuss in Chapter 2.

With the rising tension in the region, the six-day war broke out in 1967 between Israel and three neighbouring countries, Egypt, Jordan and Syria. The war resulted in Israel occupying the rest of Palestine, Gaza Strip and the West Bank, the Golan Heights bordering Syria, and the Suez Canal in Egypt (ibid, p. 186). The war had imposed a new episode of expulsion and refugeehood of around 300.000 Palestinians, as Masalha (2003, p. 178) records in spite of the Israeli and Palestinian contradicted estimations. The new wave of refugees fled from Gaza, the West Bank and the Golan Heights heading in three directions, Egypt, Jordan and Syria (UNRWA, 1987, p. 182). Among this wave were 145.000 of the already registered refugees who had to experience uprooting for the second time in nineteen years (ibid, p. 179). Instantly, UNRWA committed itself to providing more camps infrastructure and other services to accommodate the new refugees and provide relief and support.

As habituated, Palestinians had to bear with the accumulating consequences of this war and the brutalities caused by the military occupation. The occupation practiced more discrimination against the Palestinians who had to cope with different kinds of oppression as part of their daily lives. This time, for instance, education fell into the hands of the new occupational power of the Israeli military rule. Although the territory was still split into three geopolitical entities, Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the areas under Israeli rule, the educational system was fully under Israeli

administration (Pappe, 2006, p. 186). Concerning the curriculum, Israel had already built and developed its educational system, infrastructure and facilities in the areas it ruled before the occupation. As for Gaza Strip and the West Bank, the educational system had to operate under Israeli administration, in the two separate entities. They both continued following the curricula of Egypt and Jordan, respectively. Scholars (Assaf, 1997; Mughrabi, 2001) indicate that the Egyptian and the Jordanian textbooks were subject to censorship. The Israeli administration banned books on the Palestinian cause, deleted the word Palestine from history and deleted maps and paragraphs on Palestine. Assaf (1997) adds that the Israeli administration had also taken over the teachers' recruitment, payroll and monitoring, and made all the decisions relating to teachers' practice (p. 53).

Years after the occupation, the situation reflected the Israeli administration's proliferation of oppression and negligence of the educational needs of Palestinians regardless of the territory where they lived. The occupation's intentions regarding the erosion of the Palestinian history, identity and national aspirations became more evident and was the element that kindled the fire for more resistance. The year 1987 witnessed the burst of the first Palestinian Intifada (meaning: Uprising) against the Israeli occupation. Believing in education as a means of maintaining their national aspirations and identity, Palestinian schools and universities maintained the role of educating the youth in spite of the administration's strict regulations. Palestinians found a means for continuing their struggle through formal education, as a channel for perpetuating national narratives (Peled-Elhanan, 2012). Conscious of that, the Israeli administration sanctioned schools and universities by practicing systematic harassment and closures, between 1988 and 1989, with the intention of enforcing ignorance, as Assaf (1997) puts it.

The Israeli political discourse would, however, justify such acts by referring to security reasons and proclaiming the need for precautionary measures at that time. To overcome such practices, the Palestinians resorted to establishing what Assaf calls community-based, popular or 'underground education' (1997, p. 54). In this manner, parents, teachers and university students were the promoters of teaching covertly at social institutions such as houses, churches and mosques. Hence, adding to Peled-Elhanan's (2012) argument above, this form of informal education,

performed by the community, proved to be one other approach to perpetuating the national narrative of Palestinians, especially because it took place under the radar of the Israeli censorship. This in turn explains the Israeli administration's de-legitimisation of this collective effort, and the execution of abrupt raids on locals, to harass, arrest and fine those who participate in such activities, in Assaf's terms (1997, p. 54). To Abu-Saad and Champagne (2006), it was such practices that nurtured Palestinians' awareness, nationalism and resistance instead of repressing them. These community-based efforts, as described by Assaf (1997), are peaceful approaches to resisting the occupational practices by preserving the right to education. I highlight this point here as it relates to the initial analysis and the further analysis, Chapters 6, 7 and 8, where "peaceful resistance" is a theme that occurs through the analysis of HRE in Gaza.

1.1.3. Education Post-Oslo Accords (Post-1993)
1.1.3.1. Oslo Accords and the Peace Process

In the upheaval of the first Intifada, the only political and legitimate representation of the Palestinian cause, represented in the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), was gaining more recognition internationally. It had benefited from the unprompted outbreak of the Intifada which had unified the Palestinian people against the occupation and promoted the PLO's position before the international community. The PLO had to take a pragmatic stance by entering peaceful negotiations with Israel. Pappe (2006) notes that the PLO had, for the first time in its history, accepted negotiating some core issues that constitute the Palestinian national ideology. Mainly, the refugees right to return, and the free independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as the capital (p. 240). With such compromise, the PLO began the negotiations in Madrid Peace Conference, October 1991. Secret and lengthy negotiations elapsed time before the arrival at an agreement, the Oslo Agreement, also known as the Oslo Accords which concluded with a proclamation of the Declaration of Principles (DoP) on the 13th September 1993 (Pappe, 2006; Masalha, 2003).

Based on Oslo Accords, there was an augmentation of a timetable for the formation of a self-governing authority, the Palestinian Authority (PA), to take over

the administration of Gaza Strip and some parts of the West Bank (Masalha, 2003, p.225). For Israel, the PA was, and still is, merely a functional entity that possesses no absolute sovereignty or actual recognition as national although Palestinians refer to it as the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in the political discourse and official correspondence. Oslo Accords also established a timetable for the commencement of the further negotiations, 3 years from the agreement, to embark on the *final status* with regard to the disputed issues among which the refugees question and the state of Jerusalem come first (ibid. p. 225). The negotiations continued till 1999 bearing no fruit, and instead questioning the Oslo Accords' liability as a peace process. Although aware of the consequences of this agreement, Khalidi (2010) acknowledges the symbolic importance of the PLO's participation in the negotiations as being an undeniable assertion of the Palestinian national identity (p. 201). Pappe (2006), however, presents a rather pessimistic view of this agreement by considering the price that people 'had paid for illusions sold to them by short-sighted politicians' (p. 245).

The fact that the negotiations were in secret suggests that there were fears of the public's rejection of the whole proposal, not just the resultant DoP. This became more evident in the years following Oslo Accords and the outbreak of the second Intifada 2000. Oslo Accords, and the implications it had on the ground, have caused a collective frustration and doubt in the PA's leadership itself, and the future of Palestine/Palestinians as a result. Polarization increased among the Palestinians as they affiliated with different factions that had different agendas, for example, Hamas (The Islamic Resistance Movement). This polarization indicates the different political orientation of the Palestinian people, and hence, the pluralistic aspect that adds more complexity to understanding identity/identities during the ongoing conflict. Under such circumstances, the land question was left unsettled along with other pressing issues that remain timidly tackled. Most importantly is the refugees' legal status which remained in "liminality" (King-Irani, 2006).

1.1.3.2. Education Reform Post-Oslo

Assaf (1997) identifies the period that witnessed the recovery of the educational system in Palestine as starting from Post-Oslo Accords 1993 (p.59). The PA could,

for the first time, take upon itself the task of educational reform by establishing the Ministry of Education (MOE) in 1994- later became the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MOEHE). The ministry was to take on the responsibility of developing and administering a national educational system in the two, still, geographically separate locations, Gaza and the West Bank. Therefore, the first mission for the ministry to bear in mind was the unification of the educational system in both these locations. The ministry created the first curriculum development centre in 1994 by a formal agreement between the UNESCO and the new ministry of education. The Palestinian Curriculum Development Centre (PCDC) was an autonomous entity, which neither belonged to the PA nor the ministry. The centre commenced its work in 1995 with a team of teachers, academics and researchers analysing the existing curriculum. 'They [the centre] consulted with educators and teachers throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip and produced a blueprint containing the basic principles that should govern a unified Palestinian curriculum' (Moughrabi, 2001, p. 6).

The PCDC introduced the first sets of textbooks (Language, civic education, history and other subjects) for grades 1 and 6 only, in 2000, and the plan was to introduce two more sets of textbooks every year for other grades (Moughrabi, 2001, p. 7). During that time, some right-wing Israeli debates have risen regarding the content and conduct of the new curriculum's textbooks assuming that they encourage incitement against Israel and the Jewish people[1]. Some even went far arguing that some of the content includes anti-Semitic indications (Moughrabi, 2001). These debates focused on the first textbooks that the PCDC had introduced in 2000. Yet, some research initiatives involving academics and other interested researchers took place either individually or through institutions such as the European Union (EU), and resulted in generating a consensus that the new curriculum, including the textbooks, was neither anti-Semitic nor provoking incitement. The EU, for instance, supported this view after its mission addressing this issue. The EU mission reviewed the Palestinian textbooks in 2001 and concluded with a statement in the succeeding year 2002. The findings indicated that the new textbooks had suffered from some

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[1] The starting point for the debates was a report issued in 2001 by the Centre for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP), an American nongovernmental organisation. For details, see Mughrabi, F. (2001) 'The politics of Palestinian textbooks', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 31(1), pp. 5-19.

flaws, however they did not provoke incitement. In its statement, the EU also recognized the significant improvement made by the PCDC and praised its efforts in educational development (UNESCO, 2006, p. 6).

The ministry continued the efforts to develop education by constructing a policy with clear priorities and objectives. With regard to the curriculum, the ministry maintained that this curriculum has a strong bond between the students' needs and the future of Palestine, and the peace process. From the start, one of the recognized potential functions of the new curriculum was the promotion of a national identity and the achievement of national unity. Thus, on such basis, the developers of the new curriculum attempted to incorporate five main principles in the new curriculum. The five principles' aims were to promote a student-centred approach to education, one that encourages critical thinking and making informed judgments rather than cramming facts and knowledge. One of the principles stated by Moughrabi (2001), stresses the need for this curriculum to 'generate a concept of citizenship that emphasizes individual rights and responsibilities, and that establishes a linkage between private interests and the public good so as to encourage responsible and intelligent political participation' (p. 7). Another was that 'democratic values such as justice, personal responsibility, tolerance, empathy, pluralism, cooperation, and respect for the opinions of others should be emphasized' (ibid, p. 7). Since UNRWA is bound to use the national curriculum of the host countries where it operates, the national priorities are embedded in UNRWA's educational system. The HRE curriculum, however, is an exception because the ministry plays no part in its design. It is an independent initiative taken by UNRWA in the five areas of its operations.

The principles stated above, reverberate in UNRWA's HRCRT policy document for the HRE programme. The HRE programme has its own principles, represented in human dignity, universality, equality and non-discrimination, participation and inclusion, and tolerance (UNRWA, 2012, p.7). These principles inform UNRWA's practices, activities and strategies within its educational system, in general, and the HRE provision, in particular. The policy document states the definition of HRE and its aims in 'building a universal culture of human rights through the sharing of knowledge, imparting of skills and moulding of attitudes directed to:

- Strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms

- The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity

- The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and minorities

- The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free and democratic society governed by the rule of law

- The building and maintenance of peace

- The promotion of people-centred sustainable development and social justice' (ibid, p. 7).

The principles and aims of HRCRT policy appear compatible with the principles of the Palestinian curriculum in spite of the absence of reference to "national identity/unity". Instead, UNRWA uses only the term Palestinian identity in its vision of the HRCRT policy to emphasize the importance of developing this sense of identity through HRE- I explain this in more detail in the analysis Chapters 7 and 8. For now, it is important to establish that there are no obvious contradictions between principles of the national curriculum and the UNRWA's HRE curriculum.

After reviewing the educational development in Palestine during crucial historical and political changes, the Post-Oslo period represents three important shifts that are vital for the global discourse of human rights to thrive. The first shift is resultant from the change in the Palestinian political discourse from liberating all Palestine to negotiating peace and co-existence. In relation to education, the second shift is realised through Palestinians gaining autonomy over education provision and development. This shift has allowed for the MOEHE to reflect the national priorities, as stated in the curriculum's principles earlier, in correlation with the regional, international and global changes. The third shift is represented in orienting education towards peace and co-existence as prerequisites for the success of the Oslo peace process. Therefore, UNRWA's integration of HRE in its educational institution became possible and plausible.

1.1.3.3. The Discourse of Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Tolerance (HRCRT)

Building on the last point, the peace process Post-Oslo 1993 has imposed a new paradigm for education for peace, by default. Education provision and reform, discussed above, are indicators of the continuous efforts to develop an educational system that combines national priorities with international trends. UNRWA places itself comfortably within this paradigm by adopting the host countries' national curricula while developing a special HRE programme that reflects international standards and trends.

In this section, I establish that HRCRT is the dominant discourse that is embedded in the HRE curriculum. This is in anticipation of the discourse analysis in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. HRCRT is the name of the policy in which UNRWA outlines the main aspects of its HRE programme and curriculum. This research recognises the relevance of human rights and conflict resolution to the conflict context under study. However, the association between human rights and conflict resolution, and the concept of tolerance invites the research to look deeper into this concept, in particular. "Tolerance", from the UN bodies' perspective, is one of the international principles, as stated in the previous section. Therefore, it is essential for the HRE programme to contribute to human rights, conflict resolution and peace-building processes.

Brown (2008) explains two kinds of tolerance. Personal tolerance and governmentality tolerance. The former refers to the individual's willingness to 'abide by the offensive or disturbing predilections and tastes of others' (p.13). An example of this kind of tolerance is to put up with someone else's irritating attitude or personality instead of reacting to it. The latter, however, Brown (2008) defines as 'a political discourse concerned with designated modalities of diversity, identity, justice and civic cohabitation' (p. 13). This has more to do with restraining action in response to the 'enactment of social, political, religious and cultural norms' (ibid, p. 13). With regard to personal tolerance, Fletcher (1996) argues that tolerance is an 'unstable virtue' (p. 158). He explains the person's internal conflict, which constitutes the core of tolerance, and requires refraining from reacting to disturbing

situations. Precisely, Fletcher (1996) explains tolerance by referring to the complexity of two sentiments, as he describes: 'the first, an impulse to intervene and regulate the lives of others, and second, an imperative to restrain that impulse' (p. 158). Therefore, there is an element of suffering that comes with the person's internal conflict, and that it causes the instability of tolerance. This translates in the person's inclination, for example, to be indifferent to, rather than tolerant of, others' religious or political views.

Similarly, the concept of toleration reflects the same level of complexity when considering it as a practice. Williams (1996) argues that toleration as a value can be enacted through the role of a state that is impartial and has liberal pluralistic characteristics by which it can accept diversity within its structure, and provide a framework of equal rights and respect for its citizens (ibid, p. 22). This resonates with Brown's (2008) governmentality of tolerance, which involves restraining action in response to diverse aspects of a society. With this in mind, understanding religions, national and ethnic identities, among others, in association with tolerance is necessary for building an inclusive and pluralistic society. It is, therefore, extremely challenging to articulate the ways this can work in practice especially because the moral discourse of tolerance is inseparable from the socio-political discourses that regulate social practices. This is relevant to the context of this research where the multi-layered conflict and the surrounding political discourses are the main challenge for building this pluralistic society. Another challenge is that the moral discourse of tolerance is predominantly western centric, I discuss this ahead in relation to the HRCRT policy's definition of tolerance. In this sense, tolerance is debated across cultures to develop what Brown (2008) terms as *modalities of tolerance.* That is to use the concept differently in accordance with local contexts that are different from Western nation-states that are 'presumed as always tolerant' (ibid, p. 3).

One example of toleration is the Polish aspirations for building a nation state- by the end of the Nineteenth century- while being required to accept, tolerate and co-exist with the Jewish minority. However, both groups' aspirations for the nation-state were not based on toleration or on peaceful co-existence as Levene (2000) argues, but rather, on the 'elimination of the other' (p. 24). The example indicates an

association between intolerance and clinging to national and ethnic identities and convictions that emphasize and promote a culture of 'othering' (Dervin, 2012). By reflecting on the geo-political and historical context surrounding the Palestinian identity construction, provided earlier in this chapter, there are systematic practices that have promoted the culture of "othering" of the Palestinians- section 1.1 demonstrates that in relation to identity construction and education provision. Another example on the complexity of toleration is the state of Israel. The state of Israel does not reflect Williams's (1996) characteristics of the impartiality, liberalism or pluralism of a state that is inclusive of all ethno-religious minorities- see section 1.1.2.1 for example on the status of the minority Palestinians who became Israeli citizens Post-Nakba. A third example is represented in the proposal of one state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It is not within the scope of this research to examine this proposal, yet it is important to keep in mind in order to understand the complexity of the conflict where toleration is necessary and impossible at the same time (Williams, 1996, p. 18). Chapter 2 elaborates on the protracted nature of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in more detail. With tolerance and toleration explained, for some scholars (Williams, 1996; Fletcher, 1996, Levene, 2000), they are necessary at times of conflict, yet simultaneously, impossible, elusive and unstable. That is because they feature in the moral and political discourses that add to the perplexities pertinent to practice. In this regard, Brown (2008) discusses de-politicization as a strategy for putting tolerance, the attitude or virtue, into practice. Brown (2008) suggests two meanings of de-politicization. First is the removal of politics from its historical and power context. Second is the replacement of the project of justice with another therapeutic or behavioural one.

With regard to the first meaning, Brown states four reasons for this form of de-politicization. Liberalism is one of the four sources of de-politicizing tolerance by naturalizing the discriminatory processes of producing and managing identities that become the object of tolerance (p. 17). In other words, the focus is shifted to constructing "de-politicized" and tolerant identities rather than directly addressing the conditions that maintain discriminatory processes. The second source is individualism, which essentially refers to the importance of equality and freedoms of citizens in all the political, economic and social aspects within a society.

Individualism, as a component of liberalism, functions similarly in de-politicizing tolerance. The third source is market rationality, which Brown (2008) sees as the underlying catalyst for the 'neo-liberal political rationality' (p. 18). Brown (2008) argues that the domination of the discourses of neo-liberalism and political rationality conceal the power relations that manage the social relation while making the matter appear as more constituted by individual agency. Within the discourses of liberalism, market rationality and neo-liberalism, the practices of tolerance become a discourse of power or a 'technology of governmentality' (p. 19) by which the de-politicization of tolerance takes place. The last source of de-politicization is the "culturalization of politics", which refers to superseding discourses on economic and power relations by generating a culturalized understanding of economic problems. Hence, different conceptions of culture become political. Brown (2008) is critical of the culturalization of politics for being at the core of liberalism's self-construction of its representation as culture-less by framing its principles as universal while privatizing other cultures by reducing them to personal taste (p. 23).

As for the second form of depoliticizing tolerance to maintain the status quo, the project of justice is replaced with another therapeutic or behavioural one. Brown (2008) explains that the reduction of human suffering into personal feelings and/or "differences", and justice into an issue of respect and showing sensitivity to one another is one way of depoliticising tolerance. This becomes the realm in which 'the field of political battle and political transformation is replaced with an agenda of behavioural, attitudinal, and emotional practices' (ibid, p.16). Based on Brown's (2008) discussion of the two forms of de-politicization, tolerance becomes a discourse when it is disseminated across the social institutions, social groups and political events, and international institutions and forums (p. 4). On reflection on UNRWA's policy, HRCRT becomes a discourse if integrated in the social institutions and social practices of the refugees' community. Taking education as an institution that is the 'most effective means for preventing intolerance' (UNESCO, 1995, p. 3), the UNESCO emphasizes the urgent need for a "systematic" and "rational" tolerance education methods that address the sources on intolerance, and contribute to the prevention of conflicts and/or resolving conflicts by 'nonviolent means' (ibid, p. 4). The institutionalization of the concept of tolerance is evident in

the UNESCO's articulation of the declaration of principles on tolerance, which considers tolerance education as imperative for conflict resolution and peace among the human family- see Appendix 5. This argument on HRCRT as a discourse is more credible in light of the discourse analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 where I identify the particular discursive aspects, strategies and practices that define this discourse. Therefore, the idea of de-politicization of tolerance is crucial for this study of HRE during conflict because tolerance is entwined with conflict contexts as a means for promoting peace (UNESCO, 1995; Levene, 2000). The issue of concern, as highlighted through the discussion, is the transformation of tolerance into a discourse and a set of practices.

The international discourse of human rights adopts a specific definition of the concept of tolerance that conforms to the UN's standards and norms. For example, UNRWA's HRCRT policy adopts the UNESCO's (1995) definition of tolerance to complement its human rights and conflict resolution approach- I analyse this adoption in Chapters 7 and 8. For this, I establish in this chapter that the discourse of HRCRT is the dominant discourse in the HRE programme in Gaza. This is more evident by engaging in the examination I present in the data Chapters 6, 7 and 8 where I unpack the aspects and strategies of this discourse.

1.2. UNRWA's HRE Curriculum for Gaza
1.2.1. Gaza Strip

The Israeli occupation has caused the separation of Gaza Strip and the West Bank since the war in 1967, see section 1.1.2.3 above. As a result, it has affected the socio-political, economic and cultural lives in both realities. In addition to that, the two Intifadas and the prolonged peace process have resulted in the mounting frustration and the protraction of the conflict. The life experiences of both locations differ according to the different geo-political and economic conditions. The Gaza Strip, in particular, is isolated especially with Hamas, the democratically elected government, taking over the Gaza Strip in 2007. Hamas's take over has resulted in international political, economic and cultural embargo on the Strip, and furthermore, it has led to characterizing Hamas as a terrorist organization. On the one hand, this

caused holding international humanitarian support to lay pressure on Hamas government. Hamas stood as a threat for its ideology, in other words, its position regarding Israel, for example, refusing to recognize Israel as a state and therefore, rejecting to enter any negotiations. On the other hand, Israel, which had already evacuated the Israeli settlers and military forces from the Strip earlier in 2005, also cut goods and supplies from entering thus halting all border conventions that were signed with the PA.

I give a brief summary of some of the major effects of the geo-political situation on the socio-economic and political sphere. The purpose is to help in understanding the argument I make in the following chapter on the importance of collective memory during conflict. Chapter 2 elaborates on the concepts of enchantment, disenchantment and re-enchantment with human rights and HRE to substantiate this argument. The implications of geo-political conditions are highly challenging for the population as people have to cope with any likely circumstances as a way of resilience rather than acceptance. For example, people in Gaza have witnessed three Israeli large scale attacks in less than ten years between 2008- 2014, which has caused more vulnerability, and serious repercussions in the lives of old and young. Also, Hamas government in Gaza had another neighbouring issue to encounter; that is the political relations with the newly elected regime in Egypt 2013. That was an additional turn of the screw to raise suspicions related to Hamas's role in disturbing the national security of Egypt. The result was that the Egyptian administration enacted more border-related sanctions on the Strip. As a consequence, the rights to freedom of movement of persons between the Strip and the outer world, for instance, was violated. That applies to goods, humanitarian and medical aid, and other life necessities as well. Therefore, people in Gaza suffer a severe inability to provide essential life requirements because of the ongoing political and economic decline, which influences all aspects of life, e. g., education, health care and wellbeing and security. This collective punishment continues to cause the escalation of tension in the region, and it is resulting in more disparity. Yet, the residents of the Strip immerse themselves in figuring out ways to survive everyday adversities. They resort to, what might be called, inherent resilience skills and a lifestyle of endurance, as a form of resistance.

HRE plays a central role within these circumstances of human rights violations and injustices. The Palestinian ideology and philosophical thought, shaped mainly by the historical events explained earlier in this chapter, contribute to promoting the Palestinian values. The notion of the values of human rights itself is part of the Palestinian human rights culture, which implied within, for example, the narrative of return that fosters the right to return. This culture remains local and limited to the Palestinian nation which suggests that it is culture-specific in the sense that other nations have their own culture of human rights as well. In contrast, the post-WWII Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1948 is the Holy Grail for ending human suffering by generating specific interpretations of the values/culture of human rights. Therefore, the international culture of human rights is susceptible to reflecting only the principles and philosophy embedded in this declaration- Chapter 3 explores the specific meaning of the "culture of human rights" and the philosophies that shape it. HRE is one venue where it is possible to deliver this specific culture of human rights that may or may not totally correlate with the local discoursing of human rights. The following section focuses on explicating the significance of the research in light of the geo-political and historical context of education and identity in Palestine, with Gaza being scope of focus in this research.

1.2.2. Significance of the Research

In 2000, the MOEHE delivered the first national curriculum in both Gaza Strip and the West Bank after years of implementing the Jordanian and Egyptian different curricula for providing education. The MOEHE continued to work in both areas until Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007. Therefore, in the period 2007-2014, the educational system in Palestine has worked under the administration of two governments, the PA government in the West Bank and the Hamas government in Gaza. The MOEHE in the West Bank kept the technical coordination with the ministry in Gaza and included it in all related educational issues. The latest Educational Development Strategic Plan (EDSP) 2014-2019 was met with satisfaction from Hamas government in Gaza (MOEHE, 2014). Soon, in the same

year of 2014, both ministries were united, under the PA administration, but not yet the governments themselves[2].

Given the title 'A Learning Nation' (MOEHE, 2014), the strategic plan intends to focus on the national priorities and the international trends in developing education. The *Learning Nation*'s vision aspires to achieve strategic goals by working progressively with three formal education providers. Namely, UNRWA, government and private education providers. This research examines UNRWA's education provision in Gaza only. The reasons for taking UNRWA schools as a sample are profoundly associated with the research topic as I explain next.

Since its establishment, UNRWA has carried out tremendous efforts to protect and aid Palestinian refugees as part of its pledge following Al-Nakba 1948. As shown earlier in this chapter, UNRWA offers services that cover health care, relief and infrastructure development, and education. There is plenty of literature on the structure of the UNRWA and the projects it executes in the five host countries to aid the Palestinian refugees. Yet, there is not enough insight into the role UNRWA plays in the process of constructing and reconstructing the Palestinian identity (Shabaneh, 2012), nor there is research done on UNRWA's HRE in Gaza. This research comes at the time when UNRWA had introduced human rights textbooks for the lower secondary level in 2014[3]. Hamas government rejected these textbooks by arguing that UNRWA 'ignores Palestinian cultural mores and focuses too heavily on "peaceful" means of conflict resolution' (The Associated Press, February 2014). Motesem Al-Minawi, spokesman for the Hamas-run Education Ministry, added that the government believes the curriculum does not match the ideology and philosophy of the local population (ibid, February 2014). Nevertheless, government officials had met with UNRWA officials and suggested forming a joint committee to revisit the textbooks. Therefore, the research gains its significance from the further exploration of the reasons for suspending the textbooks[4] by examining the representation of the

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[2] PA government (Fatah) and Hamas government have signed the latest reconciliation agreement on the 12th October 2017 to end a decade-long division. For details, see:
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/oct/12/hamas-claims-deal-agreed-fatah-control-gaza-strip

[3] According to The Associated Press, Adnan Abu Hassna, a local UNRWA spokesman, confirmed that 'the curriculum had been suspended while the sides work out their differences' (February 2014).

[4] Primary level textbooks, grades one through six (ages 6-11), are in use at UNRWA schools since 2009. Hamas has only suspended the lower secondary level's textbooks, grades seven through nine

Palestinian identity and collective memory, as some of the aspects of the Palestinian culture and history.

The research also examines UNRWA because of the fact that 1.3 million Palestinian refugees reside in the strip and depend on UNRWA for its services, including education. UNRWA provides compulsory primary and secondary education, first through ninth grade (ages 6- 14), for more than 240.400 students in 252 schools in Gaza Strip alone, and over 50.000 students in 97 schools in the West Bank (UNRWA, 2017c). This indicates the huge efforts UNRWA exerts in providing more education infrastructure and development in Gaza, and it highlights the impact of UNRWA's role on the enormous society that it serves. In relation to HRE, UNRWA has developed a programme for spreading the culture of human rights through its institutions and development projects. For example, headquarter offices, schools and health services in the five host countries, the vocational training centres and the university education (UNRWA, 2017b). This programme is informed by the HRCRT policy, as developed in 2012, to cover the five areas. With regard to a HRE curriculum, UNRWA dedicated a special curriculum for Gaza Strip alone whereas in the other countries, schools teach human rights in a cross-curricular fashion (ibid, 2017b). The research therefore is significant for its ability to analyse the discursive construction of the curriculum that is "dedicated" to Gaza, in particular.

In light of the above, this research is significant from a number of factors. First, examining the discursive construction of the HRE curriculum at UNRWA schools in Gaza offers more insight into the Agency's role in spreading the culture of human rights, as enshrined in the UDHR, to a wider audience than that of the West Bank. Second, this also an opportunity to examine the case of refugeehood of students in juxtaposition with their legal status as 'suspended' subjects (Hanafi, 2004). The fact that they are pushed to a 'liminal legal zone' (King-Irani, 2006) as part of a stateless nation without citizenship, which is a means for claiming human rights according to the international covenants and treaties. Third, Refugee students, like other Palestinians, are brought up in a socio-cultural and political conditions that

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(ages 12-14). Chapter 5, on the research context, supplies a detailed outline of UNRWA's HRE curricular aspects, including the textbooks. Framework and methodology Chapter 4, section 4.1.3 also offers a rational for examining a sample of the suspended textbooks (Second term textbooks from grades 8 and 9).

accentuate the importance of the right to return, which is not yet achieved. Therefore, the concept of citizenship becomes implicit through the national identity construction which is, for Palestinians, genuinely associated with the right to return among other issues. Unless achieved, citizenship continues to be negotiated within a highly complex socio-cultural and legal milieu. UNRWA schools provide a platform, through the HRE programme, to explore the concepts most relevant to citizenship such as identity and collective remembering in a conflict context.

1.2.3. Purpose of the Research

The dilemma of the legal "liminality" and "suspension" of the Palestinians (King-Irani, 2006; Bjawi-Levine, 2009; Hanafi, 2004) sits at the heart of this investigation of UNRWA's HRE curriculum in Gaza[5]. Regarding the latter, which is not different from the rest of Palestine, there is little research on the socio-cultural context that shapes the society's attitudes and the way people perceive the international human rights discourse. The ongoing debates, mainly represented through Hamas government in 2014, around the lower secondary level of the HRE textbooks at UNRWA schools suggest the need for carrying out more studies in this area. Gaining a better insight into the socio-cultural aspect requires an in–depth exploration of the dominant discourse of HRCRT in relation to the collective memory and identity. This exploration does not aim at justifying Hamas's suspension of textbooks or statements regarding UNRWA's role or the contents of the textbooks. Rather, it aims at analysing the discourse of HRCRT to be able to suggest a way forward for HRE for Palestinian refugees.

Therefore, problematizing the dominant discourse contributes to mobilizing a counter-discourse that represents the Palestinians' collective memory and intrinsic struggle for the claim of rights. The analysis I intend to make aims to disrupt the dominant discourse of HRCRT as embedded in UNRWA's policy and textbooks by considering its relation to the broader socio-cultural, political and historical context. It is significant to inquire into the dialectical relationship between UNRWA's discourse and the Palestinian refugees' social reality. The inquiry into this dialectical

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[5] The last paragraph in section 1.1.2.2 has already established the importance of the refugees question for UNRWA's HRE provision.

aspect helps understanding the role of collective memory in generating and regenerating what I refer to as a home-grown discourse of right-hood. The dialectical relationship shows the ways in which both these discourses meet within the same framework of rights as values, but differ in terms of the discursive production and reproduction of the social practices that serve a certain social order.

It is therefore the purpose of this research to investigate in the following questions:

1. What are the concerning issues of the HRE curriculum in Gaza in relation to the broader discourses around the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?
2. To what extent does this curriculum correlate with the Palestinian collective memory?
3. What is the importance of collective memory for HRE in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?

Conclusion

The chapter has reviewed some of the most important geo-political and historical events that influenced education development and Palestinian identity construction. The most significant event was Al-Nakba 1948, which resulted in the dispersion of thousands of Palestinians who became refugees inside historic Palestine, and outside in some of the surrounding Arab countries. Palestinians have been under occupation since Al-Nakba and therefore their legal status remains undetermined in terms of a recognized nation-state and citizens. The chapter has focused on relating this fact to the efforts of inclusion of HRE into the Palestinian educational system, only at UNRWA schools, in an area that is plagued by conflict.

The chapter argued that in the absence of a state and citizenship for the Palestinians, the collective memory, history and struggle become the strongest cultural features that shape the Palestinian identity according to the changing political landscape. Therefore, the aim of the chapter was to show that these cultural features are determinants for the debates that arise with the inclusion of a proposed HRE curriculum in a context of such. The chapter maintains that there is no absolute rejection of the inclusion of a HRE in Gaza except for an objection on the content of

the lower secondary level textbooks, delivered to UNRWA schools in 2014. The reasons for this objection are mostly relevant to the cultural aspects mentioned above.

Since this HRE curriculum is situated within a conflict context, it is the aim of the following Chapters 2 and 3 to elaborate on some of the issues discussed in this chapter. These issues are conflict, collective memory, identity, and human rights and HRE. The following chapter discusses some of the salient aspects of the Palestinian identity, primarily, the collective memory in relation to the protracted conflict. The aim of the following chapter is to illuminate, through literature, the multi-layered conflict, which causes the clinging to national identity and collective memory. It also highlights the importance of collective memory for HRE development in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

CHAPTER 2
CONFLICT, COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Introduction

In Chapter 1, the geopolitical and historical context shows clearly the development of education during the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Chapter 1 also reflects continuous construction and reconstruction of the Palestinian identity during different crucial historical and political events. Tracing these processes of identity construction and reconstruction has been important for two reasons. Firstly, because it sheds more light on the deep-rootedness of the Palestinian identity in the midst of the changing political discourse and landscape. Secondly, because this deep-rootedness reveals some vital aspects of the Palestinian culture such as its history, the Palestinian struggle and collective memory. The latter is the main cultural aspect to explore in this study in relation to the HRE curriculum in Gaza. For these reasons, this chapter builds on the previous one by elaborating on the relationship between the discourse of human rights in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the representation of the Palestinian identity by exploring the aspect of the collective memory.

The first section of the chapter focuses on the key issues for understanding human rights within the context of Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The aim is to clarify the strong bond between the human rights discourse and the construction and maintenance of the ethno-nationalist identities in the context of conflict. It addresses the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by focusing on two critical aspects for understanding the complexity of the Palestinian identity. The first of these aspects is the legal status and the absence of recognition of a state and nation. The second is the discourse of nationalism, which promotes a national and collective identity, as informed by the collective memory. The section then moves to focus on the concepts of historical consciousness and the collective memory to be able to relate these concepts to the Palestinian collective memory, and the role and significance of collective memory for the study.

The status of dispersed Palestinians, a refugees' status, and the procrastination of the fulfilment of the UNGA's Resolution 194 regarding *the right to return* leads to

generating and regenerating a grand narrative of *Return*, which I discuss in the second section of this chapter. With the continuation of this legal suspension, the narrative of *Return* becomes a pivotal issue for understanding its importance in strengthening the collective memory and aspiration for recognition of the Palestinian identity. I structure this section of the chapter in a way that connects some of the cultural traditions of remembering and narrating with the HRE discourse to inform the data analysis of UNRWA's HRE curriculum in Chapters 7 and 8. The purpose is to explore the collective memory in this context of conflict as a local discursive practice in discoursing Palestinian right-hood. The concept of historical consciousness is important in this section of the chapter. It helps in giving the discussion a better perspective when looking closely into the concept of collective memory as opposed to "history". Therefore, this section aims at explicating the importance of the collective memory when the international discourse of human rights is growing rapidly while the Palestinians do not enjoy their basic rights. The discussion on the right and the narrative of *Return* therefore captures the three indispensable elements that are the theme of this chapter. These are conflict, human rights and the collective memory.

The chapter concludes with pointing out the importance of the Palestinian collective memory in the given context of the ongoing conflict. This is a very important stage as it can contribute to this thesis by clarifying the cultural aspects, with collective memory at the centre, and informing the investigation into the second and third research questions- see Chapter 1, section 1.2.3. This chapter concludes with highlighting connections to the following chapter's debates surrounding the human rights discourse, and the different models and approaches of HRE. Understanding the cultural aspects of the Palestinian history, collective memory and identity in this chapter contributes to understanding these debates.

2.1. Conflict, Identity and Collective Memory
2.1.1. Contextualizing the Conflict

Understanding the complexity of the conflict is essential for this study as it contributes to the clarity of the argument. I start with this to be able to relate it to the main focus of this chapter, collective memory and its importance for the

investigation into HRE in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Understanding Palestinian identity is challenging because of the very intricate political conditions that have a direct impact in defining its features. In the following exploration of the literature, I explain some of these conditions regarding the conflict that allow the collective memory to stand out as one of the most important socio-cultural aspects of the Palestinian identity, and as a valuable component for the HRE and conflict resolution. Analysing conflicts involves understanding that they are multi-factorial and multi-layered. They have complex dynamics and challenging aspects for resolution (Sriram, Martin-Ortega & Herman, 2009). There can be conflicts of ethnic, religious and ideological nature, as far as this research is concerned, and the gross violations of human rights are indicators of such conflicts and their severity. Moreover, human rights violations are more than just indicators. While the accountability and protection of human rights are demands for conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding, human rights violations can be one of the following cases: a cause for conflict, an outcome of an ongoing conflict, both a cause and a consequence, or a transforming factor in a conflict (ibid, p 8).

Bekerman and Zembylas (2012) identify two theoretical perspectives on the study of conflict, the Macro and the Micro, theoretical perspectives. The former focuses on identifying the sources of conflict at the explicit, conscious level that makes its expression rational and of a mostly instrumental nature. It focuses on the wider context of a conflict, which involves an entire society, population groups, countries, economies, and social class among others (Onyesom and Igbesi, 2015). Bekerman and Zembylas (2012) argue that the Macro level conflict is related to distribution of resources, which constitute part of the conflict in the case of Israel/Palestine and Turkey/Cyprus (p. 44- 45). However, there are other causes of macro conflicts. Onyesom and Igbesi (2015) define four of these causes. The first is that of resources where the conflict deepens as a result of one group gaining control over the available resources to which the less powerful group cannot access. Second is values, which include ideology and religion. Therefore, the conflict between the values of two different groups is another cause for conflict especially when the more powerful group adopts values or perceptions that are discriminatory against the other group. Third is oppressive social order, which refers to particular social norms that

are oppressive in a sense that an advantaged group of people benefits from this social order/norms to do injustice to a disadvantaged group. Fourth is mismanagement of Information, which causes conflict situations, mainly because of the differing perceptions and reactions of conflicting groups (ibid, p.251- 252).

The Micro-theoretical perspective, however, focuses on the irrational, immediate and unconscious perspectives of conflict that evolve from social identity theory. According to Bekerman and Zembylas (2012), theorists on social identity assert that individuals seek to develop their positive identity in the realm of the group membership of their in-group while excluding the out-group. This results in comparison between the different groups and therefore leads to a deepening conflict (p. 45). Bekerman and Zembylas (2012) also identify the narratives that are based on perceived history and memory as being one of the main influences on groups in conflict. This reverberates in the context of the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict where each of the conflicting groups clings to its own historical memories and narratives. Therefore, at the micro level of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, both of the conflicting groups' attachment to collective memories and narratives inform the construction of their ethno-nationalist identities. Based on the macro and micro perspectives on conflict, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is multi-factorial and multi-layered because it combines both macro and micro levels of the conflict. This makes the conflict intractable and the quest for peace more challenging especially with the complexity of the political situation on the ground. For example, post Oslo Accords 1993 was promising to be a post-conflict epoch with a potential peace process that did not turn out well for many reasons that are beyond the scope and focus of this research.

Hence, Palestinians continue to cling to the history, collective memory and collective identity mainly because of the lingering negotiations to resolve the conflict. In Said's (2004) view, Oslo agreement was oriented towards pacification and deflection of the Palestinian aspirations rather than peace itself (p.20). Having examined the agreement, in the form of Declaration of Principles (DoP), Pappe (2006) also asserts that ending the conflict itself was not the objective of the agreement (p.241). Instead, the main purpose of the agreement was to engage in more negotiations over the three main issues of Jerusalem, the *Return* of the refugees

and ending the settlements in addition to other pending issues. In King-Irani's (2006) evaluation, this agreement proved to be a 'coercive set of mechanisms' (p. 924) for constricting Israel's control over the Palestinian territories. King-Irani (2006) argues that the situation is more complicated when realising the multidimensional aspect of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This aspect refers to the fact that this conflict takes different forms in different geographical settings, Gaza and the West Bank, the territories under Israeli control, and the millions of Palestinian refugees inside and outside these territories. The refugees' conflict with Israel, as King-Irani (2006) describes it, is an existential threat to the Israeli state rather than a militarized conflict (p. 931). With the non-binding aspect of the Oslo agreement or the UN Resolution 194, the refugee issue along with the situation of Jerusalem, for example, experience constant procrastination and lengthy negotiations due to Israel not abiding by the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and other treaties that it has signed (ibid, p. 923).

To date, the Israeli practices continue by denying the Palestinians their basic human rights in different forms and geographical settings, as stated above. The Israeli government carries on with building settlements in spite of the international consensus on the illegality of these practices, in addition to land confiscation/annexation in the West Bank, particularly. More restrictions deprive Palestinians of the right of free movement, access to health services (mainly halted by severe security checks), freedom of assembly/demonstrations and other restrictions. Israel also continues to deny Palestinian refugees *the right to return*, and hence, they remain quasi-citizens wherever they reside. If these practices are to be evaluated according to the Russell Tribunal on Palestine (RToP) 2011[6], then the Israeli state is debated as committing a crime of "Apartheid". The tribunal outlines certain discriminatory acts of which the deprivation of peoples' right to leave and *Return* to their homeland is one (Harlow, 2013). In addition to that, Israel continues to build the separation wall in the West Bank since 2003, a 708 Km long wall for security purposes against alleged "terrorism"; thus, dividing the West Bank into

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[6] The Russell Tribunal on Palestine (RToP) is an International People's Tribunal created following the international community's inaction regarding Israel's recognized violations of international law. It consists of five sessions. For more details on the RtoP, see: *Findings on the final session of the Russell Tribunal on Palestine*, BRUSSELS, 16– 17 March 2013. Available at**:** http://www.russelltribunalonpalestine.com/en/full-findings-of-the-final-session-en

smaller "Bantustans" run by the self-governing authority, the PA. The wall is illegal according to the international law. For example, the International Court of Justice's (ICJ) response to a legal consultation in this regard in which it declared the illegality of building the wall (The Russell Tribunal on Palestine, 2013). The grade 9 textbook discusses the ICJ's decision with regard to the construction of the wall in one of the selected lessons for analysis, Chapter 8.

Therefore, the Israeli practices cause the escalation of the conflict and add to its intractable nature that Bekerman and Zembylas (2012) stress by acknowledging the complexity of the political situation. However, the question as to whether Israel is an Apartheid state or not is, still, debated. For example, nearly a month before the third session of the RToP in South Africa 2011, sessions started, Richard Goldstone contested this view by claiming that there is no resemblance between Israel and Apartheid in South Africa, and that 'The "evidence" is going to be one-sided and the members of the "jury" are critics whose harsh views of Israel are well known' (Goldstone, 2011). Goldstone had previously led the fact-finding mission on the Gaza conflict 2008-2009 and concluded his task with a detailed report in 2009. However, he maintained that the report could not be an outcome of a formal investigation. It is not the focus, nor the aim, of this chapter to argue that Israel is an Apartheid state. Rather, the aim is to highlight the practices and the human rights violations that deepen the conflict, and to highlight the international community inaction with regard to the Israeli practices. Goldstone is also important to highlight here for two reasons. Firstly, he took a role in the advocacy for human rights in the persecution of the war crimes in former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, in the 90s. Secondly, and most importantly for this research, the grade eight textbook represents Goldstone as one of the advocates and heroes of human rights. I elaborate on this as one of the discursive instances in the data analysis, Chapter 8.

Further to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the legal and political status of the Palestinians remains a dilemma. In spite of being a self-governing entity, with a right to self-determination, the PA is not recognised internationally as an official state government, and therefore, it is unable to change the status of the citizens themselves. The PA cannot make use of all the legal tools made available by the UN body to end the human rights violations. One example is the inability of citing Israel

in the International Criminal Court (ICC), under the Rome Statute convention, because Israel is not a signatory state. The PA can only prosecute Israel for the violations that took place after 2003 (King-Irani, 2006). The PA also finds obstacles in calling Israel to the ICJ. The question that arises at this point of the research is whether UNRWA's policy and curriculum address this dilemma and acknowledge it in the HRE curriculum. More importantly, are the textbooks, the learning environment and teaching practices informative enough of these political complexities that the learners might not know about? Chapter 3 discusses UNRWA's HRE approach within this context, and contributes to Chapters 6, 7 and 8 which examine the policy document and the textbooks to be able to answer these questions.

2.1.2. Conflict, Human Rights and Citizenship

Following from the previously discussed point of the legal status of Palestine and the Palestinians, as quasi-citizens, the concepts of citizenships and identity become one of the existential questions especially when looking at the different geographical settings of the conflict, as explained earlier. Post-Oslo Accords 1993, the PA offered the Palestinians a sense of statehood in the two separate geographical entities, Gaza and the West Bank. The features of the state are evident in the PA's full legislative, executive and judicial system, informed by a basic law (Khalil, 2007, p. 15- 16). Furthermore, these features of the state are represented through the Palestinian established ministries, flag, passport, official papers, and some civil rights such as voting.

The Palestinian official political discourse reinforces these features and ingrains them in the collective consciousness of Palestinian society, in the wait for international recognition of the state of Palestine. These "illusive" features of the state result in a distorted conception of both citizenship and identity where the boundaries between both become blurry. This symbolic representation of Palestine is impactful in the sense that an imagined Palestinian state is recognized in the minds of ordinary Palestinians falling under the influence of this discourse, and in the absence of a definitive resolution. This is one clear example of a dialectical relationship between discourse and the material world where the power of this discourse constitutes the social practices and the material world within which people live. One

example is celebrating the day of independence each year on the 15 November when, in fact, the state of Palestine is not recognised till today. Therefore, this discourse has succeeded in forming people's perceptions of the imagined as real and, in some cases, indisputable truth. The confusion created by melding the imagined with the real results in forming ambivalent identities that are accepted within the confined space the discourse creates for people to interact. Moreover, on a global level, globalization causes more complexity and ambivalence in understanding these two concepts- identity and citizenship- in the presence of the notion of global identity/citizenship.

In modern world terms, globalization and the growing discourse of human rights link citizenship, rather than identity, with the impetus for promoting international law and culture of human rights (Asad, 2003, p.129). For example, human rights law has no meaning without the states' judicial systems where citizens are political subjects who have access to rights (ibid, p. 129). Therefore, citizenship is a prerequisite for the promotion of human rights law, and consequently, the culture of human rights. The culture of human rights, in turn, promotes global citizenship in accordance to the principles and values enshrined in the UDHR 1948. One venue for reinforcing this culture is in educational systems. The latter is capable of delivering this culture to local communities through formal and non-formal HRE- I discuss the "culture" of human rights and formal, informal and non-formal HRE approaches in Chapter 3. Democratic values inform and shape global citizenship. International HRE represents a medium for the promotion of this form of citizenship. For example, the European council describes the relationship between HRE and democratic citizenship as being interrelated and mutually supportive (CoE, 2010, p. 8). The council stresses the role of democratic citizenship and HRE in order to equip learners with more than just knowledge and skills, but 'also empowering them with the readiness to take action in society in the defence and promotion of human rights, democracy and the rule of law' (ibid, p. 9). This corresponds with Morris's (2012) emphasis on viewing citizenship as providing 'the principle vehicle through which most people access their universal human rights' (p. 43). Therefore, citizens of EU countries, as the example shows, are entitled to the enjoyment of human rights because of fulfilling the legal status within EU states/countries.

In the midst of local and global processes of identity construction, Palestinians do not possess that legal vehicle, citizenship, which entitles them to status as citizens. Therefore, citizenship in the Palestinian case is negotiated and understood through the conceptualization of identity. Citizenship is negotiated, in this sense, within the status quo as an imagined status that is governed by the political discourse, the future of the conflict and the proclaimed peace process. Identity, in this context, reflects the 'common understanding of a "we" that may share a same history, territory, language, culture or elements of else' (Khalil, 2007, p. 2). In the absence of the legal recognition of a Palestinian state, instead of using the term "citizenship" in relation with human rights and HRE in this thesis, I use the term "identity". This refers to the legal, cultural, collective and national identity according to the context where it is being discussed. The ambivalence with which I treat the concept of identity comes from the identity crisis created by the political and legal ill-recognition of Palestinian citizenship. I also use "identity" rather than "identities" for argument's sake, to maintain focus on aspects of collectiveness and unity that are associated with the Palestinian consciousness. I substantiate this claim by the relevant literature in this chapter. It is for these reasons that collective identity and memory are significant for the Palestinian struggle and education for rights, as I argue further in this chapter.

2.1.3. Collective Memory, Human rights and Identity

Many terms are associated with identity depending on the angle of examination. It can be examined through cultural, religious, individual and collective, ethnic, national, global and cosmopolitan perspectives. For this study, I examine the collective identity through the lens of history and the geo-politics of Palestine while bearing in mind the Palestinians' internationally ill-recognised identity, as explained in the previous section. This, I consider a limitation of the study because it does not thoroughly, nor directly, explore the concept of identity- I acknowledge this in the concluding chapter. Therefore, in examining collective identity through the lens of history and geo-politics, collective memory figures as core and one of the most significant features in shaping Palestinian identity. This collective memory is resultant from what I term as "local discourses" that emerged in consequence to the historical and geopolitical situation precisely post Al-Nakba 1948. These discourses include, but are not reduced to, the discourses of nationalism, dignity, resistance and

the discourse of rights and right-hood. The Palestinian national identity is the most important construct of these discourses; and it is mainly connected to the national aspirations of the Palestinians even before the establishment of the Israeli state 1948.

The discourse of nationalism is present in the Palestinian political discourse, which shapes peoples' attitudes with regard to the question of identity- as the first and second paragraphs of section 2.1.2 have clarified. In spite of the different Palestinian political factions within the Palestinian society, people still unite in the struggle to achieving national identity. National identity takes a high level of representation and recognition in Palestinian consciousness. It includes the individual identity alongside with the collective identity. This high level of representation is profoundly associated with the Palestinian shared culture, language and history that constitute national consciousness and aspirations for international recognition (Khalil, 2007, p. 11). These values and principles make up the mainstream ideology of the population, represented via the state- or the governments of Hamas in Gaza and the PA in the West Bank. Not achieving this level of identity leads to the people uniting around another level of identity representation, which is a collective memory and as such unrecognised officially, but it works for the sake of building the imagined nation state. In reference to memory and history of the Palestinians' struggle since Al-Nakba, Said (2004) asserts that the Palestinians 'Have, by virtue not arms, gone from the status of non-persons to that of a universally acknowledged nation-al collectivity' (p.19).

However, Bekerman (2009) argues that ethnic and national identities stand as a factor of conflict between different groups that are living in instability. I specify national and ethnic identities to be able to relate them to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In this context, the Palestinians aspire to build a state, founded on nation while Israel has already built its own based on ethnicity, and therefore, Israel is perceived as an *ethnocratic* rather than a democratic state (Sa'di, 2000; Peled-Elhanan, 2012). In the case of the struggle for achieving the national identity, the population unites through, at least, a national homogeneity, a common culture, a shared history of the past, a shared present and future aspirations that all together constitute an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). In the case of ethnic identity, one ethnic group makes the vast majority of the nation and determines what the

nation-state looks like while excluding the minorities. In the Israeli case, ethnicity and religion are the prime determinants of the nation-state and who is eligible to become an Israeli citizen. The consequence, in the Israeli example, is that the universality of human rights is "opted-out" when it is in conflict with the nation state's interest. In other words, the different categories of the same society enjoy levels of access to different sets of human rights. Similar practices occurred during the conflicts that took place in Bangladesh, former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (Hardwick, 2012, p. 3).

Still within the Israeli state context, Israelis from Ashkenazi decent enjoy first class citizenship while others from Mizrahi descent enjoy fewer privileges[7]. Moreover, Palestinians who remained in the Israeli controlled areas and became Palestinian-Israeli citizens have access to some rights that are not equal to Jewish-Israeli citizens. These Palestinians are referred to as "Arabs" in the dominant Israeli discourse, and therefore, they are inferior to the Jewish-Israelis. Peled-Elhanan (2012) depicts such discriminatory practice in the field of education where Israeli textbooks differentiates between the Jewish-Israelis and the 'Non-Jews' who are the Arabs (p. 49-50). In the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, there is no offer of a multi-ethnic state that includes all ethnicities and religions with equal rights. Although the one state solution suggests the idea, it is not as widely plausible as the two states solution. Therefore, clinging to national and ethnic identities becomes as problematic as racism and radicalization because they become the main catalysts for highlighting the differences between the groups in conflict, and cause proliferation of the conflict.

National identity is also an ambiguous concept that has the tendency to be "open-ended", "chaotic" and vague even for the person himself (Khalil, 2007, p. 2). In accordance with this, Bekerman (2009) argues for understanding identities as 'fluid, changing, negotiated definitions that recognize individuals as co-participants in complex sociohistorical-political contexts' (p.80). I consider these two views as arguments for pluralistic aspect of Palestinian society. While the Palestinian official political discourse continues to emphasize the homogeneity of the Palestinian

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[7] See Chetrit, S, S. (2013) *Intra-Jewish Conflict in Israel: White Jews, Black Jews*. New York: Routledge**.**

society, I aim to represent it as diverse and pluralistic to be able to understand the complexity of identity. This is important for conflict resolution because identitarianism ignites and worsens the conflict. Highlighting this pluralistic aspect of the Palestinian society opens up more possibilities for creative proposals for conflict resolutions, and for human rights to prosper. Therefore, throughout the thesis, I do not limit the concepts of identity and collective memory to the discourse of nationalism. Instead, and from a post-modern perspective, I treat these concepts as fluid and flexible especially when examining human rights and the HRE discourse, and the importance of collective memory.

Education is one of the realms where aspects of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are most evident in relation to competing collective memories (Bekerman and Zembylas, 2017), and teaching contested narratives (Peled-Elhanan, 2012; Bekerman and Zembylas, 2012). Bekerman's (2009) argument on the fluidity of identity is resultant from his ethnographic observation of peace and multicultural education at bilingual schools in Israel- the two languages in use are Arabic and Hebrew. He notes that the efforts dedicated to promoting "hegemonic perspectives on essentialized identity" add to the protractible nature of the very conflict that the educators try to resolve (p. 77). Therefore, the educational system mirrors the conflict, from the Micro-theoretical perspective, and regulates the educational practices (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2012). HRE is no exception especially because the subject itself entails examining some of the core topics of which identity, history, memory, and peace and conflict resolution are among the most provocative topics. Having said that, Bekerman's (2009) argument on fluid and negotiated identity is relevant to HRE discourse, which suggests dissolving the boundaries between "We" and "They", and reinforces the universalistic notion of human rights and global identity.

However, there are two issues to consider in Bekerman's suggestion, which stem from his work in one of the dimensions of the conflict- the Palestinian-Israeli minority who remained under Israeli rule during Al-Nakba 1948. First, his argument is made by highlighting the state's need for a structural change by which the state's institutions, including education, must reduce discriminatory practices, and thus, promoting equal human rights and coexistence. The second issue, which is of equal

importance, is that Bekerman's study is limited to one dimension or layer of the conflict only. This is the internal ethno-national problem of coexistence between the Israelis and the Israeli-Palestinians within the Israeli state. Therefore, the suggestion he proposes, negotiated identities, requires further exploration within the context of the other dimensions of the conflict that include Gaza, the West Bank and the other territories where Palestinians reside and share the nationalist collective consciousness. That is not to say that this collective consciousness is problematic on its own, but rather, it is to turn the attention towards the need for the structural and political change that can directly contribute to conflict resolution. In other words, to focus the efforts at the macro level of the conflict while bearing in mind the multi-dimensional aspect of this conflict.

Having demonstrated the vital aspects of the conflict and the complexity of the Palestinian identity, I conclude this section by arguing against the homogeneity of the Palestinian society in light of the multi-dimensional Palestinian-Israeli conflict. I argue that the ambivalence, entangling the Palestinian identity, is a foreseeable consequence of the continuing political crisis. For this, I address the Palestinian identity as a suspended national project because the recognised Palestinian nation-state is still itself in suspension. The collective memory, however, is a more concrete element of the Palestinian culture and identity that I examine in this study. The concreteness comes from the ability to see the manifestations of this collective memory in everyday practices of the Palestinian society. The Palestinians, with their different political affiliations identify with the narratives that are generated from collective memory. Palestinians identify with the grand narrative of Al-Nakba and *the right to return*, which both inform their political judgments and participation. The following section elaborates on the collective memory and some of the most important debates that surround it.

2.2. Collective Memory
2.2.1. Collective Memory and Conflict

I start this section by discussing collective memory as the core aspect in the construction of Palestinian identity in order to contribute to building the argument throughout this chapter. Although the Palestinian "national" identity is a fundamental

element to explore, I choose to maintain the focus of this chapter on the collective memory for two reasons. Firstly, discussing the collective memory in relation to the ongoing conflict and legal status of the Palestinians shows the complexity of the Palestinian identity that cannot be limited to being national, and therefore, problematic to the peace-building process. Second, this discussion shows the deep-rootedness of the Palestinian identity in the history, narratives and other forms of collective remembering that are important for the local discourses of nationalism, resistance, and dignity as well as right-hood.

Through his critical study of methodological approaches to collective memory studies, Kansteiner (2002) states that collective memory is more than just a 'metaphorical expression' (p. 188). He establishes that collective memories can be explored on different scales that vary on the level of families, social class, nations, and ethnic and regional groups (ibid, p. 188). Therefore, collective memory is formed by shared communications about the past that are reflected in the experiences of the individuals who interact within a collective community such as the ones mentioned earlier. For this, Kansteiner (2002) argues against conceptualizing collective memory through psychological and emotional dynamics of individual remembering as the only ways to access collective memory (ibid, p. 185). Instead, he suggests a conceptualization of collective memory as the result of an open dialogue between three types of historical factors: the discursive objects and traditions of representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopt these traditions, and the memory users/consumers, who use, ignore or transform such traditions according to their own interests (ibid, p. 197). In the context of the Palestinian collective memory, the intellectual and cultural traditions of representing the past have been developed since Al-Nakba 1948. The intellectual and cultural traditions take place, for example, in the works of prominent Palestinian intellectual writers, musicians, artists and novelists. Furthermore, they enter the sphere of everyday experiences of Palestinian society through commemorative dates, street monuments, folklore, memorials and street graffiti, which constantly reminds people of their martyrs, their leaders, the struggle slogans, encouraging them to advocate for their collective memory.

Edward Said's work on *Orientalism* (1978), *The Permission to Narrate* (1984) and *The Question of Palestine* (1992) are some post-colonial examples of the critical study of history and memory. Also Nur Masalha's work on *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* (2012) is a valuable contribution to historiography- I refer to Masalha's work in the following discussion on the Palestinian collective memory and narrative of *Return*, sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3. In literature, Ghassan Kanafani stands out with a collection of works that focuses solely on the Palestinian cause such as *Men in the Sun, Returning to Haifa* and other stories, and literary works. Naji Al-Ali, a Palestinian cartoonist who contributed, through his work, to the criticism of the regional political discourse and the Israeli occupation. *Handala* is a character of a young boy Al-Ali created to be a witness to the deteriorating situation in the occupied territories and the decline of Arab political leadership during the ongoing conflict. *Handala* is a symbol of Palestinian dignity[8], identity and consciousness. *Handala* remains a ten-year-old refugee boy
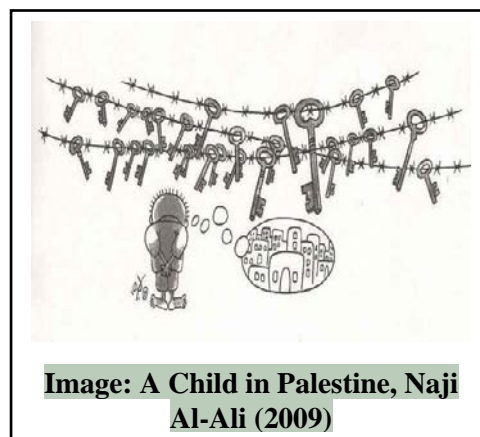
Image: A Child in Palestine, Naji Al-Ali (2009)

who stopped aging in the wait for the *Return*. Another significant contribution of Al-Ali is sketching the *key of return.* Ismail Shammout is also an artist who depicted history, memory and refugee-hood in his works that include his most famous painting "*Where to..?*"

Traditions of representing the past are also referred to as cultural or discursive formations that reflect the different ways of communicating meaning within a collective phenomenon (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 196). Therefore, the previously stated examples of the intellectual and artistic traditions constitute only part of the Palestinian cultural traditions of remembering. The memory makers are the displaced Palestinians who pass on their stories to successive generations. The memory

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[8] "Loss of dignity" is understood by young Palestinians through two Arabic words: "Ihaneh" and "thul" which are among the practices of the Israeli occupation that Palestinians reject because of their deep-rooted sense of dignity (Amro & Giacaman, 2012, p.36). The former means humiliation that is associated more with the individual, and can be overcome. The second is much larger in the effect than "Ihaneh" and it is more attached to the collective, it cannot be overcome and usually becomes a permanent feeling (ibid, p.36).

consumers are the mentioned generations among which are politicians, intellectuals, artists and so on. In addition, Israel and the international community are among the memory consumers who change, ignore or transform these traditions. For instance, the discourse of peace requires resolving conflict by reducing the tension resulting from the different groups' clinging to their collective memories, historical narratives and national identity. Therefore, the parties involved in the conflict resolution and the peace process are the consumers of the memory, each according to their interest, Israel, the PA and the international community. Palestinians use this collective memory for constructing a legally and politically recognised national identity and national state. Therefore, there is a direct connection between collective memory and identity (Kansteiner, 2002). This is because identity points out to the ways in which political and psychological processes make positive use of collective memory, as I explain further in the following section 2.2.2.

While Kansteiner (2002) does not highlight the relationship between collective memory and national identity, Confino (1997) does so by establishing that collective memory constitutes common social practices and ways of representation (p. 1399). Therefore, national memory draws from the nation's collective memory to achieve goals such as attaining independence and building the nation-state. Confino (1997) argues that national memory 'is constituted by different, often opposing, memories that, in spite of their rivalries, construct common denominators that overcome on the symbolic level real social and political differences to create an imagined community' (p. 1399- 1400). This is a crucial point in relation to the different political factions in Palestinian society that overcome their differences for the sake of the superior goal of constructing their imagined national community, which I discuss further in the following section. National memory, in this sense, is significant in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as it helps understanding the role of the Palestinian local discourses of nationalism and resistance in achieving Palestinian national aspirations.

2.2.2. The Palestinian Collective Memory

> 'Everything contained in historical consciousness is in fact embraced
> by a single historical horizon. Our own past and that other past toward
> which our historical consciousness is directed help to shape this moving

horizon out of which human life always lives and which determines it as heritage and tradition' (Gadamer, 2004, p. 303).

This is a call for expanding of horizons or "relativising" (Seixas, 2012) historical interpretations and judgments because a horizon moves for someone who is moving (Gadamer, 2004). In other words, our present production of interpretations is sufficient for the time of its production, not for all times. Seixas (2012) argues that in realising this, we become historical subjects as time passes, similar to the objects we study (p. 865). This offers this research a platform for discussing collective memory as an indispensable component for understanding the different historical interpretations of post Al-Nakba period. This is by making account of collective memory as a credible source of historical events, especially with the lack of Palestinian archival records, libraries and museums that constitute potential collective/cultural memory (Kansteiner, 2002; Assmann, 1995). Four generations of Palestinians remember Al-Nakba in different ways that are inseparable from the inconsistent geopolitical and historical context. Therefore, our attempt to understand these generations' acts of remembering at the present moment of time is 'shifting' (Seixas, 2012, p. 865). This section focuses on the Palestinian collective memory and *the right to return,* and the ways in which collective memory is actual, rather than potential. The aim is not to prove the reliability of the collective memory, but rather, to explicate it as a salient cultural component of the Palestinian identity and the struggle for ending human rights violations.

Masalha (2012) argues that the Palestinian elite's narratives and political history often obscure the understanding of the social history of Palestine. He asserts that the oral history of Al-Nakba casts more light on this understanding of the social history from within, or 'from below' (p. 217). The emphasis on the oral history comes from the fact that Palestinian historiography lacks archival records and documentation of oral history and the narratives of displaced Palestinians. The 1970s and 80s mark the beginnings of narrating the subaltern by recording the stories of the displaced Palestinians in relation to memory, identity and nationalism. Works of Nazzal (1978) and Sayigh (1979) are examples of such efforts[9]. Masalha (2012)

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[9] According to Masalha (2012), the production of such work during the 70s and 80s required theoretical import on the documentation of oral history.

records that it required further years before these historians, among others (Masalha, 2005; Sa'di and Abu-Lughod, 2007; Matar, 2011; Kassem, 2011), developed the discipline of the subaltern studies, and that their contributions challenged and added to the archival historiography of Palestine-Israel (p. 217). With this intellectual movement, revival of history and memory became essential for encouraging the documentation of oral history and narratives from the view of the subaltern, rather than the elitist nationalist dispositions. Such a dynamic to scholars (Sa'di, 2002; Masalha, 2012) makes Al-Nakba a constitutive component for Palestinian identity construction.

Masalha (2003, 2005 and 2012) argues that Israeli politics and revisionist historiography have long privileged official and archival documents over the Palestinians' voices and oral testimonies. For example, Benny Morris uses this argument to justify his position as a historian while documenting his work, in 1988, on the *birth of the Palestinian refugees' problem.* Morris's work encountered heavy criticism from historians who evaluated it as uncritical and conforming to the Israel politics of *'denial'* (Masalha, 2003). Morris, in a revisited version of that work, explains how he had no access to *state papers* concerning what happened during the period 1947-1949. Morris (2003) claims that he was deprived access to such documents due to Palestinians' *failure* to produce or preserve them, and the Arab states authorities' secrecy with regard to the archives and documents they have on the 1948 war (p. 3). Again, Masalha (2012) disputes this by analysing Morris's work, and confirming that the selection of the resources was in favour of the Israeli political discourse and its policy for silencing the Palestinian narrative (p. 215). Declaring the Israeli state in 1948 received international recognition. Since then, Israel started an unrelenting propagation of its historical narrative to reinforce the exclusion of Palestinian history, identity and collective memory- Chapter 1, section 1.1.2.3 on education provision post Al-Nakba 1948 shows one example of this process.

Earlier in the first paragraph of this section, I pointed out that the lack of Palestinian "Nakba-specific" archival records, libraries and museums classifies the Palestinian collective memory as a potential cultural and collective memory. Assmann (1995) argues that cultural memory can become actualized when

representations of the past are accommodated within contemporary contexts, and therefore, given new meaning (p. 130). In this manner, the Israeli collective memory derives its legitimacy from at least the historical archives, the oral testimony and physical spaces, which Israel has used discursively to serve its political ambitions. The international community has also contributed to strengthening this collective memory especially post WWII and the Holocaust. Therefore, the Israeli narrative has succeeded in creating a fortified Jewish collective memory, and delegitimizing the Palestinian narrative by propelling its erosion through time (Masalha, 2012). I argue that the association between Palestinian collective memory and identity contributes to strengthening the 'use-values' (Kansteiner, 2002, p. 184) by which representations of the past disseminate new meanings within the contemporary context of the conflict. The efforts discussed in the previous two paragraphs shows the way in which this is realised, namely, by recording the oral history and narratives of displaced Palestinian refugees, thus making the Palestinian collective memory actual rather than potential.

Hence, Palestinian collective memory is an indispensable medium for contesting the narrative of Israeli nationhood, which is founded on the idea of ethnic cleansing of Palestine (Pappe, 2006; Masalha, 2003, 2012). It is also important for defying the dependency on only the written forms of history and documentation. This contesting and unyielding struggle is challenged in a battle for recognition globally, and it is continuously hindered and overshadowed by the international community's stifling silence and passivity. While the international community shares a sense of guilt attached to the memory of the Holocaust, it simultaneously overlooks the Palestinians' history of recorded massacres and systematic expulsion plotted against them[10]. Israeli politics, in its turn, exploits the international community's passivity to silence the Palestinian collective memory and deny the historical narratives in all forms. One example is the denial of the processes of the systematic expulsion and implementation of the concept of *transfer[11]* which Masalha (2003) argues became 'central to Zionist strategy and actions in the period 1936-48' (p. 17). Israeli

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[10] For more details see Pappe's (2007) work on *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (ed.,).

[11] 'In the 1930s and 1940s the general endorsement of transfer (in different forms: voluntary, agreed and compulsory) was designed to achieve two crucial objectives: (1) to clear the land for Jewish settlers and would-be immigrants, and (2) to establish an ethnocratic and fairly homogenous Jewish state' (Masalha, 2003, p. 7).

historians such as Morris have disputed this concept and denied any Zionist master plan for transfer (Morris, 2003, p. 5). Masalha (2003) argues that such positions to conceal the Zionist ideological manifestation are part of the political norm in relation to the Israeli politics of denial. Despite the efforts to silence and repress the collective memory of Al-Nakba, Palestinians continued to cling to that memory. Indeed this repression established an inseparable bond between Al-Nakba and the Palestinians identity. Al-Nakba in Sa'di's (2002) account became a component of this identity. Sa'di argues that the Palestinians' lack of national institutions that represent them as a nation of an internationally recognized state has pushed them to seek another form of representation of their identity. This representation is embedded in preserving the collective memory and the long history of struggle against occupation. It is also translated into more persistence in holding firmly the core issues of Palestine such as *the right to return*, Jerusalem, stopping the construction of the illegal settlements, and other matters related to the struggle for justice.

For Palestinians, it is vital that the collective memory survives and gains legitimacy for certain reasons. Primarily, the legitimization of the Palestinian narrative of the actual events of Al-Nakba contributes to gaining international support by which the Israeli state can be held accountable for human rights violations committed in Palestinian territories. Secondly, debunking the Israeli narratives, for example, the voluntary departure of Palestinians during Al-Nakba- rather than admitting a plan of transfer- is significant because it strengthens the Palestinian cause internationally in terms of right-hood rather than victimhood. Thirdly, the upbringing of Palestinians entails a constant revival of the collective memory as a core element for shaping the Palestinian identity and resistance to oppression. This, in turn, can push the Israeli state to abide by the international treaties on human rights of which the refugees' *right to return* is one. On the whole, the memory of Al-Nakba and other adversities that Palestinians have undergone is not a means to victimizing the population. Rather, it is a means for reinforcing a culture of rights to land, to *Return*, to live and to achieve national aspirations.

2.2.3. The Narrative of *Return*

The fact that the UN has failed to put the Resolution 194 into action has transformed *the right to return* into a narrative of *Return*. Palestinians wherever they live and prosper- virtually around the world in *shatat* (meaning diaspora), inside Israel or in refugee camps in Gaza, the West Bank and the bordering countries- await to acquire their *right to return* along with other civil and political rights, to begin with. This anticipation is translated into a collective narrative of right-hood that Palestinians pass down through the generations.

Both the concepts of *right to return* and *narrative of Return* are paradoxically powerful, in different ways. They are both concepts that need elucidation. *The right to return* is founded in article 13 of the UDHR and article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which both elucidate the right of a person to leave and entre their country freely. The *right to return* is also acknowledged by the UNGA's Resolution 194. Thus, it is a legal right that gains its legitimacy from a globally recognized body although not enforced by the UN's Security Council. This allows for the Israeli government to continuously procrastinate and hinder the actualization of the *right to return*. The Palestinians' refugee status has remained the same since 1948 because the Israeli government chooses not to abide by the international treaties (King-Irani, 2006, p. 928). This makes *the right to return* powerful as a "universal" right for Palestinians, however, simultaneously, it is a tantalizing dream because of the legal inaction. Palestinians, therefore, refuse to give up this right, and instead, they resort to reassuring their collective memory and narrative of *Return* as temporal spaces until there is a resolution to the conflict.

While *the right to return* gains its power from legal legitimacy; the narrative of *Return* gains its power from the traditions of collective remembering and socio-cultural norms of living as Palestinians. From a general perspective, the narrative of *Return* comprises a historical claim and a national right. However, from a more grass roots level, *Return* is the people's emotional attachment to a confiscated private property, a house, and a piece of land or a farm, and more. This attachment is extremely emotional as it involves personal memories of such places and people. Ali (2013) has conducted a research on the narrative of Al-Nakba among three generations of displaced Palestinians, post 1948. She found that the narrative of Al-

Nakba finds no closure as it continues to be lived by the three generations in different ways at different times. Ali confirms that the third generation is more determined and hopeful, with regard to *the right to return*, to fulfil the dream of *Return*ing to their grandparents' original homes (p. 75-77). In the absence of a global recognition of the Palestinian oral history, the power of the narrative of *Return* remains a powerful local affair that has almost no practical influence on the international political sphere and diplomacy.

The case of statelessness, in the Palestinian context, suggests that nationality, nationalism and nation-ness become rigorous concepts that cannot be defined apart from the cultural and collective memory of the Palestinian population, as discussed in the previous section. Put another way, they are, in Anderson's (2006) words, 'cultural artefacts of particular kind' (p. 4). They require understanding of their historical occurrences, their evolution through time and the reasons for their contemporary legitimacy before they can be comprehended. From an anthropological perspective, Anderson defines a nation as 'an imagined political community- and imagined as both limited and sovereign' (ibid, p. 6). The existence of such communities, he argues, makes it possible for nations to kill, and likewise; to die in sacrifice for those communities. For Palestinians, this imagined community has ceased to exist geographically, and hence, it is not yet limited. As for sovereignty, the PA does not possess complete sovereignty over the areas of its jurisdiction. Instead, it operates as a functional structure that facilitates the Israeli control for allegedly protecting the peace process (Khalidi, 2010). The imagined community has managed to live through the memory and oral history of the Palestinians virtually all over the world (Kanaana, 2010). The existence of such an imagined community is embedded in the narratives and memories of the different generations of Palestinians. It can only come to reality once they obtain their *right to return* and become a nation within a state. Until then, the community that Palestinians constitute is the imagined of the imagined. Hence, the narrative of *Return* gains its powerful aspect from this imagination.

Andrews (2015) explains the dynamics of narratives through the concept of 'narrative imagination' in which she points out that stories, 'critically, are not only about the world as it is or has been, but also about how it might be'. This explanation

is relevant to the Palestinian context in relation to the memory and narrative of Al-Nakba. Ali (2013) mirrors this in her research stating that:

'As first generation refugees narrated their stories and memory of the Nakba, they not only provided me with historically significant facts of the events of 1948, but also gave me their perception of the past, present and future' (p.42).

Equivalently, Palestinians' perceptions of identity and belonging are not only as they see them today. They are also recalled, through the cultural heritage and collective remembering, as historical facts. Furthermore, they are envisioned in the imagined narratives of the future, which I refer to as imagined of the imagined community. Therefore, what they think about their experiences and perceptions becomes essential in their narratives. The third generation's narrative involves reconstructing and preserving their grandparents' stories of Al-Nakba to define their positions within the present and the future (ibid, p. 77). This indicates an ongoing identity construction and reconstruction that is already burdened with the past and strives for stability in the future. UNRWA has no clear position on that except for providing protection and aid to the Palestinian refugees until there is a resolution of the conflict. Therefore, it is also unclear how the HRE programme makes use of this collective remembering and narrative, and hence, this constitutes one of the issues for the research to investigate by analysing the discourse of HRCRT in the policy document and the sample of the suspended human rights textbooks.

In the light of this, one of the local population's expectations is for the HRE programme to reflect this struggle; and offer knowledge of the tools to "mitigate" the narrative of *Return* to an actual *right to return*. This connects to the aims intended from this research one of which, the representation of the Palestinian cultural aspects are put up for exploration in UNRWA's HRE curriculum in Gaza. I have explained the Palestinian collective memory in the previous argument in relation to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Therefore, the following section focuses on highlighting the reasons that make collective memory important for examination in relation to UNRWA's HRE curriculum for Palestinian refugees in Gaza.

2.3. Collective Memory and HRE for Palestinian Refugees

Understanding the importance of collective memory entails looking at the mechanisms by which it is constructed within societies. Like Assmann (1995), Nora (1989) identifies two different types of memories. These are true memory and the memory that is transformed through history. The former, he describes, as immediate and spontaneous. It is characterized by gestures, habits and skills, inherited through unspoken traditions (p. 13). The latter is indirect, deliberate and bound with duty. It is 'psychological, individual, and subjective; but never social, collective or all encompassing' (ibid, p. 13).

The idea of sites of memory, *Lieux de memoire,* as Nora (1989) argues, occurs when a large deposit of memory disappears due to the continuous transformation of societies in the pursuit of a new future, as they abandon the old. It is also formulated as a response to the lack of a spontaneous memory, and hence, requires endeavour in creating archives and reviving the ritualistic practices of commemoration. Building on the previous discussion of the Palestinian collective memory, the Palestinians' ritualistic practices of remembering are resultant from two interrelated elements. First, the lack of documentation of oral history and collective memory of the displaced Palestinians- as explained in section 2.2.1 above. Second, the continuous process of constructing a future for the Palestinian nation within an imagined community- also discussed in section 2.2.2 above. In Wertsch's (2002) view, the construction of collective memory is both material and social. He argues that collective memory is material, dynamic and mediated within a specific socio-cultural context through the social agents' interactions with the available cultural tools and technologies of memory. Nora (1989) elaborates on the social construction of collective memory by highlighting that these social agents select certain material objects, dates, events and people to remember and commemorate while excluding others from representation. The Palestinian people repeatedly generate and pass the collective experiences and narratives from one generation down to another, as Ali (2013) assures. Younger generations' responses to this kind of collective remembering is one of the important issues in memory studies. This is because of the individuals' strong beliefs and narratives of an historic event that they have not witnessed personally (Kansteiner, 2002, Assmann, 1995, Nora, 1989).

Collective memory, therefore, is effective in employing the past for constructing coherent group and individual identities (Wertsch, 2002, p. 31). Campbell (2008) suggests a relational focus to address individual and collective remembering by referring to two viewpoints of Wertsch's (2002). These viewpoints demonstrate the ways in which literature looks at the study of memory. First is the concept of accuracy, which pertains to the study of individual and collective memory for gaining more concrete research findings. Campbell (2008) argues that while one group of researchers sees that as vital, another maintains that the question of accuracy must be "downplayed" or "sacrificed" for the purposes of promoting the identity project through collective memory (p. 32-33). Second, some theorists consider the interconnectedness of both the individual and collective memories as analogous (ibid, 2008). Wertsch (2002), as well as Campbell (2008), cast more light on the need to consider both views in order to understand the complexity of memory. For this, this relational perspective is crucial for understanding the role of collective memory in forming the social agents' interpretations of events that are not necessarily part of their personally lived experiences. With this in mind, and by considering UNRWA's refugee learners as social agents who have not experienced Al-Nakba, this generation finds in the ritualistic practices of collective remembering a temporal space for the preservation of their history and rights in the absence of a just political resolution to the conflict. Therefore, UNRWA is expected to be aware of such socio-cultural processes when constructing the HRE curriculum, which I explore in this thesis.

Further to the reason that makes collective memory important in this context, collective memory is a source of "enchantment" by which the belief in human rights is fostered. This is understood in reference to the Weberian philosophy on the concept of *disenchantment*. Disenchantment lays at the centre of modernity as far as Jenkins (2000) understands it. Jenkins (2000) identifies two different, but double bound, aspects of disenchantment, 'On the one hand, there is the secularization and the decline of magic; on the other hand, there is the increasing scale, scope, and power of the formal means-ends rationalities of science, bureaucracy, the law, and policy-making' (p. 12). This connection is pertinent to the UN institution that holds in its foundations the ideas of rationality, formality and bureaucracy. The UN

encourages the world's nation states to abide by the international law and legal system to maintain a certain world order in which the prevention of human rights violations comprises a top priority. However, due to the complex mechanisms by which this institution operates, human rights violations still take place against Palestinians, as reflected in this chapter. Therefore, this is a major cause for the disenchantment with the international discourse of human rights. I have discussed the power of imagination that strengthens the narrative of *return* in the previous section. I argue that this power of imagination is what keeps Palestinians, including young refugee learners, enchanted with human rights as values rather than an ideological discourse that is not context-specific[12].

Another source of disenchantment for the Palestinians, including the refugee learners, is the political discourses surrounding the conflict. On the one hand, the political situation and the lengthy struggle of Palestinians for claiming their rights are among the main causes for the Palestinians' disenchantment with the discourse of human rights. On the other hand, the PA, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinians, has lost credibility at grass roots level, for a number of reasons: First, the Palestinians have begun to recognize the technocratic management of the PA as a functional organ for the continuing occupation (Khalidi, 2010), and therefore, they are pessimistic with regard to the future of a Palestinian state, through negotiations. Second, and resultant from the first, is the leadership crisis. Considering the internal conflict between the different factions, the Palestinians are losing faith in their leadership as might be the case with the Israelis. Furthermore, and regarding the UN and the international community, Palestinian youth find themselves at the forefront of resistance against occupation and its systematic discriminatory practices. They find themselves in between two fires. On the one hand, the fear of adopting the peaceful resistance approach while not achieving any progress, mainly because of the UN's highly complicated and bureaucratic performance and the instituted power relations that maintain the status quo. On the other hand, they fear losing international support for the Palestinian cause, in case of adopting the armed resistance approach.

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[12] I present this argument in anticipation of the data analysis Chapters 7 and 8 where I identify specific discursive instances that cause the learners' disenchantment with the international discourse of human rights.

Hence, the Palestinian people find enchantment in the acts of collective remembering and imagining the homeland, for example, through the grandparents' stories, songs and proverbs, costumes, and belongings. The key to *Return*, as another example of symbolism, is a source of enchantment for the refugee Palestinians awaiting, in determination, for the implementation of *the right to return*. The learners continue, while being enchanted with these acts of remembering, to witness human rights violations on a day-to-day basis mainly because of regional political intricacies, the over-bureaucratic nature of some aspects of the UN performances and its inability to enforce the international law of human rights. Human rights disenchantment is being challenged in this context by the repeated assurance of the Palestinians' belief in the '*right to return*' among other rights. The processes of enchantment or re-enchantment find strength in the acts of collective remembering of Palestinian history, culture and traditions among the different generations. Disenchantment in its most catastrophic forms means the difficulty, or even the inability, to reconstruct a Palestinian national project under the current political conditions. Hence, collective memory is significant because it generates narratives that challenge 'hegemonic versions of the past' (Weedon and Jordan, 2011, p. 846) and allow the marginalised to find meaningful and empowering forms of identity' (ibid, p. 844).

Therefore, I argue that Palestinian society is still "enchanted" with its cultural traditions of collective remembering, symbolism and its struggle for rights. Moreover, the discourses of nationalism, resistance, dignity and right-hood play a role in sustaining the practices of collective remembering. This makes the investigation into the representation of these socio-cultural aspects in UNRWA's HRE curriculum essential because both the policy and the textbooks are indicators of the degree to which UNRWA acknowledges these aspects of Palestinian collective culture. Acknowledging the importance of the local discourses that are constituted, and constitutive of, collective memory is crucial for maintaining and preserving the learners' 'enchanted' worldview of human rights and HRE. With regard to UNRWA, HRE plays a vital role in challenging the disenchantment with the international human rights discourse in a conflict context such as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. UNRWA's way of challenging this is by promoting a culture and discourse

of HRCRT, and encouraging positive attitudes towards this discourse. By presenting a certain model of HRE, UNRWA also engages in processes of enchantment/re-enchantment. The dedication of a special curriculum to the Gaza Strip is a systematic organization within which these processes of enchantment/re-enchantment take place discursively through human rights teaching and learning practices at UNRWA schools.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed some of the major causes for the deepening conflict and the situation of the Palestinian people as still a stateless people who do not enjoy their basic civil and political rights. The chapter shows the importance of collective memory, history and identity in the process of seeking international recognition, which is a pre-requisite for the enforcement of human rights and the development of the HRE curriculum. The concept of historical consciousness has proved to be useful for justifying of the value of collective remembering during conflict, especially at the times of strong emphasis on the global reinforcement of human rights.

The discussion presented on collective memory and HRE for Palestinian refugees reveals that local discourses of nationalism, resistance, dignity and right-hood have a dialectical relationship with social practices of collective remembering. These discourses are constituted in social practices as well as constitutive of these practices. I have, therefore, demonstrated that these local discourses keep the enchanted world views of refugee learners in a realm of right-hood. In contrast, UNRWA's discourse of HRCRT focuses on the processes of enchantment/re-enchantment of these learners with the more rational international discourse of human rights. Thus, local discourses and collective memory represent a major challenge for promoting the international discourse of human rights. The data Chapters 7 and 8 examine this issue in reference to data from the HRCRT policy and the sample textbooks.

Hence, the following chapter focuses on the debates surrounding the international human rights discourse. Some questions arise for the following chapter to address. First, what is the position of collective memory in the international discourse of human rights? In addition, breaking down the specific meaning of the

"culture of human rights" is essential not only for its association with the policy and textbooks analysis, but also for understanding its correlation with local cultural aspects and discourse of right-hood. Therefore, the second question is what are the models/schools of thought that attempt to theoretically ground and contribute to the development of the different HRE approaches? Moreover, which approach does UNRWA's HRE follow, and for what purposes? Answering these questions contributes to producing a clearer view of the special HRE curriculum in Gaza, and locating the research "problem" for the methodological framework to examine and analyse in Chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8.

CHAPTER 3

HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

Introduction

Human rights, in terms of foundation and philosophy rather than values, has been a debated subject for the controversial issues that are concerned with its theorizing as well as practice. This chapter sheds light on some of the critical debates in the field. The chapter comprises three sections that build a gradual understanding of important aspects of human rights, the surrounding debates and the non-unified conceptualizations of human rights. In other words, the different discourses of human rights at local, regional and international level. This helps to elaborate on the influences of the different discourses on augmenting the models or approaches to HRE. The discussion around these different approaches dominates the last section of the chapter in relation to UNRWA's special HRE in Gaza.

The first section of the chapter aims at positioning this research within the anti-foundationalist philosophy of human rights by contesting the idea of grounding those rights. It highlights the paradoxes surrounding the human rights theory and practice in connection to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the resultant discourses that surround HRE in Gaza. The paradox of the concepts of universality vs. cultural relativism takes most of the attention of the discussion in this section. To begin with, and with regard to the concept of universality, the discussion in this section establishes that the human rights discourse is at most global rather than universal (Baxi, 2008). In doing so, the discussion continues to explore the other interrelated paradoxes of the human rights "global" discourse, which I take as a viewpoint from which this research examines UNRWA's HRCRT discourse in Gaza. Second, in relation to the concept of cultural relativism, the discussion takes into consideration this notion while diverting the focus to the different discourses of human rights. The aim is to emphasize that the research is discourse-oriented rather than culture-specific although the two interrelate in the examination of the HRE in the context under study.

The concept of *human rights culture* is also significant for this discussion as it shows the way in which this culture, or cultures, leads to forming different streams, or *schools of thoughts* (Dembour, 2010), on human rights. I outline these schools of thought as developed by Dembour (2010), namely, the natural, the deliberative, the protest and the discourse school. This aims to expand on the idea of the relativity of human rights theorizing, and contributes to understanding the different discourses, and hence, practices of HRE. The purpose of the overall discussion of this section is to situate the research within a post-modernist line of thought, which considers the concepts of universality and culture as dynamic and open to interpretations, depending on the geopolitical and cultural context under examination.

This contributes to the second section of the chapter, which moves to identifying the frameworks by which the global HRE discourse enters local context. The HRE frameworks briefly show the language structure, which gives a general idea of how the international standardized language of human rights figures in the theories, the strategies and practices, as channelled by international and local organisations as well as social institutions. In other words- that are more specific to HRE- to explore the formal, non-formal and informal settings where HRE takes place. For this, the second section of the chapter focuses on the representation of the local Palestinian discourse of human rights as informed by the processes of identity construction, history and collective memory, as discussed in the previous chapter. This section contrasts the discursively, and globally, constructed *culture of human rights* with the local one in order to identify the importance of the collective memory for human rights and HRE. Specifically, it seeks to highlight the role of collective memory in promoting a local- maybe "provisional"- culture of human rights during conflict by taking into consideration the complexity of the Palestinians' legal status and the continuation of the Israeli settler-colonial project.

With all of this in mind, I shift the attention to explaining three specific approaches to HRE in relation to the previously introduced schools of thought and frameworks. I discuss the transformative, the hermeneutical and the rights-based approaches in relation to the research context of the Gaza Strip. Most importantly, I highlight the rights-based approach, which UNRWA integrates in the HRCRT programme in Gaza to be able to relate it to the data analysis of the HRE curriculum

and the sample textbooks in Chapters 7 and 8. The discussion around this approach is not void of references to the conflict and the related concepts of human rights, peace, conflict resolution and tolerance that shape the dominant discourse that steers UNRWA's performance. The last part of the chapter gives an overview of the problematic issues raised by the Hamas government concerning the discourse embedded in the human rights secondary level textbooks. The chapter concludes by stating the major points that require an in-depth examination in the analysis chapters.

3.1. The Global Discourse of Human Rights

The discourse of human rights has formulated through history as a development that correlates with the needs of specific societies until it reached international recognition through the "Universal" Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted by the UNGA on the 10th December 1948, Resolution 217 (Griffin, 2012). The UDHR came as a response to the atrocities experienced in World War II. It represents the first global, or universal, expression of rights to which all human beings are entitled. It draws its values and principles from the various human philosophical, religious and political endeavours in generating universal praxis of human rights. Therefore, the principles of the declaration are universal in the sense that they are inclusive of all societies with no exceptions. I initiate this chapter by making a distinction between the two concepts of the "universal" and the "global" human rights to be clear about the research's position and argument throughout the thesis.

The concept of the "universality" of human rights has been under intellectual scrutiny ever since its endorsement into the UDHR as one of three fundamental principles that accentuate the discourse of human rights- the other two principles being the inalienability and indivisibility of human rights. This research sheds light on this scrutiny while moving towards explicating the more problematic aspect of "globalizing" the discourse of human rights, section 3.1.1. Uncovering the features of the global discourse reveals the power dynamics and relations that reproduce the same rhetoric that is far from universal in terms of the implementation of human rights laws. For example, the UDHR provides an ethical and moral framework for the prevention of human suffering and human rights violations. However, and

practically speaking, the declaration is not a legally binding document. Although governments commit themselves to protecting and promoting human rights, they are at different positions from the actual implementation of the UN's conventions and treaties that spring from this declaration of human rights. While some states sign and ratify the UN treaties, and infuse them into the legal systems, others only sign them as a way of showing consensus and respect for the human rights discourse as conveyed through the language of the UN treaties. The decisions to sign and ratify the treaties are highly dependent on the state's political-economic and cultural priorities and interests. This rhetoric also regulates the social practices of human rights and HRE in diverse contexts- I explain these ideas of power dynamics and social practices in more detail in the framework and methodology Chapter 4, section 4.1.2. Examining the global aspect of the human rights discourse requires looking into the issues of theory and practice of human rights within the 'world's leading power' (Donnelly, 2003, p. 39) that generates this static discourse, the UN.

Two main issues pertain to the conflict context of this research and the status of Palestine/Palestinians. First, the issue of access to the UN's tools and instruments to stop/prevent human rights violations. Second, the politics of production (Baxi, 2008) and implementation of human rights standards and norms. With regard to the first issue, it is necessary to understand the role of the nation-state status in guaranteeing the flow of human rights laws and praxis from the macro to the micro level. Firstly, the sovereignty of the states is a precondition for the membership in the UN family, and hence; it offers the legal passage for the transfer of the discourse of human rights from the international to the regional and local. Secondly, the sovereignty of the state, combined with its interests mentioned earlier, are the main catalysts for deciding to ratify the UN treaties. With these treaties not being infused in some states' laws, human rights become globalized rather than universalized. Furthermore, among the community of sovereign states, that are members in the UN, the human rights discourse becomes an authoritative 'hegemonic political discourse' (Donnelly, 2003, p. 38). Therefore, these states are evaluated in accordance with the degree to which they integrate and implement human rights at the micro level.

In the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the UN admitted the state of Palestine, as a non-member state observer, in the UNGA's 67th session in 2012[13]. This position as a non-member observer state does not allow Palestine to participate in the General Assembly's substantive discussions or to have a say, for instance, in the Security Council voting sessions (Saltzman, 2012). Moreover, in the absence of a resolution to the conflict- One/Two state solutions or others- the state of Palestine is not yet sovereign and therefore, there remains a gap between the human rights laws and their implementation at the local level- Palestine and Israel. This is primarily because of the ongoing conflict and Israel not abiding by international law, as a sovereign state. Second, the state of Palestine's inability to access legal tools- such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) - that are capable of holding the state of Israel accountable for its practices of human rights violations. Therefore, the UN universal discoursing of human rights remains romanticized in theory and global in action.

As for the politics of producing human rights norms and standards, there is a sequence of dependencies in the flow of the human rights praxis from the macro to the micro level. The UN's expertise, at the macro level, work on production of the policies, treaties, tools and norms of human rights. The implementation of the human rights laws, in turn, relies on the states' judicial systems alone for the enactment of these laws. Eventually, at the micro level, the citizen, as a 'political subject' (Asad, 2003, p.129), gains access to these human rights. Asad (2003) draws a paradox in the way the international discourse of human rights confuses the "human" with the "citizen" in relation to the principle of inalienability of human rights (p. 129). The idea of inalienability of human rights comes from the realization that all "human" suffering must end by being able to claim, enjoy and protect human rights. In this respect, the civic status is not a concern in the articulation of "universal" human rights principles. However, human rights laws have no meaning without the state's judicial systems and the civic status of the individuals within this state (ibid, p.129). In agreement with Asad (2003), Baxi (2008) terms this sequence of dependencies as 'transactional hierarchies of suffering' (p.198). Baxi (2008) elaborates on the concept

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[13] See United Nations General Assembly, (2012). *Recognizing the State of Palestine as a non-member observer state*. 67th Session [Online]. Available at:< https://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ga11317.doc.htm >

of human suffering by considering it an integral part of understanding the politics of production and the production of politics of human rights norms and standards (p. 99).

Based on understanding those two issues, Baxi (2008) explicates the distinction between the concepts of the "universal" and the "global". Globalizing human rights involves producing certain politics of human rights, on the theoretical and activist levels that may not make the necessary distinction between both the concepts of universality and globalization (ibid, 2008). Baxi summarizes this in the states' construction of the 'transactional hierarchies of suffering' (ibid, p. 198) and the human rights praxis according to the states' logics and national/global interests. These hierarchies determine the logics of prioritizing specific rights such as civil and political rights while excluding others from this prioritization such as economic, social and cultural rights. Human rights praxis, in turn, functions similarly in the construction of the hierarchies and thus becomes global rather than universal. Therefore, the dynamics of producing human rights standards and norms from within the UN body play a major role in the construction of the hierarchies, and maintenance of the standardized language of human rights. The Western representation within this institution contributes to regenerating the same discursive construction of the hierarchies, and the language of rights. This results in the renewal of the debate of North and South expertise to encounter that institutional flaw- I elaborate on this dichotomy (North vs. South) in section 3.1.1.1.

Consequently, the dominant discourse of Human rights, as reflected in the UDHR, the UN conventions and the constitutions of some state members of the UN, holds in its core the universalistic claim, which is generated from Western conceptualization of human rights (Asad, 2003; Baxi, 2008; Simmonds, 2012), as I explain further in the following section. This still stands as the major criticism of the dominant international discourse of human rights. It still also signifies a problem of implementation in non-Western societies and raises debates regarding the human rights discourse's ideology and agenda for implementation in these societies. Cultural relativism is one of the most deliberated concepts within these debates to

contest the notion of universality in terms of practice[14]. The global dominant discourse of human rights therefore affects the perceptions of the notion of universality, which tends to have a negative connotation- I explain this further in the following section.

In light of this, before moving to the next section, it is of a pragmatic importance to clarify that this research is not concerned with founding human rights on historical, theological, philosophical or political grounds. In agreement with the post-modernist scholarship, and after reviewing the literature in this chapter, the research skips foundationalism to instead, acknowledgment that the conceptualization of human rights, and the consequent cultures of human rights, is subject to diversity, context and circumstances (Rorty, 1998; Bjawi-Levine, 2009; Simmonds, 2012). The research examines the dominant discourse of human rights in its global allure throughout the thesis to avoid the exhaustive debates on universality vs. cultural relativism alone. In so doing, the priority of this research is to identify the different processes of discoursing human rights, mainly, international and local, and the impact this different discoursing has on HRE in Gaza.

3.1.1. The Human Rights Paradoxes

The global discourse of human rights is paradoxical in many ways (Rorty, 1998; Hanafi & Tabar, 2006, Hardwick, 2012). Hanafi and Tabar (2006) present these paradoxes of human rights in oppositional dichotomies: Individual/Collective rights, Universalism/Cultural relativity, Social, economic and cultural/Civil and political rights, and North/South (p.139). The four dichotomies are interrelated and relevant to the context of the study, but the focus will be on the first two while the discussion encompasses the third and fourth dichotomies throughout the discussion.

3.1.1.1. Individual vs. Collective Rights

The first dichotomy of individual/collective rights stems from the critique of the ideology of individualism as incorporated in the liberal political and economic theory that fosters the individual's, rather than the collective's, relationship with the

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[14] For reviewing debates on universalizing vs. globalizing human rights, see Panikkar. R. and Sharma. A. (2007) *Human rights as a Western concept*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd.

government (Hanafi and Tabar, p. 139). The North anchors this liberal system in the free market economy of countries that are more developed than those of the South. The North uses political and economic power as instruments to promote national and international interests and maintain a certain power balance. On the national level, a sovereign state uses the individual's civic status to secure its interests and power by promoting an 'exclusive national identity' (Asad, 2003, p.137) that sustain the national attachment to the state and its interests. One of the consequences of this dynamic is the exclusion of, if not hostility to, outsiders/the others who do not belong to the imagined community of these states. Islamophobia and xenophobia are good examples which reflect this, in the context of the North vs. South dichotomy. On the international and global level, the North's power balance constitutes agendas that do not necessarily correspond with the South's different cultural, political or economic contexts. In some cases, the powers of the North instrumentalize the language of rights as part of an imperialistic foreign policy (Hanafi and Tabar, 2006; Baxi, 2008). One example is the USA invasion of Iraq, in 2003, in which the USA foreign policy has used the discourse of human rights to cover for the military invasion and global economic diplomacy (Baxi, 2008).

This imperialistic instrumentalization of the language of rights, as a global language, is also a means for spreading a global *culture of human rights*, promoting peace and preventing human rights violations. The global human rights agenda is inaugurated from the same liberal ideology- by referring to the dichotomy of individual vs collective rights- and it is led by legal positivism that renders the 'non-legal forms of human rights claims lacking in analytical import' (Hanafi & Tabar, 2006, p.140). Thus, it allows intervention in local collective communities with an international or transcultural zeal. This positivism enters diverse contexts as a dominant discourse and masks or buries the historical knowledge of the local communities (Coysh, 2014, p. 94). It functions systematically through utilising specific methods such as "framing", which aims to regenerate 'shared beliefs, motivate collective action, and define appropriate strategies of action' (Merry, 2006, p.136). The concept of framing is of extreme importance in this research in relation to the functions of the discourse in regulating the social practices within a specific institution, and accordingly, in the larger community. It is important here to highlight

this process of framing, which indicates the influences of the agenda and its strength in promoting the discourse, and the level of acceptance within the local communities. I explain framing in relation to discourse analysis in more detail, in the theoretical and methodological approaches in the Chapter 4, section 4.2.2.2, by drawing on the work of Goffman (1974) in social movement theory and Altheide and Schneider (2013) in qualitative document analysis.

Before elaborating on the universality issue as part of the second dichotomy, it is important to note that, on the one hand, the framing strategies works effectively in the absence of a critical inquiry into the integration of international agendas into local contexts. On the other hand, local communities encounter these agendas and framing strategies with resistance to enforcing certain agendas at the expense of the collective culture. Hanafi and Tabar (2006) illustrate this by analysing and comparing two organizations, Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch (HRW), which show the effect of the positivistic quality of the performance in relation to politicization as Non-governmental organizations (p. 144). The analysis of the internal dynamics of such organizations is important to explicate the issues of representation and decision making regarding Palestinian cause, for example. Hanafi and Tabar (2006) find that both organizations do not refer to International humanitarian law. They use the discourse of rights as a reference for exposing human rights violations. For example, these organizations address the Palestinian refugees' right to return as a human right in the absence of the UNGA's resolution 194 (ibid, p. 148).

The status of Palestine and Palestinians is one example that reflects the paradoxes in the form of the four dichotomies: Individual/Collective rights, Universalism/Cultural relativity, Social, economic and cultural/Civil and political rights, and North/South. As discussed earlier in section 3.1, there are key issues to consider when examining Palestine's legal and political status. The key issue is sovereignty, by which a state can access the UN legal tools and treaties to stop human rights violations. The symbolic acceptance of Palestine, as a non-member observer state, in the UNGA is a clear indicator of the failure of the UN body to reach out to different contexts with a universalistic attitude. Another issue is the politics of production and the production of politics as Baxi (2008) terms it. These

processes are discursively generated and regenerated to propagate certain agendas. The critical examination of those two issues contributes to, first, exposing the paradoxes entangling the global human rights discourse, and second, confirming that the UN's discourse of human rights is global.

3.1.1.2. Universality vs. Cultural Relativism

With regard to the second dichotomy, the notion of universality suggests a utopian ideal of "sameness" when, in fact, human beings and their political, economic and socio-cultural backgrounds are extremely diverse. From a post-modernist position, the work of researchers such as Arslan (1999) and Rorty (1989; 1998) emphasizes the need to abandon the foundationalism of human rights by challenging the precise ideal of universalism. Drawing from Nietzsche and Hegel's thoughts, Rorty asserts that the understanding of human rights is reliant on the historical, contextual and contingent circumstances. While metaphysical and theological endeavours emphasize the sense of community, which implies the existence of solidarity and a common human nature, Rorty (1989) states that historicists reject such commonality and view solidarity as 'a "mere" artefact of human socialization' (p. xiii). Hence, anti-foundatonalists reject grand narratives that generate and regenerate certain truths about the human nature in relation to the universality of human rights.

In a similar vein, Gadamer's idea of "fusion of horizons" in which he suggests that the individuals' understanding takes the shape of dialogue with their cultural, historical and social milieu. They open possibilities to acquiring a vision by transcending the situation that exists in their horizons (2004). This applies to the different conceptions of human rights. The possibilities the individuals open translate into visions of what human rights are according to each individual's construction of the social truth, and the horizons they see from their vantage point (Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2013). Furthermore, these possibilities and visions can change and therefore they are not static. Gadamer (2004) asserts that the 'horizon of the past, out of which all human life lives and which exists in the form of tradition, is always in motion' (p. 303). He adds that the 'Horizon changes for someone who is moving' (ibid, p.303). Therefore, to defend the concept of universality of human rights is to

defend a horizon that is distinct and fixed, and that the individuals need to transpose themselves into this utopian horizon.

To illustrate, Said (2004) argues that Palestinians are the most "visible" rather than "oppressed" cases in the world with regard to human rights violations. He maintains that in spite the long deferment of their aspirations, Palestinians have managed to develop a 'political and moral solidarity with each other and with other people' (p.20). He adds that this has functioned no less than a national identity and a political constituency all over the world, and that Israel's goal is to obliterate and refuse to acknowledge this fact (ibid, p.20). The important thing about this argument, which may be challenged or dismissed for being a mere opinion of Said's, is that it reflects that Palestinians are conditioned by their legal status and unclaimed rights. This conditioning results in producing specific social practices- based on local discoursing of rightshood- that contribute to generating commonness and moral solidarity outside the normative universal discoursing of human rights. This resonates with the discussion on the importance of the collective memory for transcending the political differences to create unity, Chapter 2, sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. Whether, or not, this is a fusion of horizons, in Gadamer (2004) terms, is an indicator that Palestinians have a national narrative to unite them, but this narrative is perceived differently among Palestinians themselves with regard to their different horizons, which define "universal" in relevance to the history, politics and circumstances of each person living in this imagined unity.

In another context, and speaking of visibility, Hannah Arendt uses the term "political visibility" in her article *Reflections on the little rock,* on the struggle for civil rights in the Little Rock, Arkansas, USA 1950s (Baer, 2011). Baer (2011) considers the photos taken for the African-American female students, in separate occasions, as a political stance for claiming their right to education, which renders them visible to the public. Thus, he reassures Arendt's use of the term "political visibility" to show that the citizens' political roles in democracy matter more when visible in the political sphere (p. 64). The notion of universality of human rights is essential in the two examples above, which belong to different socio-political and cultural settings of different times. The African-American collective could claim their rights, as legal subjects, through becoming politically visible as fully recognised

citizens unlike the Palestinian collective, which became politically, but not legally, visible. These two examples correspond to the post-modernism multi-faceted concept of human rights as subject to history, context and circumstances of the communities that struggle for these rights. Therefore, the notion of universality stays debated in relation to the socio-political and cultural contexts where the universal/global human rights discourse enters.

This research is also critical of the notion of universality for its association with the international institutions and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that instrumentalize the human rights language for exporting global projects to the South while claiming a culturally sensitive approach. That is not to hypothesize that this applies to UNRWA, yet, it is a legitimate research concern especially with regard to UNRWA's construction of the HRE programme, which the policy and textbooks analysis reveals in the data Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The Palestinian legal status and the cultural traditions of the collective remembering, discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, make it a requirement to examine the sensitivity of the UNRWA's HRE programme to the local discoursing of rights- in accordance with history, culture and circumstances. The analysis of the special curriculum in Gaza, in particular, helps understand UNRWA's integration of HRE as a globalized project that is far from reflecting the core aspect of universality.

The previous two chapters have established that education is a venue, or a medium, for spreading the *culture of human rights*. Thus, I continue threading this idea in the following section by bringing the different schools of thought in dialogue on human rights in an attempt to relate them to the context under study. This helps to depict the different constructions of the *culture of human rights* according to the schools of thought. In addition, I discuss UNRWA's position, within these schools of thought, in relation to the culture it promotes through the HRE programme. This positioning contributes to the analysis chapters to come later in the thesis.

3.1.2. The Human Rights Schools of Thought Model

In reference to academic writings and the body of literature on human rights, Dembour (2010) identifies four schools of thought on human rights. The four schools

of thought that shape the perspectives on human rights are the Natural, Deliberative, Protest, and Discourse schools, Figure 3.1. Adherence to any of these perspectives results in varying interpretations of rights, their universality, foundation, realization and belief in them (ibid, p. 4). These schools engender the ways in which human rights can become a mechanism for social change, and they contribute to constructing different frameworks to design and deliver HRE. I use the term streams of thought interchangeably with schools of thought to allow more flexibility than confinement. In nature, a stream takes irregular roots according to the current, landscape, the change of weather and human intervention. In research, the stream changes unpredictably according to the development of critical thinking in the field of human rights, and the contribution of transdisciplinary research[15].

NATURAL SCHOOL   **PROTEST SCHOOL**

DELIBERATIVE SCHOOL   **DISCOURSE SCHOOL**

Figure 3.1 Dembour's (2010) Model of Human Rights Schools of Thought
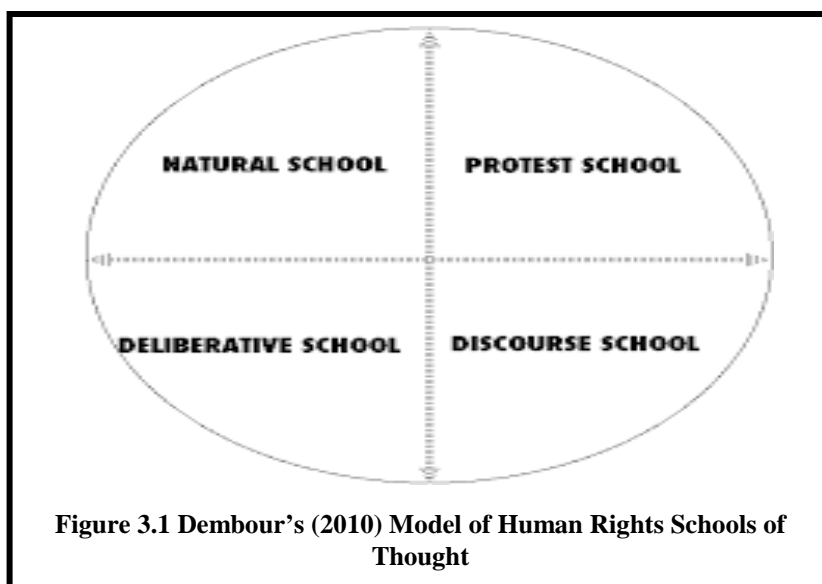
Figure 3.1 demonstrates different relationships between the different schools of thought. The top two show a transcendental foundation of human rights while the bottom two associate human rights with society and language. Looking at the two vertical halves, the right half is oriented to issues of justice and collectiveness. The left half, however, has a more liberal and individualistic orientation (ibid, p.4). This relates to the four dichotomies explained earlier on the paradoxical nature of the

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[15] The use of scholarly names in the following elaboration on each school of thought is not to indicate that they belong to a particular school. The focus of this section is to shed light on the streams of thought in order to link them to the following discussion on the culture of human rights, and the approaches to HRE.

global human rights discourse. It appears that the critical study in the field- while acknowledging the paradoxes- has yielded valuable perspectives on human rights by the four different streams of thought. These varying perspectives on the human rights, in turn, contribute to different understanding of the *culture of human rights*. Dembour's (2010) model presents a good, although not absolute, 'mapping' (ibid, p.5) of the field of human rights by which it can be viewed, and by which HRE analysed. The relationships between these schools of thoughts interconnect. As mentioned earlier, the research highlights these schools only to be able to take a clear position in addressing the main topic of the research, which is HRE. The aim is for the study to be well informed while addressing the research's social problem, and to contribute to the ongoing development of HRE in relation to the socio-political and cultural issues discussed in the previous chapters- the ongoing conflict and the collective memory.

First, the natural school derives its philosophy from natural law traditions, which have had influence on the subsequent emergence and foundation of the universal human rights. The natural school roots its approach to human rights as universal moral entitlements, inherited by birth and nature for every human being. These "natural" rights do not need social recognition although that is preferable (Dembour, 2010, p.3). In the times of the nation states and the representative democracy, the UN Charter has established a cooperative relationship with the member states to address human rights, and therefore, citizens can access their rights only through the state/government. The role of the state, in this case is embedded in protecting these rights, for example, the right to freedom, dignity and life that are given naturally to each and every human being. However, this is subject to debate because of, for example, the states' focus on the political and civil rights while it overlooks other social, economic and cultural rights (Donnelly, 2003; Baxi, 2008). This, in turn, means that the role of the state extends to give those rights for its citizens in the form of social contracting. This negotiation, or contracting, results in some instances in the state's abuse of rights rather than guarantee of them. In this manner, again, the human rights discourse becomes evidently paradoxical in the sense that human rights are simultaneously liberating and restrictive (Hardwick, 2012).

As for the deliberative stream of thought, modern theorists such as Michael Ignatieff[16] have moved away from the metaphysical theorisation of human rights by adopting a legal approach that allows accessibility to human rights. The UN has imbedded this approach in its treaties following the World War II. The essential value within the UN's underpinning philosophy of human rights is universality. The positivistic legal system, discussed earlier in the paradoxes of the human rights discourse, supports this philosophy and functions as an effective tool for maintaining the normative conceptualisation of human rights (Hanafi & Tabar, 2006; Coysh, 2014). Moving from orthodoxy of previous doctrine of the natural stream of thought, the deliberative school's philosophy establishes that human rights can only come to exist through social agreement and institutionalization. The praxis of human rights in this stream of thought gives weight to dialogue, consensus or overlapping consensus (Valen-Sendstad, 2010, p. 8). Promoting dialogue and consensus, in this case, requires a process of expanding the norms of the institutional structures through which these norms contribute to the widespread internalization of the ideas of human rights (Merry, 2006, p. 220). This collective consensus makes the deliberative school un-interested in founding human rights and more interested in the process of finding and promoting consensus on the principles of human rights (Dembour, 2010). For this, with regard to "having" human rights, the deliberative school sees that it is not a matter of possession, but rather, a form of political and legal action (ibid, p.8).

The protest stream of thought on human rights focuses on addressing injustices of oppressed communities by being involved in the social struggles of such communities. Therefore, the element of empowerment is strongly associated with this stream of thought (Valen-Sendstad, 2010, p. 9). There is a degree of agreement on the metaphysical aspect of rights as the protest school shares a similar transcendental orientation, that of the natural school, to founding human rights. However, there is doubt in the law's role in benefiting certain interests that are not of the oppressed, poor and underprivileged. Therefore, protest scholars, according to Dembour, disagree with the institutionalization of human rights and they are less

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[16] See Ignatieff, M. (2001) *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

reliant on legal consensus unlike the deliberative perspectives (Dembour, 2010). This stream of thought views of the realization of human rights has a selfless and utopian aspect in the sense that there is a continuity of struggle for others, for example the oppressed, to claim their rights.

In the discourse stream of thought is concerned with disrupting the major theories and politics of human rights in order to allow new perspectives and voices on human rights (Valen-Sendstad, 2010, p. 9). The discourse stream of thought portrays the discourse of human rights as a Western ideology and an imperialistic endeavour to impose its agenda (Wang, 2002). Discourse scholars view foundationalism of human rights as 'fundamentally flawed' (Dembour, 2010, p. 7). Baxi (2008), for instance, views such efforts- to ground human rights- as futile and dangerous (p.176). Futile because what counts as being human is always associated with social deconstruction and reconstruction, and therefore, cannot conform to any ethical imperative. Dangerous because the very ideal of the universality of human nature is misused by certain regimes to 'thrive and prosper' upon human rights violations (ibid, p.177). This partly explains the reason the idea of consensus, endorsed by the deliberative school, raises concerns with the discourse school as the latter sees that the persistence on consensus 'obscures power relations' (Demboure, 2010, p.9). Dembour (2010) argues that by realising the conflict of power and the failure of the international human rights discourse in achieving its objectives, some discourse scholars observe and comment on the human rights discourse while other radical ones declare the need for an emancipatory project to take place (p. 8).

3.1.3. The *Culture of Human Rights*

HRE is the arena for spreading a *culture of human rights* that embraces principles of justice, truth and freedom. Simmonds (2012) points out that one of the reasons for the variant discoursing of HRE could be the acknowledgment that the different ways in which individuals "live" human rights is far from universal (p. 227). The *culture of human rights* can be as much debated as the human rights discourse itself in terms of definition, theory and practice. It is important at this point to review some perspectives on what the *culture of human rights* is before proceeding to discussing the approaches to HRE that it influences.

Rorty (1998) borrows the term "human rights culture" from the jurist and philosopher Eduardo Rabossi to bolster the argument that human rights foundationalism is 'outmoded' (p. 170). Between foundationalism and anti-foundationalism, Rorty argues against the claims that founding human rights culture on the premises that a superior power is what makes common human nature. By superior power, Rorty refers to the metaphysical conception of human rights and the natural law, which is the product of modernist thoughts. From a post-modernist position, grand truths, fixed ways of thinking and the universal conception of human nature are problematic (Rorty, 1998; Wang, 2002; Simmonds, 2012). Rorty (1998) explains that rationality is the human attribute which morality grounds, and adds that cultural relativism is viewed as irrationalism for its denial of the idea of moral transcultural facts (p. 171). This closes possibilities of accepting differences amongst the different cultures, and thus, results in one group having the pretext to discriminate against another, which is assumed to be inferior. Therefore, Rorty (1998) promotes sentimental education by which human beings can overlook their differences and not think of the different others as quasi-humans (p. 176). By quasi-humans, Rorty gives an example of the killings of the Muslims in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina where viewing the victims as less of humans was one of the leading drives for the massacres. Therefore, a sentimental approach to education provides a space for diverse and valuable input that stems from diverse community contexts.

In the context of HRE in post-Apartheid South Africa (post 1994), de Preez, Simmonds and Roux (2012) study human rights and HRE as a moral construct that combines the epistemological level (the knowledge and purpose of human rights) with the moral level (the integration of human rights culture and values). They describe the *culture of human rights* as:

> '*An ideal or way of life that could operate on both local and global levels. This normative ideal promoted through such a culture is founded in the moral demands posed by HRs values and principles. It evolves as circumstances change and proposes that human rights values, as values derived from human rights principles, should be constantly identified, negotiated and readdressed*' (p. 85).

This view tends to leave some space for flexibility to negotiate the *culture of human rights* according to the context where it develops. du Preez, Simmonds and Roux (2012) refuse fixed knowledge of moral values as those of human rights, and instead, propose the idea of an "ethical community" that is capable of supporting the *culture of human rights* and addressing ethical dilemmas sensibly (p. 87). This suggestion of an ethical community resonates with Rorty's (1998) proposal for achieving a moral community as he explains the role of philosophy in doing that by employing the term "summarizing generalizations". Summarization involves recognising the culturally different intuitions to doing the right thing, in different situations, and then formulate generalizations. Summarizing generalizations, in Rorty's (1998) opinion enhances the efficiency of the institutions, which results in promoting a shared moral identity (p.171).

UNRWA's *culture of human rights* is closer, in purpose, to that of du Preez, Simmonds and Roux (2012) in using sensibility to address ethical dilemmas and human rights violations. However, because UNRWA's approach to HRE is under investigation, it is early to identify its ability to combine the epistemological level with the moral level. For example, tolerance is among the main principles that UNRWA intends to promote through its HRE programme and curriculum. However, the discussion on tolerance as a value and as a practice, Chapter 1, section 1.1.3.3, indicates a problem in relation to UNRWA as an institution with a global agenda and HRE as a moral construct. A problem that du Preez, Simmonds and Roux (2012) recognize in the South African example by highlighting that the moral level receives 'ample attention' (p. 85). They identify three major issues that stand as a challenge for HRE within the context of their study. First, the "commodification" of human rights, which leads to 'behaviourism' (p. 86) in order to fit in according to the standards of the international community. Second, the "reification" of human rights, which implies the instrumentalization of human rights that aims at gaining strategic goals rather than supporting the actual process of understanding and meaning making of values (ibid, p. 86). Third, the international orientation to promoting the liberal natural rights discourse, which focuses on the fixed content knowledge of human rights, and is "egotistical" that it does not embrace the notion of an ethical community (ibid, p. 86- 87).

The definition of HRE, as cited in UNRWA's HRCRT policy document, mentions that HRE aims at building a '*universal culture of human rights*' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 7). UNRWA borrows its definition of HRE from the first phase of the World Programme for HRE (WPHRE) 2005- ongoing where this *culture of human rights* can come through the 'sharing of knowledge, imparting of skills and moulding of attitudes…' (ibid, p.7). Therefore, education (HRE) is the tool for promoting the culture of human rights as a 'shared epistemology' (Baxi, 2008, p. 164). It is the role of the states, civil societies, social institutions, and even the individuals maintain by cooperating with the UN and its normative production of the human rights norms, standards and *culture of human rights*. Therefore, the data Chapters 7 and 8 examine the combination of the epistemological and moral levels to be able to have a clear view on UNRWA's *culture of human rights* and its implications within the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

In this context, Palestinians have been politically, rather than legally, visible as I have discussed earlier in section 3.1.1.2. This has not changed with the establishment of Oslo peace process although Palestinians, in the 90s could enjoy some civil and political rights such as voting and participating in public life. I have clarified in Chapter 2, section 2.1.2, that the self-governing PA has managed to constitute an imagined sense of statehood for stateless Palestinians through its legislative, judicial and executive system, which is informed by the Palestinian basic law in Gaza and the West Bank (Khalil, 2007).

Human rights within this context, and any context of emergency, are to be understood as an abstract rather than a concrete concept (Arendt, 1986). In her work, *The Origin of Totalitarianism,* Arendt (1968) argues that stateless people are thrust in an extra-legal lacuna[17] where they are unable to make use of their human rights because of the loss of political and legal recognition and protection of their governments. In this sense, human rights can be understood as civic rights that depend of a political community to be actualized. Arendt (1968) asserts that the dilemma of statelessness resides not in the loss of some rights, but the loss of a community, which guarantees rights of any kind (p. 297). This loss is what causes

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[17] This term is analogous to the concepts of legal 'liminality' (Kin-Irani, 2006) and legal 'suspension' (Hanafi, 2003) in this thesis.

human insecurity according to Arendt who argues further for the recognition of "a right to have rights" which ultimately contributes to creating a political community for the stateless to belong to, and by which they can claim their human rights.

The rights that Palestinians practice for the time being are limited social, civil and economic rights that contribute to the performance of the self-governing PA, which operates under the Israeli state occupation till reaching an indefinite resolution to the conflict (Azzam, 1998). The issue of sovereignty remained exclusive from the performance of the PA which is characterized as functional for the Israeli occupation (Azzam, 1998; Khalidi, 2010). This reaffirms that the condition of statelessness is the main challenge for Palestinians acquiring full recognition of their political community, and hence; their actual human rights. Therefore, there is a continuous failure of political theory in actualizing human rights especially in the case of the stateless. Rorty's promotion of sentimentality and solidarity in spreading a liberal human rights culture is not exempted from this failure. Rorty's theory is also limited to privileged liberal communities from which stateless persons are excluded. Under such conditions of lack of a political community, represented through a state, human rights continue to be limited, and stateless persons remain "inhumane" (Staples, 2011, p. 1012).

Palestinians may be practices some forms of rights that are promoted by the PA to contribute to the success of the first self-governing entity and the construction of an imagination of a future imagined community. However, Palestinians are, simultaneously, deprived from accessing other rights such as freedom of movement, expression, accessing natural resources and health services, enjoying good standards of living under occupation among others of the social, economic and cultural rights. This stands as a challenge for the very fundamental beliefs that are anchored in the UDHR and the UN conventions, covenants and instruments that emphasize human beings' entitlement to all human rights. Consequent to this, Palestinians remain expelled from the 'category of humanity' (Oman, 2010, p, 281), and they exist somewhere between morality and law according to Benhabib (2004, p. 183).

Considering the above, the international discourse of human rights can be perceived as serving an imperialist ideology to extent control over some parts of the world. The understanding of, and responsiveness to, the local need of human rights is

re-contextualised within a globalized view of the world at different scales, which include the local, regional, national and international. Two interrelated processes are at work to realise one form of this re-contextualization. These are re-structuring and re-scaling (Jessop, 2002; Fairclough, 2016)[18]. At the level of spreading a standardized knowledge and culture of human rights, the representation of Palestinians is re-structured within the PA's structure and performance where, in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the PA is re-structured to improve skills for good governance under Israeli occupation (Azzam, 1998). In terms of re-scaling, the PA's promotion of human rights and HRE is guided by (elitist) national, regional, international and global scales, which can be considered as parameters for a concealed imperialist ideology at play.

To address this criticism of the discourse of human rights as serving an imperialist ideology, Benhabib develops a discourse theory to address human rights while maintaining the aspect of universality by establishing a commonality of human rights culture 'across diversity, conflict, divide and struggle' (Benhabib, 2011, p. 70). Universality here is detached from Western liberal or imperialist influence as the process of claiming rights is characterized by a 'communicative action' approach (Benhabib, 2011; du Preez, Simmonds & Roux, 2012). This approach plays a role in creating an ethical community that combines the epistemological level with the moral level, as explained in section 3.1.3. Also, it plays a role in challenging the commodification of human rights, and hence; the wide spread of the standardized human rights culture and practices that do not correspond with the local needs of diverse communities. Palestinian human rights exist in a distinct milieu outside legal recognition and therefore, the extent to which this milieu promotes a communicative approach in the local discourse of human rights requires further research.

Based on this discussion, human rights in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are not given. Human rights are aspirations as much as the Palestinian nation-state itself. It is in this sense, of *aspiration*, that the universal aspect of human rights can manifests in the local discoursing of Palestinian rights and human rights culture during conflict. Hence, the *culture of human rights* and the different perceptions of the nature of this culture constitute the streams of thought on human

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[18] I explain these processes in Chapter 4 on Framework and Methodology.

rights. The literature on human rights shows different conceptualizations of human rights that contribute to the complexity and inability in founding these rights, or creating a unified culture. As clarified earlier, different institutions, communities, and even individuals give a different interpretation to what human rights are, and the approaches they may take. Each stream of thought has its philosophy, and the manifestation of each philosophy generates a certain "*culture of human rights*". I argue here that *culture of human rights* is fluid, and is dependent on the context. The following section further illustrates how HRE frameworks mirror this variety of streams of thought. It varies between the different streams of thoughts and cultures. The following section focuses on HRE approaches of which UNRWA's rights-based approach is one.

3.2. Human Rights Education (HRE)

International endeavours to spread a unified *culture of human rights* are as old as the UDHR 1948. Such endeavours were able to gain a widespread appeal to audiences through education years after the UDHR. They were present in the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (UNDHRE) 1994-2005, and they are now present in the ongoing United Nations World Program for Human Rights Education (WPHRE). The latter, after the achievements of the UNDHRE (OHCHR, 2004), is dedicated to fulfilling goals in the long run between 2005 and 2019 by administering a three phase strategic plan. The aim is to construct a robust framework for effective practice that flows from international to grass root level (OHCHR, 2004).

In order to understand HRE theory and practice, there needs to be a clear distinction between formal, non-formal and informal frameworks that contribute to constructing HRE programmes. This distinction contributes to understanding the different ways each framework defines and implements HRE. The human rights schools of thought model, in the previous section, offers guidance for forming this understanding.

3.2.1. Formal, Non-Formal and Informal HRE

Formal HRE is represented through Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs) such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In theory, IGOs formal frameworks obtains their principles and legitimacy from the UDHR, the UN treaties and the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) through which these frameworks comply with what Hanafi and Tabar (2003) term as 'the legal-judicial-bureaucratic standards' (p. 27). In practice, they find their course through the different states into schools' curricula. Therefore, IGOs frameworks take a top-down approach (Bajaj, 2011) to promote the *culture of human rights* and values through that state's policies. For example, the UNESCO is the leading entity in the UN that leads global wide programmes, in partnership with other IGOs, to *foster* values and skills that are consistent with the internationally recognized principles (UNESCO, 2014).

As cited in the first Phase of the WPHRE, human rights education:

'*Can be defined as education, training and information aimed at building a universal culture of human rights. A comprehensive education in human rights not only provides knowledge about human rights and the mechanisms that protect them, but also imparts the skills needed to promote, defend and apply human rights in daily life. Human rights education fosters the attitudes and behaviours needed to uphold human rights for all members of society*' (UNESCO & OHCHR, 2006).

IGOs development of HRE programs stresses the importance of combining the HRE materials with the practice and methods of teaching and learning. For this reason, IGOs work carefully on devising participatory methods that can convey the tenor of HRE. Following the same path, the Council of Europe (CoE) defines HRE as:

'*Education, training, awareness raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviour, to empower learners to contribute to the building and defence of a universal culture of human rights in society, with a view to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms*' (CoE, 2012, p. 7).

On the other hand, non-formal HRE takes forms of activism and social movements represented in Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community-based Organizations (CBOs). Such NGOs and CBOs operate in various countries and engage with communities at micro levels. They work via a bottom-up approach (Bajaj, 2011) to empower and advocate for human rights protection and social change. For example, the Amnesty International states that HRE is:

'fundamental for addressing the underlying causes of human rights violations, preventing human rights abuses, combating discrimination, promoting equality, and enhancing people's participation in democratic decision-making processes' (Amnesty International, 2014).

More strength pertains to the language use of Amnesty as a movement rather than an international governmental body. The use of words like combating, promoting and enhancing bolsters a sense of activism. This indicates that, in practice, NGOs, CBOs and social movements work in a slightly different way to IGOs although, in theory, they function within the same normative structure, or the legal standards, as termed by Hanafi and Tabar (2003). In this regard, the top-down and bottom-up approaches show the different influential flow of action within the formal and the non-formal frameworks.

As for informal education, from a sociological viewpoint, 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' definitions and approaches to human rights do not meet with sociological consideration. Nash (2012) argues that these frameworks ignore the 'middle of the state' (p.799), which represents the conflict and struggle of communities, and therefore, should be the core of the process. Correspondingly, O'Byrne (2012) argues that human rights has indeed become a 'social institution' that is heavily burdened by political discourses. Therefore, this results in manipulating the language of human rights for certain interests. In this respect, people create different concepts of rights and justice by socialising and forming the collective associations that constitute civil societies. These societies, however, are bound to the governmental rules, which possess certain conceptions of human rights that suppress all others. This form of social contracting with the states/governments

becomes hegemony[19] when those in power regulate social practices in accordance with the discursive constructions of the dominant discourse on rights (O'Byrne, 2012; Donnelly, 2003).

To reflect on the Palestinian-Israeli case, there is a predominant presence of the formal and non-formal frameworks for HRE. Simultaneously, there is weakness in the construction of the Palestinian civil society mainly because of the "burdens of the political discourses", as O'Byrne (2012), puts it. Chapter 2 had previously elaborated on these discourses and the conflict, section 2.1. Chapter 2 has also discussed how the legal and political discourses cause the disenchantment of human rights, and the consequent resort to the cultural traditions and acts of collective remembering as a source of enchantment. These traditions and acts of remembering constitute the informal HRE, which exists in the social mechanism of everyday interactions. For instance, in the children's interactions with different social institutions such the family, the school, the mosque and the streets. These social interactions produce and reproduce local discourses of right-hood, and shape local perceptions of global discourse of human rights.

3.2.2. HRE Approaches

Based on the above outline of different frameworks on the praxis of human rights, the following section illustrates some of the approaches to HRE, as found in reviewing literature. Different parties have theorized and produced the approaches that are not necessarily confined to a specific stream of thought, section 3.1.2, or framework on human rights, section 3.2.1.

3.2.2.1.   A Transformative Approach

It is an approach that is directly associated with Freire's (1990) transformational and critical thinking theories. Some pedagogues like Freire (see Bruner, 1990; Dewey, 1997, 2010) agree that critical thinking skills can help individuals become more competent and acquire the necessary characteristics and tools to change their worlds. Only, Freire's fixation on liberating the oppressed has intrigued scholars and practitioners promoting them to investigate oppression in different political and

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[19] I discuss the concept "hegemony" in the methodology Chapter 4, sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3.

cultural settings. By studying six HRE programs, Tibbitts (2005) finds that some oppressed groups, more than others, experience remarkable transformative changes. She explains the larger context to HRE where the oppressed groups experience collectively, and at a specific time and place. The socio-political context, that is 'marked by inequities in power and justice,' (ibid, p. 111) is one of the major causes for oppression. Hence, the transformative approach gives rise to voices of resistance to oppression. If measured against the streams of thought model, the transformative approach, I argue, leans towards the discourse school because of its focus on disrupting the dominant power relations and criticizing the language use in discoursing human rights.

Taking the Palestinian context as an example of the oppressed, Hanafi and Tabar (2003) see that even local Human Rights Organizations (HROs) fail to grow out of the international legal standards, and instead, generate politicized discourses that are not principally nationalist (2003). The nationalist attitude constitutes Palestinian identity, sense of belonging and the struggle for acquiring their rights (Kanaana, 2011). The transformative approach in this context requires HRE programs to take up the role of the emancipator, which is not embedded in the roles of IGOs, UNRWA or local HROs. In particular, Hanafi and Tabar (2003) express three doubts as to the effectiveness of HROs initiatives in spreading the *culture of human rights*. Firstly because of the lack of in-depth inquiries into the practice of HRE programmes. Secondly due to the absence of a clear strategy that can guarantee "mass mobilization". Lastly the Palestinians' collective frustration that results from the international community's inability to enforce the IHL, and what Palestinians see as the international community's bias to Israel (ibid, p.28). With regard to the effectiveness of the transformative approach, Tibbitts (2005) highlights common conditions and techniques implemented in the different HRE programs to promote transformative learning, however, she concludes by asserting the inability to prescribe such conditions.

3.2.2.2. A Hermeneutical Approach

This approach offers a philosophical and epistemological stance in reviewing the International HRE (IHRE) critically. The impetus for promoting IHRE is disputed

from hermeneutical perspectives that criticize the very fundamental notions of human rights. That is not done to discourage but rather to develop existing frameworks for HRE. Hermeneutical interpretations mainly criticize the notions of: universality, unity under one ideal conception of human rights, which represent all traditions and the focus on content knowledge in the absence of a firm theoretical framework (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2013).

This approach offers a critical investigation into the challenges that encompass HRE rather than celebrating its progress. In parallel to this view, du Preez, Simmonds and Roux (2012) insist that human rights education is a moral notion rather than a mere epistemological one, and point out the hazards of HRE being reified. Instead, they argue that HRE should be treated as a complex ethical process that depends on ethical community of 'interlocutors that are willing to engage in communicative action' (p. 87). Communicative action refers to providing the space for actual processes of understanding and meaning making of the values of human rights rather than modling skills and behaviours to achieve strategic goals. In agreement with scholars who debate the notion of 'universality' of human rights (du Preez, Simmonds and Roux, 2012; Hanafi & Tabar, 2006; Baxi, 2008; Arslan, 1999), Al-Daraweesh and Snauwaert (2013) elaborate on this hermeneutical approach to stress the imperatives of the culture and context for formulating more effective HRE programs. They argue that the 'embodiment of human rights principles is contingent on engaging culture and community, not only as a partner and supporter of the educational process, but also as an informer and director of education' (p. 391).

The reason is that culture and community can provide different "horizons" to envisioning HRE. Gadamer's (2004) thought on the *fusion of horizons*, section 3.1.1.2, can recognise the pluralistic aspect of such communities that contribute to improving HRE. Failure to recognise and embrace these horizons is capable of maintaining the criticism of the dominant discourse of human rights and the culture it regenerates. Hanafi and Tabar (2003) lend their argument to more context and cultural foundations when they describe HROs promotion of a *culture of human rights* as being positivistic and highly politicized in Palestine. The idea is that the local population does not find recognition of their cultural norms and perspectives in neither local nor international organisations. The result consequently is more

'distrust' in such organizations (ibid, p. 28). This may partly explain Hamas's opposition regarding the human rights textbooks' irrelevance to the ideology and culture of Palestinians (The Associated Press, February 2014).

3.2.2.3. A Rights-based Approach

The WPHRE (2005- ongoing) inaugurates a programme, through formal education, that enables individuals to address their human rights needs in correspondence with the international standards (UNESCO & OHCHR, 2006). It states that:

> *'Human rights education promotes a holistic, rights-based approach that includes both "human rights through education," ensuring that all the components and processes of education – including curricula, materials, methods and training – are conducive to the learning of human rights, and "human rights in education," ensuring that the human rights of all members of the school community are respected'* (UNESCO & OHCHR, 2005, p. 3).

Five factors influence the implementation of this approach at schools in member countries according to the WPHRE plan of action. Firstly *education policies* that confirm collaboration and commitment of the member states, or governments, to employing the HRE program. Secondly is *policy implementation,* which comprises implementing strategies to assure national and local involvement in the practice of the programme. Thirdly is *the learning environment* that guarantees cognitive, social and emotional development of students through a daily life practice of rights. Fourthly *teaching and learning* that reflect the values of human rights by demonstrating that in the curriculum, the democratic participatory methodologies and the material and textbooks. Lastly is *educational and professional development of school personnel,* which requires that schools staff model human rights (ibid, p.3-4).

UNRWA schools in Gaza provide an example for the implementation of the WPHRE rights-based approach. UNRWA's HRCRT policy document reflects these five factors through the articulation of the document and the practices at schools. For example, the first two factors reflect UNRWA's effective engagement in the implementation of the education policies as constituted in the WPHRE. The data

analysis Chapters 7 and 8 examine this engagement and UNRWA's role in the studied context. One interpretation of this role is that UNRWA is the mediator of a foreign western agenda through constructing a special HRE programme, with specific strategic aims and purposes. The data highlights these issues in more detail in the analysis chapters. The third and fourth factors are also under examination to be able to investigate the promotion of the *culture of human rights* through the rights-based approach and the discourse of HRCRT- in relation to the positivistic language and the promotion of fixed content knowledge. However, the fifth factor is beyond the scope of this research and it is recognized as a limitation of the study.

With regard to the human rights streams of thought, the definition of the rights-based approach, in parallel with the UN's 'legal-judicial-bureaucratic standards' (Hanafi and Tabar, 2003, p. 27), suggest that the UN's position is somewhere between the natural and the deliberative streams. The natural aspect is reflected in the UDHR, for example, emphasizes that all members of the human family are entitled, by birth, to "have" and enjoy human rights. As for the deliberative aspect, it features in the UN's legal system, which is promoted through the member states' social agreement with citizens. Therefore, the focus of the UN's endeavours is on promoting consensus or overlapping consensus worldwide. The transformative aspect of the rights-based approach, therefore, stems from equipping learners with the knowledge, attitudes and skills that restrain action within the UN's norms and standards. Chapters 1 and 2 have explored the special case of Palestinians in relation to human rights and HRE during conflict. In this chapter, the focus on the human rights paradoxes, culture, frameworks and approaches helps in understanding this case in light of the production of the UN's normative discourse of human rights.

The Palestinians' case has been examined by researchers (Bjawi-Levine, 2009; Pinto, 2014) to analyse human rights and HRE in relation to identity and culture. Bjawi-Levine (2009) has examined the UN's CRC in the context of Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, namely, Al-Whidat and al-Emir Hassan camps. In examining the child rights discourse and identity, she argues that the legal position of these refugees creates an ambivalent understanding of selfhood and identity. Bjawi-Levine (2009), therefore, argues against standardizing definitions of these concept by understanding that they are negotiated within the contexts of the individuals, in

relation to human rights. Pinto's (2014) has, particularly, examined UNRWA's HRCRT programme in Balata camp[20]. The study reveals processes of reformation and de-politicization of Palestinian responses to the grand discourse of human rights while overlooking the geo-political context of the ongoing conflict. These studies confirm the UN's focus on promoting consensus while marginalizing local responses that challenge the standard and de-contextualized culture of human rights. I elaborate on this in the data chapters by discussing the discursive practices of teaching and learning human rights in the curriculum dedicated to Gaza.

Conclusion

This chapter has engaged with the literature on the debates related to human rights as being a Western construct. It has demarcated the paradoxes that pertain to the human rights discourse such as universality vs. cultural relativism, and individual rights vs. collective rights. The discussion of these debates has contributed to making connections between collective memory- as discussed in the previous chapter- and the literature on human rights in this chapter. The chapter has highlighted the main argument that human rights discoursing is diverse and dependent on the history, circumstances and different perspectives. Similarly, the chapter has highlighted the frequently used idea of spreading a *culture of human rights*, and the ways in which different positions decide the underpinning philosophy and aims of such a culture.

Accordingly, the frameworks and approaches to human rights and HRE vary in theory and practice. In relation to UNRWA's HRE curriculum, the literature has offered assistance in exploring the different streams of thought on human rights by which UNRWA's position became clear in the research. Between the natural, the deliberative, the protest and the discourse streams of thought (Dembour, 2010), UN organizations, UNRWA included, belong somewhere in between the natural and the deliberative, and have individualistic and liberal orientation. The normative discourse, that the UN generates, promotes consensus among the member states,

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[20] Balata camp is located on the outskirts of the city of Nablus in the West Bank. This camp is the largest of the West Bank camps.

which produce and reproduce the same normative language of rights, thus the discourse becomes authoritative and global, rather than universal.

The analysis Chapters 7 and 8 examine the *culture of human rights* that UNRWA defines in the HRCRT policy document, which informs the special HRE curriculum in the Gaza Strip. This is important in terms of the framing process in which the discourse of HRCRT sets the boundaries that limit this culture. Eventually, this is helpful for the CDA approach, which captures the ideological manifestation of the dominant discourse in regulating the social practices of teaching human rights. The analysis of the HRE curriculum is of extreme importance in relation to the literature on human rights and HRE because it identifies the social problem, which allows a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the discourse of HRCRT to be carried out. Therefore, the following chapter focuses on CDA as a theoretical framework and methodology for the data collection and analysis. It aims at specifying the methodological choices for the data collection and analysis as well as the systematic procedures for carrying out the CDA of the HRE curriculum in Gaza.

CHAPTER 4

FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

It is important to examine the fundamental issues discussed in Chapters 1 and 2- the geopolitical and socio-cultural context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict- in relation to UNRWA's HRE programme. The methodological approach in this chapter aims at examining the HRE curriculum in Gaza and tracing the issues raised about collective memory in Chapter 2. For this, the research methodology focuses on analysing some aspects of the curriculum as reflected in UNRWA's HRCRT policy, as well as analysing a sample of the textbooks of grades 8 and 9 of the secondary level. This investigation focuses on analysing language use in the HRCRT policy and textbooks while considering the local socio-cultural and historical context. This is crucial for the research to shed light on how the textbook content influences both knowledge formation, and the representation of the local cultural aspects of which collective memory is one.

The first section of this chapter provides the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for this study by reviewing some of the key contributions in the field of discourse analysis. This section unpacks the term "discourse" by engaging in a dialogue with four extremely important concepts for this research. These are: power, ideology, domination and hegemony. Discussing discourse in relation to these concepts helps in making more specific choices with regard to the research design and methodology. More precisely, this contributes to clarifying the link between discourse and the field of education, and the ways in which relations of power and domination manifest in educational settings. Therefore, the discussion I present in the theoretical framework in this section encompasses three main dimensions that shape the argument for choosing CDA as a framework. These dimensions are discourse, CDA and education.

The second section of this chapter outlines the research design and CDA as methodology. Wodak and Meyer (2016) recognize the lack of a consistent methodology for CDA, but they also present a summarized outline of different approaches to CDA. These approaches range between both the inductive, which are

detailed, and the deductive ones, which work from a more general perspective. For this research, I apply a dialectical-relational approach, which belongs to the second category. This approach allows for exploring the dialectical relationship between language and society by tracing the HRCRT discourse underpinning the policy and the sample of the secondary level textbooks. Therefore, this section provides a justification of the methodological choices and hybridity with regard to using two approaches for carrying out CDA. Namely, the dialectical-relational approach by Fairclough (2016) and Altheide and Schneider's (2013) qualitative document analysis. In addition, this section demonstrates the tools/methods/strategies for the data collection and analysis for both the initial analysis, Chapter 6, and the further analysis, Chapters 7 and 8.

The third section of this chapter centres on clarifying the process of data collection and analysis for both the initial and further analyses. It outlines the stages for carrying out data collection and analysis by referring in more detail to the systematic way of collecting, analysing and reporting the data in order to conduct the overall CDA. In this section, specifically, I discuss approaching the studied texts as discourse that reflects the themes and concepts underlying the global discourse on human rights. This chapter concludes by making connections to the following Chapter 5, on the research context, which outlines aspects of the HRE curriculum[21] and its development from the primary to secondary level, before moving to the analyses Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

4.1. Theoretical Framework

CDA studies draw on the different critical intellectual efforts that mainly focus on uncovering language uses in relation to power and dominance. Three overlapping intellectual traditions inform CDA studies that focus on the "linguistic turn" in the social sciences (Rogers, et al., 2005, p. 367). These traditions are discourse studies (Foucault, 1972, 2003), feminist post-structuralism (Butler, 1990), and critical linguistics (Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Willig, 2013).

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[21] In this chapter, I use the terms "policy" and "curriculum" interchangeably to refer to aspects of UNRWA's goals, strategies and planning the HRCRT curriculum. Chapter 5 distinguishes between these two terms to be able to define the particular curricular aspects to be examined in this research.

With regard to critical theory, it has developed through the Frankfurt institute for social research and the neo-Marxist stream of thought, and it focuses on investigating into issues of domination, power and justice. CDA, therefore, is profoundly associated with hybrid perspectives that form a variety of critical theories. Critical theories[22] examine the ways that 'economy, race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation construct, reproduce, or transform social systems' (Rogers, et al., 2005, p. 368). Critical theory researches, therefore, focus on the political, cultural, economic, and social relationships within a society, and the existing power relations that cause inequities. Research in this field strives to resolve inequities that result mainly from dominance and abuse of power, and aims at achieving social justice. As for the linguistic side, however, this has developed through a variety of linguistic studies that include, but are not limited to, linguistics theory, literary theory, interactional sociolinguistics, and conversation analysis. These studies have contributed to establishing a field for research in critical linguistics that continues to improve the CDA approach (see Kress, 1985, 2011; Halliday & Hasan, 1989). Based on this, the dialogue between critical theory and critical linguistics contributes to generating a variety of CDA approaches. This research adopts one of these approaches, the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 2011, 2016), to investigate the power embedded in the discourse of HRCRT in UNRWA's HRE curriculum. The extent to which the discourse is determined by the social and material conditions or determines these conditions is the core of the argument in this thesis- I elaborate on this dialectical-relational approach in this chapter.

In the 'tradition of language critique' (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 7), CDA is distinctive for its ability to create a dialogue between critical social theory and linguistics, and hence offer both a theoretical and analytical framework for discourse analysis. Therefore, transdisciplinary undertakings of CDA contribute to its theoretical and methodological improvement, as well as the improvements in the other involved disciplines, by creating dialogue (Fairclough, 2016, p. 87). For example, Fairclough's expression of his understanding of the term "new Capitalism" is partly shaped by his transdisciplinary approach to CDA. He borrows the concept of "re-contextualization" from Basil Bernstein's sociology of pedagogy (Chouliaraki

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[22] Critical theories vary between critical race theory, post-structuralism, neo-colonial, post-modernism among others (Rogers, et al., 2005).

& Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2016) and introduces it in CDA studies. The concept of re-contextualization, therefore, becomes one of the analytical terms in Fairclough's (2016) dialectical-relational CDA approach, which I use in this research- see section 4.2.2.1 for details on this approach, and the Glossary at the end of the thesis for a definition of "re-contextualization" as an analytical term. In the following section, I define discourse in relevance to different research areas and focus on showing the features of discourse as tenets shared among CDA scholars. This aims at relating these features to some core concepts in CDA such as power, ideology and dominance. With this I generate a discussion of these concepts- as informed by the literature- in relation to the research topic to be able to outline the theoretical and analytical framework in this chapter.

4.1.1. Discourse

Discourse transcends the classic use of language that serves functionality to involve a coherent use of language, for communication (Cook, 1989, p.6). It is in this respect that the perspectives on discourse expand to view discourse as a social phenomenon that is governed by a larger context, which holds in its core power dynamics. In other words, discourse is profoundly associated with power, knowledge and society by placing it within the social practice of language (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 37). When institutionalized, discourse operates in the form of 'systematically-organised sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution' (Kress, 1985, p.7). Hence, discourse works systematically in constructing aspects of the physical, mental and social world (Fairclough, 2016, p. 88).

Furthermore, discourse also works in juxtaposition with processes of identity construction (Wodak, et al., 2009; Ivanic, 1998). It is a 'culturally recognized way of representing a particular aspect of reality from a particular ideological perspective' (Ivanic, 1998, p. 17) or 'figured world' (Gee, 2011b, p. 76). Gee provides a set of common tenets about discourse, for examining the texts under study in relation to the surrounding social life. These tenets help identify the ways of construction of discourses, and their functions in specific contexts. First, there needs to be a distinction regarding Gee's use of discourse (small d) and Discourse (big D). "'Big

D" Discourse refers both to language bits and to the cultural models that associate with Discourses… "Little d" discourse refers to the linguistic elements—the language bits—that connect with such Discourses' (Rogers et al, 2005, p. 370). Both the small d discourse and the social and cultural models incorporated in the big D Discourse are 'constitutive and work together to construct, maintain, and transform interactions' (ibid, p. 370). I here summarize some of Gee's (2011b) tenets about discourse that are important for this study:

- 'Discourses are out in the world and history as coordination ("a dance") of people, places, times, actions, interactions, verbal and non-verbal expression, symbols, things, tools and technologies that betoken certain identities and associated activities. Thus, they are material realities. But Discourses exist, also, as work we humans do to get ourselves and things recognized in certain ways and not others. They are also the "maps" in our heads by which we understand society. Discourses, then, are social practices and mental entities, as well as material realities,
- Discourses can split into two or more Discourses,
- New Discourses emerge and old ones die all the time,
- Discourses can be hybrids of other Discourses' (Gee, 2011b, p. 38-39).

For these general features of discourse, discourse analysis frameworks focus on the social use of language in relation to power relations to be able to address social problems that cause injustices. Discourse analysis frameworks are hybrid mainly because of the dialogue between the different disciplines and the diversity of the research topics understudy. However, there are common views that contribute to understanding this hybridity and transdisciplinary quality of discourse analysis. Such views are essential to bear in mind while investigating the context of the studied area of a research. One view is the fact that discourse 'moves back and forth between reflecting and constructing the social world' (Rogers, et al., 2005, p. 369). A view I find comprehensive because the reflection and construction processes occur through a variety of sign systems that are 'caught up in political, social, racial, economic, religious and cultural formations' (ibid, p. 369). This, in turn, implies that discourses are not neutral or objective. Other views, within the CDA traditions, establish that discourse is situated and historic, it constitutes society and culture, functions like

ideologies, and requires a systematic methodology and a socially committed paradigm to address problems (van Leeuwen, 2005; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011; Rogers, 2011).

Another important view is that a predominant discourse is pluralistic, in van Leeuwen's (2005) perspective. This view suggests that there are a variety of ways in which different parties represent the same issue. van Leeuwen's view is extremely important for this study, within the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, where the predominant discourse is the political discourse. Tylor (2013) illustrates this by giving an example of the terms "terrorist" and "freedom fighter". Both terms refer to the same person, depending on the political positions (p. 18). Applying this to the Palestinian-Israeli context, the dominant Israeli political discourse represents the conflict through another discourse of 'security' (Peled-Elhanan, 2012, p.29), and therefore, Palestinian fighters are framed as terrorists. For Palestinians, however, and delicately put by Peled-Elhanan (2012), the discourse of security is denounced 'in the framework of the discourse of human rights' (ibid, p.29) where Palestinians consider themselves as freedom fighters for rights. It is through the process of framing and representation of the text (written/spoken/visual/embodied), at least, that discourses become different (Paltridge, 2012) and gain their pluralistic aspect. Therefore, and similarly, the representations of the discourse of human rights vary from the international to the local, which comprises one of the main concerns in this research- as discussed in Chapter 3. More on texts and representation follows in this chapter for theoretical and methodological purposes.

As established earlier, discourse analysis focuses on studying the social use of language in relation to society and power dynamics that govern this usage. However, dominance is another aspect under study for discourse analysts. The degree at which a discourse is dominant depends on its strength, coherence and the power that makes it distinctly influential. This is the case in the international discourse of human rights, which receives world consensus and legitimacy through the UN as an international organisation of which states' governments are members. The domination of this global discourse of human rights renders local discourses of other societies as less harmonious with the international standards. One example is the Palestinian discourse of righthood, which struggles to be audible and legitimate. Legitimacy is

one of the most significant factors for encouraging or discouraging a discourse, as the data reveals in the analysis Chapters 7 and 8. UNRWA's HRE curriculum is one arena for exploring the different power relations and discourses surrounding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It is only in this respect that legitimacy becomes essential in the discourse analysis of the language use in this research. The role of the discourse analyst then is to locate the power in the language use, analyse it and contribute to, at least, generating a better understanding of the social problem.

The juxtaposition of discourse and identity is extremely important for this research as the Palestinian collective memory and identity are at the core of this exploration, as discussed previously in Chapter 2. The following section focuses on highlighting how this is important by defining the inter-relatedness of the concepts of discourse, language and identity.

4.1.2. Discourse, Language and Identity

One of the shared views of discourse, mentioned above, is that of being historic (van Leeuwen, 2005), which makes it inseparable from precedent discourses as well as others that are produced 'synchronically' and 'subsequently' (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011, p. 372). In terms of the Palestinian identity construction, as embedded in the discourse of nationalism, it is a process that has continued to evolve since the Ottoman rule (1516- 1917) as Palestinians were aspiring for nationhood (Khalidi, 2010). The influence of the different political and historical discursive events, following the Ottoman rule period, hindered and overshadowed this process of identity construction, as demonstrated in Chapter 1, section 1.1. Therefore, the disruption of the process of identity construction continues because of several interconnected discourses that constitute history, and continue to manifest in today's political sphere.

Discourse analysts locate power in the social use of language. Joseph (2004) reflects this social use of language in a third distinct function of language- besides the traditional functions of communicating and representing meaning- as constituting self-representation and identity. In this respect, discourse involves having people themselves present and interactive within the context where this language is used. Therefore, language and identity become 'inseparable' (ibid, p.13). In a similar vein,

Fairclough (2001) refers to the idea of "turn to language" to emphasize the significant role played by language in the process of shaping new world orders. He maintains that the 'struggle to impose or resist the new world order is in large part a struggle for or against a new language' (p. 205). One example for illustrating this association between language, identity and shaping new world orders is the "vernacularization" of the Hebrew language, during the British mandate (1917-1948), which has contributed to the promotion of collective ethnic identity for the Jewish community, through education (Halperin, 2014). This has succeeded in creating the desired world order especially in the premises of an internationally recognized state of Israel.

In contrast, the disruption of the Palestinian identity construction, and the lack of international and legal recognition, has resulted in limiting this identity construction to socially accepted practices, oral history, collective memory and imagination, instead of a viable national project. Therefore, the socially accepted practices of identity construction remain as a source of enchantment, and hence, resist the new world order. Thus, the *turn to language* in the context of the HRE provision for the Palestinian learners suggests a variation in the level of acceptance or resistance, depending on the context. The extent to which this particular discourse of human rights and HRE is disruptive of the identity construction, or acceptable to the local community, is still in question. There may be speculations and indicators to the matter of acceptance or resistance, but they require a systematic investigation, which this research offers. Furthermore, power and dominance play a role in media and the Israeli political discourse, which both aim at "framing" (Altheide and Schneider, 2013) Hamas government as a terrorist organisation. This framing entails that the international community also views Hamas in this manner, and hence, disregard its opposition to UNRWA's secondary level textbooks. This framing situates Hamas's opposition as a government that utilizes the debate around cultural relativity as a defence mechanism by which it can reject the discourse of human rights and HRE.

Yet, significantly, there are two issues to take into consideration as a counter argument against this framing- only with regard to HRE provision. Firstly, the fact that the primary level human rights textbooks have been taught since the year 2009 without any opposition from Hamas government indicates that the problem is in the

content-orientation rather than the rights themselves as values. Secondly, the fact that Hamas has participated in the joint committee with UNRWA (The Associated Press, February 2014) to revisit the suspended textbooks asserts that Hamas is not taking any radical position with regard to human rights. The government could identify what it saw as a hidden ideological curriculum within the content of the suspended textbooks, and therefore, stated that there was a misrepresentation of the Palestinian identity and ideology (ibid, 2014). One interpretation for Hamas's emphasis on the issue of ideology is to argue against an already existing ideology that is entrenched in the curriculum, and reflected in the schools textbooks. This is very important to highlight here to avoid any pre-assumptions about the nature of Hamas's opposition to be able to move on with the research to locate the 'social wrong' (Fairclough, 2016) within the HRE curriculum.

In anticipation of the data analysis in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, I cautiously speculate that the social problem within the HRE curriculum is UNRWA's integration of an ideological model of HRE in Gaza. As mentioned above, discourse functions like ideology (van Leeuwen, 2005; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011; Rogers, 2011; van Dijk, 2011), which implies that discourse analysts seek to understand and reflect the ideological underpinnings of a discourse, depending on the research topic and the analytical framework. Therefore, the use of the term "ideological" model in relation to HRE in this research requires uncovering UNRWA's ideology underpinning the discourse of HRCRT in connection to collective memory and identity. Chapters 7 and 8 examine the data to be able to substantiate or abandon this speculation. According to Shabaneh (2012), the literature is informative of UNRWA's humanitarian role but not its role in relation to identity and nationalism, which are understudied. He argues that UNRWA has actually contributed to the reconstruction of the Palestinian national identity through its extra-curricular activities at schools, e.g., plays, songs, music, paintings and poetry (ibid, p. 492). This view indicates a state of indecisiveness with regard to UNRWA's role in embracing or eliminating the cultural aspects that inform identity construction. Therefore, the question regarding resistance to an ideological discourse, promoted through UNRWA's HRE curriculum remains an issue for the data to reveal.

The reason for calling it an ideological discourse comes from van Dijk's (2011) work on discourse and social cognition. He states that ideologies 'are expressed, and reproduced, by discourse' (van Dijk, 2011, 379). Distinguishing the difference between the two concepts is important since the framework of this study focuses on discourse analysis rather than the ideological analysis of UNRWA's HRE curriculum. As established earlier, discourse belongs to the developing linguistic turn in studying the role of language in constituting social objects, relations and practices (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Discourse analysis, therefore, examines the dimensions beyond the text, including the ideological underpinnings. I exemplify this by applying the idea of "turn to language" to globalization, which to Fairclough's (2001) mind entails *action at a distance*, where social relations and processes extend not only geographically, but also across social and cultural differences (p.204). Power, hence, is located within the language of globalization. By looking at the HRE programme as a globalised project, it translates this language into a set of systematic practices that aims at influencing diverse cultures by promoting a universal and unified culture of human rights. This culture, in turn, reproduces a set of coherent beliefs and values of human rights that constitute an ideology or a 'form of social cognition' (van Dijk, 2011, p. 382). Viewing this widely spreading culture of human rights as an ideological project, within a new globalized world order, carries a negative connotation when the local ideology is resistant to such a project. Chapters 7 and 8 examine the culture of human rights as shown by the data, and as informed by the literature, to be able to uncover more on this issue.

Power, therefore, in addition to discourse, relates profoundly to ideology. Similar to van Dijk's understanding of ideology, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) view ideology as 'domination-related constructions of a practice which are determined by specifically discursive relations between that practice and other practices' (p. 27). In this sense, ideologies function as means of 'transforming power relations' (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 25). More to the point, this takes place by allowing hegemonic formations to regulate social practices (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 25). Hegemony here- as a contribution of Antonio Gramsci- refers to the process of saturating the society into believing in a kind of reality that is total, and this saturation makes hegemony constitutive of common sense of people within this

society (Williams, 1976, p. 204). I elaborate on hegemony in relation to discourse and education in section 4.1.3 next. Within the context of this research, the presence of the discourse of HRCRT in Gaza can be viewed as a birth of a new language use that is "possibly" ideologically-driven, as I have indicated in the previous two paragraphs.

For this, it is still challenging to be able to state UNRWA's ideology before gaining familiarity with the materials under study. The fact that this research follows the CDA traditions inevitably suggests a shift from a level of understanding the underlying ideologies, principles and values into a level of analysis of the effects and implications of such power on a socio-cultural level. In other words, the analysis is to undergo several levels to be able to relate discourse to ideology (van Dijk, 2011, p. 387). A careful analysis of the HRCRT policy is essential to be able to depict the ideology and discursive strategies and practices of UNRWA's HRE model. Fairclough defines discursive strategies as a combination of means and goals (Fairclough, 2016, p. 97). To Gavriely-Nuri (2012) who adds the cultural aspect to CDA, discursive strategies are a combination of 'discursive means (linguistic means such as metaphors, name, presupposition and also visual modes and cultural sites) that promote specific goals (i.e. political agenda or specific policy)'[23] (p. 79).

To be able to clarify, in more depth, the interconnectedness between discourse and ideology, I focus the following section on exploring power, dominance and hegemony in the field of education.

4.1.3 Discourse and Education

Following the argument of the previous section on HRE as an ideological model, I carry on explicating the role of hegemonic practices within educational contexts in promoting a dominant culture. The aim is to show the role educational systems play in reproducing discursive social practices that correlate with the dominant culture so that this argument becomes relevant to, and informative of, the data analysis Chapters 7 and 8.

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[23] I explain Gavriely-Nuri's (2012) terms "cultural sites" in section 4.2.2.1.

There is a view that educational institutions play a role in sustaining a political economy of education by reinforcing conscious economic decisions of those in power (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). Apple (2004) argues that this is an important but one-sided view of the role of educational institutions. To him, this view suggests that those in power manipulate these economic decisions, which become determinant of social practices. Apple (2004) offers a broader view which combines the economic with the political and cultural aspects that are already in tension especially when it comes to teachers mediating these aspects in their everyday practices. Apple's (2004) addition is that the ideological and cultural mediations are essential elements for understanding the dialectical relationship between the 'material conditions of an unequal society and the formation of the consciousness of the individuals in that society' (p. 2). Apple (2004) takes "hegemony" as a central concept for understanding the structural relations that determine three essential aspects of schools: the institution, the curriculum (including textbooks) and the educators. In other terms: schools, knowledge and everyday life. Determination here goes beyond the assumption that economic practices alone shape social practices and the cultural scope of a society. Instead, it refers to the different human actions –like educators' practices- that mediate the relationship between language and social structure (p. 3-4).

As established in section 4.1.2, hegemony saturates a society and constitutes people's common sense of the social world in a way where people view it as the only world (Apple, 2004, p. 4). More simply, hegemony is when people think similarly about certain issues (common sense) that they become unaware of the availability of alternatives by which they can change the status quo (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 9). In the context of educational institutions, the control of the three aspects of schools above is 'vested in the constitutive principles, codes, and especially the common sense consciousness and practices underlying our lives, as well as by the overt economic division and manipulation' (Apple, 2004, p. 4). With this, Apple (2004) and Williams (1976) confirm that educational institutions play a role in the process of saturating the society in a more complex way than just a reflection of the economic structure. This shows that education, as a social field and a social institution, produces and reproduces social practices that mediate the relationship

between the dominant discourse and the material world. Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) researchers share the same tenet when analysing ideology, hegemony and power by refusing to view the relationship between language and the social structure as deterministic. Instead, they employ the concept of mediation (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 19), as exemplified earlier in the context of educational institutions. Fairclough's (2016) dialectical-relational approach is well informed by this tenet, which I explain further in the methodology, section 4.2.

In order to demonstrate this dialectic relationship, Fairclough (2002) draws on the discourse of New Capitalism, which refers to the new form of Capitalism that emerges from contemporary transformations, which take place through two interrelated processes[24] of 'restructuring' and 're-scaling' (p. 163). Re-structuring entails shifting the relationships between the different social domains or fields-between the economic field and other fields that include the political, educational and artistic fields. Re-scaling involves shifting in relations between different scales of social life- on a local scale, a national scale, a regional scale and a global scale (Jessop, 2002). The focus on this discourse comes as an affirmation that contemporary social research is concerned with the changes brought by this discourse, and because the effects of these changes are inseparable from our lives (Fairclough, 2003, p. 4). Fairclough (2002) gives an example of the restructuring and rescaling of higher education, which he argues falls under the influence of contemporary changes- These changes include late/post modernism, globalization, knowledge economy, and consumer culture and information society.

Accordingly, Ozga and Jones (2006) point out, the needs of the new knowledge economy require a constant effort by the public institutions, including education, to catch up with the rapid rhythm of change and competition. For this, Ozga and Jones debate the concepts of "traveling" and "embedded" policies that are processes by which public institutions keep up with change as imperative. Hence, embedding policies entails merging them with local contexts. Ozga and Jones's (2006) argument asserts that local policy elites play a role in forcing the adaptation of global agendas with national ones (p. 2). The concept of embedded policy emerges in this form to

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[24] Fairclough (2001, 2016) borrows the terms of "re-structuring" and "re-scaling" from Jessop (2002) to inform his transdisciplinary approach to CDA.

express the local and national priorities that 'translate' or 'mediate' the global policy agendas to correlate with these priorities (ibid, p.3). For this research, exploring the discourse of New Capitalism in relation to the ideological model of HRE is important for identifying the particular research problem instead of speculating it. Chapter 7 analyses aspects of the HRE curriculum, which includes the aspect of embedding international policies in UNRWA's educational system in the host countries. The data analysis, therefore, indicates the manifestation of the grand discourse of New Capitalism to which the discourse of human rights and the discourse of HRCRT are 'hybrids' (Gee, 2011b, p. 38- 39).

The effects of these contemporary changes also have an impact on UNRWA's educational institution. UNRWA constitutes only a small institution within the larger UN body of institutions. Its humanitarian role therefore is limited to providing essential services to Palestinian refugees. Hence, it is challenging to define clear boundaries between ideology and hegemony when it comes to UNRWA's practices. That is mainly because power 'remains mostly invisible' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 12), and it is the role of CDA to uncover it and address the research's social problem. The data Chapters 7 and 8 aim to achieve that by relating UNRWA's discursive practices to the larger UN body where UNRWA borrows its policies, educational frameworks and standards interdiscursively. UNRWA takes over the role of providing education to the Palestinian stateless refugees- I have explained this legal obstacle and its related implications in the previous chapters. Shabaneh (2012) argues that although not wholly autonomous, UNRWA positively influences the process of socialization and construction of the Palestinian national identity. Shabaneh does not speak of a specific ideology that guides UNRWA's practices, but he offers an optimistic perspective of UNRWA's role of doing "unintentional" good to the Palestinian refugees through its educational practices. In contrast, Hamas government offers a pessimistic reading of what it sees as real intentions of UNRWA to reinforce a certain agenda that is ideologically driven.

The research, therefore, focuses on revealing the discursive strategies and practices in the textbooks, as informed by the HRCRT policy and discourse. Some research has been carried out on classroom and textbook analysis in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Bekerman and Zembylas, 2009; Peled-Elhanan, 2012;

Or and Shohamy, 2015). They have examined language use and the ways in which this use has an impact on the conflict. For example, Bekerman and Zembylas (2009) examine bilingual classroom discourses in Israeli schools in relation to concepts of nation state, collective memory and identity. They highlight the hegemonic narratives of nationhood by both the Palestinian-Israeli teachers and the Jewish-Israeli teachers. Bekerman and Zembylas (2009) argue that sustaining these narratives in the classroom environment is an obstacle in resolving the conflict and moving forward. Peled-Elhanan (2012) and Or and Shohamy (2015) focus more on the textual and visual representations of culture within textbooks, both Palestinian and Israeli textbooks. These studies aim to examine textbooks as a reflection of pre-existing social conditions and power relations, and evaluate these textbooks' implications on the social conditions and social relations (Or and Shohamy, 2015, p. 113).

As I establish in Chapter 1, section 1.2.2, this research gains significance from the fact that the textbooks under examination are suspended. Although the sample textbooks are suspended, the contents of these textbooks make a valuable contribution to this study in two ways. First is by revealing both didactical and hidden curricula of the analysed material (Pingel, 2010), which this study does by discussing the discursive strategies and practices in Chapters 7 and 8. Second is by capturing the role of overt and covert textbook content play in reproducing dominant ideologies (van Dijk, 2004), which this study also does by carrying out a dialectical-relational CDA in relation to the wider geo-political and socio-cultural context, Chapter 9. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the textbooks are suspended, they encourage looking for the underlying reasons of suspension, other than the ones reported in the media that lack in-depth analysis. Hamas's opposition constitutes only part of the local discourses of right-hood that this research focuses on illuminating in juxtaposition with UNRWA's discourse of HRCRT. The following section outlines the methodological procedures by which I carry out this examination in order to respond to the research questions in Chapter 9.

4.2. Research Design and Methodology

I am interested in the contributions of CDA because it is problem oriented rather than paradigm oriented (van Dijk, 2002; Fairclough, 2016), which allows it to contribute to analysing the social problem for the purpose of understanding and changing the discursive practices that cause injustice. CDA, therefore, goes beyond the linguistic analysis, and hence, the contribution it makes goes further than enriching the discipline of language studies alone. For this, I adopt CDA as both a framework and methodology in this research.

Methodology to Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011) is a process that is informed through theory to further refine a research topic (p. 358). Rogers (2011) considers this while asserting that the choices of the analytic methods vary in turn. For example, the analytic methods of scholars such as Kress, Fairclough and Gee overlap and therefore discourse analysis remains open to different potential approaches that are strongly dependent on the research topic. Rogers argues for 'methodological hybridity' by which a researcher can *adopt* and *adapt* to analytic methods that correspond to the research inquiry (Rogers, 2011, p. 11). The procedures and methods in discourse analysis vary in a way that they could be linguistically focused, context-bound or interested in the historical evolution of a concept or a narrative (ibid, p. 10). I make methodological choices for this research while keeping in mind the context-bound nature of the study of UNRWA's integration of the HRE curriculum in Gaza. These choices, along with the data collection strategies, have been subject to refinement mainly because of the outcomes of the initial analysis, Chapter 6.

This research is data driven because it benefits from the application of the principles of a grounded theory approach. The grounded theory approach considers the investigator as the primary instrument of the data collection and analysis who 'assumes an inductive stance and strives to derive meaning from the data' (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 31). Thus, data collection, in this manner, works along with analysis instead of being an exclusively independent phase in the research. The initial analysis, Chapter 6, has contributed to refining and concretising the framework and methodology by implementing theoretical sampling. This process builds on the initial

data by aiming to 'find indicators for concepts, expand concepts into categories' (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p.21) to then collect further data for more in-depth analysis. Therefore, the principles of grounded theory guide the research methodology; however, it does not aim at building or testing a certain hypothesis as intended by ground theory researchers.

While exploring CDA literature for this study, I began to understand my role as a discourse analyst who understands that power, ideology, domination and hegemony are all core concepts in CDA. Therefore, I realised that CDA researchers exert efforts into exploring the role of discourse in maintaining domination of one group over another through the use and abuse of power. Texts (spoken, visual, written and embodied) in this respect become 'sites of struggle' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 12) between the differing discourses and ideologies in strive for dominance. Informed by this, the following section elaborates on the hybridity of the CDA approach for this research by making more advantages from the context of the study where I am most likely to be perceived as an insider researcher who utilizes a political methodology.

4.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis as a Methodology

As this research focuses on the context of the study, and because the context of the study is burdened with the politics of the region, CDA can be viewed in this thesis as political/politicized. Moreover, because CD analysts take the side of the oppressed, it becomes no surprize that CDA is both political and politicized. In reference to the discourse school, Chapter 3, section 3.1.2, discourse scholars focus on disrupting the grand discourses, theories and politics of human rights in order to allow new perspectives to emerge (Wang, 2002; Valen-Sendstad, 2010; Baxi, 2008; Simmonds, 2012). This is achieved by investigating into power relations at social, institutional, governmental, inter-governmental and other levels in order to yield new perspectives. The fact that the international discourse of human rights reproduces the grand narratives, practices and politics of human rights at the global level means that CDA as a methodology is profoundly associated with the political arena. Thus, the fact that CDA takes the side of the oppressed makes it inseparable from justifiable politicization. I say justifiable here while bearing in mind that the process of carrying out research must be systematic, ethical and professional. Political activism is to take

place elsewhere in my opinion as a researcher, regardless where I geographically come from.

This thesis considers discourse, partly, as a reflection of reality within the specific socio-economic, political and historical moment of its articulation, and as a reflection of the authority behind this articulation. Post-colonial discourse is that umbrella discourse by which this work can be viewed in order to understand the representation of the reality of HRE during conflict. However, in this research, I focus on a more specific discourse, which is the New Capitalist discourse, Chapters 4, 7, 8 and 9, because of its relevance to the analysis of UNRWA's HRE curriculum. The analysis of the ideological manifestation of this discourse helps identifying the representation of the reality of the conflict, which is surrounded by other local, regional and international discourse. I make my position clear in this regard by highlighting the importance for identifying the representation of reality,as it is experienced, in the analysed texts rather than finding a "truth", which I choose to overlook from my position as a researcher who believes that truth is socially constructed, and linguistically represented. My position as a CDA analyst, therefore, contributes to uncovering the ideological manifestation of this discourse by studying the socio-semiotic indicators within the texts under examination.

Having said that, I aim at revealing the socio-economic and political relations that manifest in the UNRWA's specific discourse of HRCRT, which is informed by the mega discourse of New Capitalism. Thus, the researcher position I take in this research focuses on uncovering the representation/under-representation of the reality at this precise moment of history, namely, the continuation of the Israelis settler-colonial project and the constant human rights violations. This position, therefore, takes into great consideration the ways in which this representation benefits the reproduction of the same power relations that continue to marginalize the voices of the oppressed Palestinians. Since the analysis of UNRWA's discourse is caught up in at least the historical, socio-economic and political circumstances, as I show in this thesis, the CDA I carry out is also informed by these circumstances at this moment of history. Hence, this explains the political aspect that characterizes both CDA as a methodology as well as my position as a Palestinian researcher.

I choose CDA for this study for a few reasons. First, its epistemological grounds studying language use through a social lens in the sense that CDA is committed to addressing social questions about inequality, power, and dominance. I am particularly intrigued by the notion of 'anti-objectivist view of knowledge' (Johnson et al., 2004, p. 17) by which Johnson and his colleagues emphasize that situated-ness and partiality are inevitable. They argue that methodological questioning starts before entering the field work, or the choice of an object of the research. 'It begins with a self-consciousness about who we are and why we ask the questions that we do and what our prior relationships might be to our objects of study' (ibid, p. 17). Therefore, Johnson and his colleagues stress the role of reflexivity in providing forms of 'distancing, estrangement and depersonalization' (ibid, p. 52). Second, the role CDA gives the analyst in terms of positioning is crucial. CDA is different from other DA approaches in the nature of the research problem and the approach for researching this problem where researchers play an Advocatory role (Wodak and Meyer, 2016, p. 18). The analyst in CDA is not reluctant to explicitly state their views while carrying out the analysis. van Dijk (2002) states that critical discourse analysts '(should) take an explicit socio-political stance: they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large' (p. 107).

With this, I initiate CDA of the proposed texts (HRCRT policy and a sample of the suspended textbooks). I do this, primarily, by developing a firm theoretical ground for understanding the relationship between language and social practice. The literature shows that the discursive use of language does not only constitute social practices, rather, it also influences and changes those social practices (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). This double bond of language function has resulted in forming a widely shared tenet that the social use of language is what constitutes discourse and makes it constitutive of social practice. Discourse is constituted for its tendency to give rise to issues of power (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 6). It is also constitutive for its ability to constitute 'situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people' (ibid, p. 6). This double bond benefits this methodological design of this thesis in creating a firm theoretical foundation.

The language use in the HRCRT policy document and the sample of textbooks is an example of this dialectical function of the discourse of HRCRT. For this discourse to be constitutive of the social practices, it requires domination and power, by which it can reform social order, as explained in section 4.1.2. The home-grown discourse of human rights stands as an obstacle in the way of the discourse of HRCRT as the dominant discourse. For this, the home-grown discourse of human rights has a special focus in this research. The reason for this is that investigating into this discourse gives insight into the specific social wrong[25], which the dominant discourse overshadows. Such an investigation highlights the different socio-cultural and historical aspects that produce and reproduce social practices. It reflects how and why Palestinian society re-contextualizes identity, for example, in light of their shared experiences, collective memory and ongoing struggle. The investigation is also capable of explaining how this home-grown discourse accepts or resists dominant discourse/s. Analysing the dialectic relationship between semiosis[26] and other elements of the social practices is important because it shows the ways in which people test, challenge and disrupt the dominant discourse and its logics (Fairclough, 2016, p. 88).

Therefore, the study of the local discourse of human rights, in particular, is what gives the research the critical aspect. This is mainly because the aim of CDA is to not only understand and interpret people's relationships to the social world, but rather, it aims to capture the conditions of inequalities; to transform and change such conditions (Rogers, et al., 2005). There are various ways to achieve this. Firstly by understanding the geo-political and historical context and the ramifications these have on reproducing the status quo. Secondly by understanding the power dynamics that create such conditions. Foucault (2003) stresses that these dynamics of power, as well as the analysis of power, are complicated processes. Power, in his words, is not only exercised, it 'circulates and forms networks' (p. 30). As a result, these power dynamics need to be considered within any framework that does not only aim to locate power, but also intends to analyse it depending on the research focus and the

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[25] Social "wrong" is a term used by Fairclough (2010, 2016) to refer to the specific social "problem" while carrying out CDA. A social problem is not literally "wrong". Under certain circumstances, this social wrong can be righted (Fairclough, 2010, p. 226). I use the term "social wrong" for the same purpose in this research.

[26] I explain this term in section 4.2.2.1 ahead.

methodological choices. In this research, I focus on locating power and understanding the dynamics by which the dominant discourse of HRCRT constitutes social practices.

Rogers (2005) explains that understanding power dynamics entails identifying the forms in which power manifests. Power is present in bodies that practice it, acquiring the ability to construct and maintain a dominant discourse. Power is also represented through the bodies that submit to this domination. In the later form, this power can be exercised to mobilize for the construction of new social relations by resisting and defying the dominant discourse. Discourse analysts recognize power as taking either oppressive or emancipatory forms, and hence, they recognize the role of the analyst as in locating and defining this power (Rogers, et al., 2005, p. 369). As argued earlier in this chapter, discourse is the use of language as social practice, and therefore, researchers locate power within this language (ibid, p.369). Based on Foucault's idea of making an *ascending analysis of power* that begins with its 'infinitesimal mechanisms' (Foucault, 2003, p. 30), it is important for this framework to contribute to locating and explaining where these mechanisms reside, but not thoroughly analyse them, in a Foucauldian manner. I only apply a summarized version of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) in the initial analysis, Chapter 6, for two main reasons. Firstly, to help sharpen the research focus and refine the methodology and data collection strategies. Secondly, to highlight and point out the power dynamics that maintains the power relations and the dominant discourse within the given context. Analysing the power dynamics, however, requires an exhaustively independent inquiry for further research- and I acknowledge this in the concluding remarks of this thesis.

Parker (2014) outlines the FDA approach, thoroughly conducted, in twenty stages for the data analysis to consider Foucault's concerns with historical, social and material dimensions and evolution of discourse. Parker's (2014) work belongs to psychological discourse practices that employ interview data for FDA, but also assert the applicability of this approach to other various types of textual and communication materials (ibid, p. 114). Willig (2013, p. 115-118) summarizes the FDA approach in another abridged version that outlines six stages of analysis. I find

this version insightful for conducting the initial analysis- more details on Willig's (2013) approach is provided in section 4.2.3.1 of this chapter.

4.2.2. Methodological Hybridity and Justification

Informed by the theoretical framework, section 4.1, this investigation is a textually oriented analysis (Fairclough, 2003) to CDA. First, this approach allows for analysis of heavily bureaucratized policy documents. Textual analysis helps examining small units of texts (data) instead of a whole document, and this makes it possible to connect the analysis of these smaller units with the actual socio-cultural and political issues involved in the research. Fairclough's (2003, 2016) textual oriented analysis is capable of providing a tool to examine political and policy texts through discourse analysis to show the impact they have in regulating the social world. Second, the textbooks' analysis benefits from this textually oriented analysis by illuminating the *order of discourse* in the textbooks, which I explain later in this chapter, to explicate the ways in which language use allows the discourse's reproduction of certain social practices. The analytical tools- discussed below- offer linguistic evidence for understanding the discursive aspects of the discourse of HRCRT from within the texts.

I choose to apply this textual oriented analysis within Fairclough's (2016) dialectical-relational approach to CDA. Although the dialectical-relational approach is the main approach for the research, I combine it with Altheide and Schneider's (2013) discourse analysis approach. While Fairclough's (2016) approach offers theoretical guidance for carrying out CDA, Altheide and Schneider's (2013) offers systematic procedures for data collection and discourse analysis. I elaborate on both approaches in this section as I clarify the hybrid aspect of combining them together. I outline the key terms of each of these approaches in the following section. The terms will appear throughout the analysis to indicate the particular ways in which the discursive practices function to be able to provide evidential analysis of the data. I start by Fairclough's (2003) approach and terms of textually oriented analysis then move to Altheide and Schneider (2013) on qualitative document analysis.

4.2.2.1. Fairclough's Approach

The dialectical-relational approach focuses on the social wrong while paying attention to the political discourse that regulates the social life and causes the proliferation of this social wrong, as indicated in Chapters 1 and 2 that contextualize the legal position of Palestinian refugees and the resultant implications. Focusing on the social wrong, the construction of UNRWA's HRE curriculum within the given context, allows for carrying out a critical analysis of the HRCRT discourse in juxtaposition with the counter-discourse of right-hood, represented through collective memory and the aspiration for recognition of identity. Gee (2011b) suggests the concept of *figured worlds* as an inquiry tool in which these figured worlds function as mediators between the micro level of interaction and the macro level of the institutions (p. 76). Gee explains figured worlds as 'simplified, often unconscious and taken-for-granted theories or stories about how the world works that we use to get on efficiently with our daily lives. We learn them from experiences we have had, but crucially, as these experiences are guided, shaped, and normed by the social and cultural groups to which we belong' (ibid, p. 76). Those common experiences, shared by the social and cultural group, ultimately define what is normal. There are equivalent terms that, more or less, refer to the same concept of figured worlds such as cultural models, discourse models, folk theory, and specific usage of terms like frames, schemes and scripts (ibid, p. 76). Therefore, the extent to which UNRWA's HRE curriculum reflects aspects of the Palestinian figured worlds indicates the level of acceptance or resistance to the dominant discourse of HRCRT.

In elaboration, I have chosen the dialectical-relational approach to CDA because it recognizes that the social problems/wrongs include the 'injustices and inequalities which people experience, but which are not necessarily wrongs in the sense that, given certain social conditions, they could be righted or at least mitigated' (Fairclough, 2010, p.226). Applying this to the Palestinian context, collective memory reflects narratives of long struggle and injustices undergone by Palestinians, and therefore, the social wrong is represented in the curriculum's discursive attempt to alter Palestinians' figured worlds to conform to the new practices that are embedded by the discourse of HRCRT. That is instead of altering the conditions of inequalities and injustices. However, if given a state and recognition as Palestinian

citizens[27] with full rights, this social wrong could be righted under such circumstances. In Chapter 2, the discussion on collective memory and the powerful narrative of return represent some of the main cultural aspects of the Palestinian identity, be it cultural or national. Therefore, Palestinians' figured worlds stem from the shared experiences of, for instance, diaspora, refugeehood, human rights violations, economic embargo and military blockade, to name a few. I refer to "figured worlds" in this research as a concept, rather than a tool of inquiry, that is relevant to Palestinian learners' collective experiences. More on the tools and stages of applying the dialectical-relational approach unfolds in this chapter.

Yet, criticisms arise with regard to the possibility of excluding the "other" because of the simplified nature of these figured worlds that tend to 'leave out many complexities' (Gee, 2011b, p. 77). In this case, for example, excluding the idea of co-existence between both the Palestinian and the Israeli sides. I argue here that the use of the concept of figured worlds in this research transcends such a limitation. First, I deal with figured worlds as flexible construct of the social and cultural deposit of experiences of society, which itself falls under the influences of changing political discourses. This leads me to emphasize the dialectical relationship between the political discourse and the construction of the figured worlds themselves. For example, years after the establishment of the Israeli state, the PLO started as a liberation movement, which changed into a politically recognised and self-governing authority, which was the offspring of change in the political discourse from liberation to co-existence. The ideas of peace building, co-existence, and other post-Oslo 1993 negotiations, consequently, affect the construction/reconstruction of figured worlds. Second, to limit figured worlds to exclusion is to reject the dialectical relationship that I have discussed in the previous paragraph. The pluralistic aspects of Palestinian civil society allow for this dialogic interaction between the figured worlds and the surrounding discourses. This is to say that although figured worlds comprise the common and shared experiences of the social and cultural group, they are not fixed. I justify this by arguing that the political discourse leads to the reconstruction of social realities. I associate the concept of figured worlds with the concept of enchantment, discussed in Chapter 2, which is necessary for the Palestinians in the context of the

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[27] This example is only to make my point clear rather than to reflect a political stand with regard to the one/two state solution.

procrastination of a just solution to their cause. For this, I argue that figured worlds can be instruments of exclusion when skipping this dialectic dimension.

The idea of figured world resonates with Gavriely-Nuri's (2012) understanding of the formation of a community's "common sense" or "common experiences". She suggests improving discourse analysis, CDA in particular, to focus on the integration of linguistic, visual and cultural dimensions[28] that are embedded in the discourse, thus forming Cultural Critical Discourse Analysis (CCDA). This is by including "cultural codes", which refer to 'a compact package of shared values, norms, ethos and social beliefs' (2012, p. 80). One way this package can appear is through remembering and valuing a historical event, a geographical site or a national hero/heroine. Making those acts of remembering and valuing a tradition through repetition in different contexts and combinations contributes to forming the community's common sense (ibid, p. 80). Cultural codes can also be part of what Gavriely-Nuri (2012) terms as the "discursive capital" (p. 82). The aim of the latter is the 'achievement of social dominance and the promotion of political interests' (ibid, p. 82). For example, in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the metaphor "we extend a hand in peace" is part of the discursive capital of the Israeli political discourse where this metaphor functions as a discursive strategy while being in itself a cultural code; to justify the initiation of a new war (ibid, p. 82). Therefore, Gavriely-Nuri's contribution to CDA studies is important for this research in the sense that the cultural site of the Palestinian society is taken into consideration when examining the 'global market' (ibid, p. 82) of cultural codes that are associated with the positivistic culture of human rights.

Therefore, I incorporate elements from Gee's (2011b) and Gavriely-Nuri's (2012) contributions in the application of Fairclough's (2016) dialectical-relational approach. As already established, Fairclough's (2016) dialectical approach focuses on the social problem/wrong. Nevertheless, he goes further to include its semiotic aspects as well. *Semiosis* refers to all means of meaning making including the written, spoken, visual and the embodied. To Fairclough (2016), it figures in three

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[28] Discourse to Gavriely-Nuri (2012) includes linguistic aspects (such as presuppositions, metaphors, and nomination), visual modes (video clips and photographs) and cultural sites that include collective representations and dominant symbols, beliefs and assumptions (such as stamps, national ceremonies, songs) (p. 80).

ways in social practices, namely, genre, discourse and style as a particular social ordering of different ways of meaning making (p. 89). Fairclough (2016) defines these terms as follows:

Genres are 'semiotic ways of acting and interacting, such as news or job interviews, reports or editorials in newspapers, or advertisements on TV or the internet. Part of doing a job, or running a country, is interacting semiotically or communicatively in certain ways, and such activities have distinctive sets of genres associated with them' (p.88).

Discourses are 'semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) which can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors' (p. 88).

Styles are 'identities, or 'ways of being', in their semiotic aspect – for instance, being a 'manager' in the currently fashionable way in business or in universities is partly a matter of developing the right semiotic style' (p. 89).

Understanding social order is important in order to be able to relate semiosis to the social elements of practices. Social order itself forms as a result of the specific networking of the elements of social practices such as the productive activity, the means of production, the social relations, identities, cultural values, and consciousness (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 122). Furthermore, the semiotic aspects of the social ordering is what Fairclough terms as the *order of discourse*, which I explore in more detail later in this chapter, section 4.3.1.2, to explain the application of Fairclough's approach in this study. This approach to CDA works by analysing the dialectic relationship between semiosis and the elements of social practices that, if networked together, constitute the social order. The analysts' understanding of the genres, discourses and styles helps in identifying the particular discursive practices through the textual analysis. Fairclough's (2003, 2016) approach goes further to offer other analytical terms that guide the textual and inter-discursive analysis of materials. These analytical terms include re-contextualization, nominalization, modality, intertextuality, naturalization, interdiscursivity, aestheticization of public identities and promotional cultures- see *Glossary* at the end of this thesis for definitions of these analytical terms.

The use of these analytical terms depends on the attention to analysing the effects of texts that are inseparable from the processes of meaning making. Fairclough (2003) focuses on the text analysis by focusing on its dynamics, and moving more towards 'the production of texts than towards the reception and interpretation of the texts' (p.12) without reducing the focus given to perception and interpretation. Fairclough (2003) explains that analysis of texts revolves around capturing the linguistic forms of the texts and the changing distribution of these forms across different texts. He draws attention to the 'casual effects' that analysts may attribute to some of the linguistic forms. He gives nominalization as an example, and stresses that this can happen only by taking a 'careful account of meaning and context' (p. 13). I explain specific stages for applying the dialectical-relational approach, in more detail, sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. These stages offer guidance for applying this approach to CDA as a methodology.

In addition to Fairclough's (2003, 2016) analytical terms, I use Huckin's (2002) "textual silences" as another analytical term in the data analysis. He discusses five types of silences:

> '*speech-act silences* are those that have illocutionary force by virtue of being so interpretable by a reader/listener using Gricean, Leechian or other pragmatic principles; *presuppositional silences* are those that serve communicative efficiency by not stating what the speaker/writer apparently assumes to be common knowledge; *discreet silences* are those that avoid stating sensitive information; *genre based silences* are those that are governed by genre conventions; and *manipulative silences* are those that deliberately conceal relevant information from the reader/ listener'(Huckin, 2002, p. 348).

For the analysis in this research, I focus only on pre-suppositional silence and manipulative silence. This decision is informed by data gained from the initial analysis. Pre-suppositional silence refers to omitting information by the author assuming that this information is already known. 'The missing information can easily be reconstructed by consulting its immediate context' (ibid, p. 350). Manipulative silence, however, involves the deliberate action of omitting information in the

interests of the author (ibid, p. 351). Therefore, the further analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 depicts these silences where the data shows that some information is omitted.

4.2.2.2. Altheide and Schneider's Approach

For the further analysis in Chapters 7 and 8, I apply a qualitative document analysis in the investigation into the data resources of the research, the HRCRT policy/curriculum and the sample of the lower secondary level textbooks. Altheide and Schneider (2013) develop this approach to analyse multiple documents rather than a single document. Analysing a single document in detail belongs to the field of semiotic analysis (the study of signs) where the focus is on examining the author's motives and assumptions (p. 12). Qualitative document analysis pays special attention to the context surrounding the documents under analysis because this context helps in understanding the significance of this document (ibid, p. 12). Therefore, this approach gains aspects of ethnographic research in a sense that the researcher, concepts, data collection and analysis are highly interactive and reflexive (ibid, p. 26).

The section on Researcher Background in the beginning of this thesis offers an idea of my own understanding of my identity as Palestinian in relation to the insider/outsider aspect of my position as a researcher. I have highlighted briefly that my life history, having lived in diaspora then in Gaza, has led to shaping an element of estrangement that I find vital to my role in this research context. This element is vital for me as a researcher because it allows me to distance myself from the researched material. It also shows that I continue to refer to myself as an insider, in a 'non-absolute sense' (Hodkinson, 2005) to challenge preconceived assumptions about my previous knowledge and role in this research. The element of estrangement is vital for two reasons. First is the 'insider as insighter' (ibid, p. 140) aspect by which I bring new insight into carrying out CDA within this context because of my knowledge of the culture and society in the Gaza Strip that a non-Palestinian researcher might not have while addressing the research problem. Second is the role that estrangement plays in reducing criticism of bias, which is an already assumed criticism of CDA as a methodology.

Furthermore, my research position is shaped by an intellectual engagement aspect, which I consider as one of the prime factor for carrying out this research. Having lived in Gaza for around 20 years has entailed limited access to literature on Palestine history, memory and intellectual depository. Therefore, throughout the thesis, I refer to my research journey as a heuristic attempt and an epistemological quest for knowledge and understanding of the history and politics of Palestine. Hence, the main contribution of this thesis is to give voice to the marginalized Palestinians. Another contribution is to my own intellectual development, thus to give myself a voice as well for being part of the marginalized. In agreement with Hodkinson (2005), I find my role as a researcher is better conceptualised in light of the process of research rather than "the either insider/or outsider" dichotomy. I further stress that I take Altheide and Schneider's understanding of ethnographic document analysis as indispensable for my reflexive and interactive (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 26) performance while collecting and analysing the data in this research.

Therefore, I examine the policy as a representation of both 'social meanings' and 'institutional relations' (ibid, p. 5) by conceptualizing the analysed documents as fieldwork, as Altheide and Schneider suggest (p. 23). In this manner, I select qualitative (ethnographic) document analysis to focus on illuminating the underlying meanings, themes and patterns in the HRCRT policy to relate it to the analysis of the HRE curricular aspects and the sample of the textbooks. Although it is important for the research to depict the frequency of the emergence of specific concepts and themes in texts, it does not take a quantitative content analysis approach. This is for a number of reasons. Firstly, the focus of the research is to capture the implicit and the explicit connotations and influences of the discursive use of the concepts rather than offering a quantifiable record for the analysis. Secondly, the research's goal is to discover and verify findings in a reflective and circular fashion that is integrated in the data collection, analysis and interpretation. Thirdly, it allows for concepts to emerge throughout the process of data collection and analysis, thus, offering strength to the data-driven aspect of this research. Finally, qualitative document analysis allows researchers to describe, comment and generate narrative accounts of the data.

Altheide and Schneider (2013) develop qualitative content analysis of documents in the field of media studies/analysis to examine emphasis, meanings, definitions and processes through data collection and analysis. Altheide and Schneider (2013) argue that the concepts of format, frame, theme and discourse are crucial for capturing emphasis and meanings within a document. These concepts are not exclusive to qualitative media analysis which allows for this research to utilize these concepts while collecting and analysing the data. Figure 4.1 illustrates these concepts and their interconnectedness. First, *format* is the way in which familiar experiences are familiar and recognisable, or, in other words, the 'underlying organization and assumptions of time, space, and manner of experience' (ibid, p.50).

Figure 4.1. Format, Frame, Theme, and Discourse (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 51)
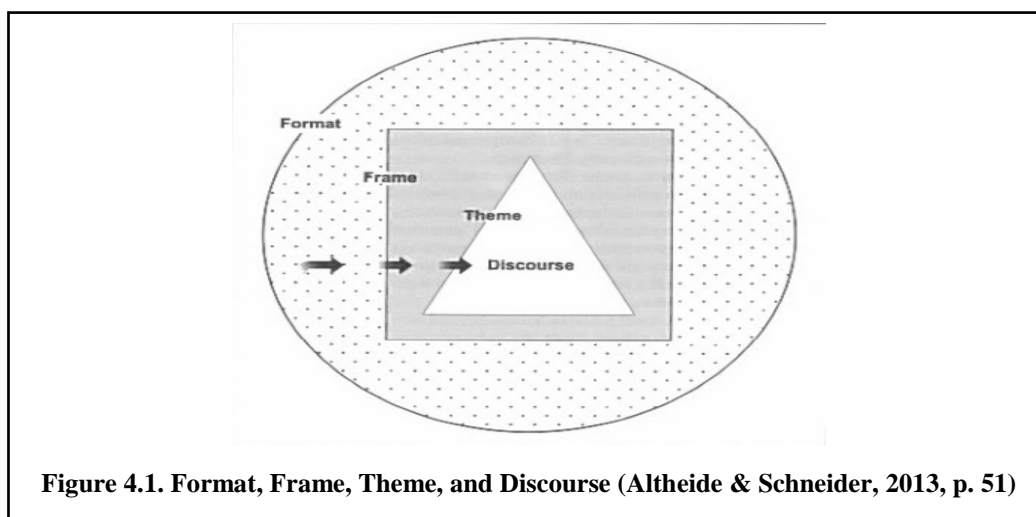
Second, *framing,* which originates from social movement theory. Erving Goffman (1974) is one of the leading scholars in this field argues that people frame their experiences as a way of organizing and understanding the world, which is inseparable from their social positions and their prior experiences. Altheide and Schneider (2013) apply this conceptualization of framing theory in the research on qualitiative media analysis to capture the way the news release promote certain discourses through the process of framing. That is to limit what is discussed, the way it is discussed, and the ways in which it is not discussed (p. 52). For example, framing in social movements is important for mobilizing consensus (Coysh, 2014, p.95). In other words, frames serve in bringing people together and encouraging them to take collective action. In relation to the human rights discourse, consensus and collective action contribute to the spread of the dominant discourse of human rights as framed by the international and global stakeholders in the claim of the universality

of human rights, as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.1.2. Analysis of the materials elaborates on this argument in the further analysis Chapters 7 and 8.

Third, *themes* and *frames* are inter-related. However, Altheide and Schneider (2013) explain that themes are a general representation of the frame, the same theme can be repeated and spoken of from different angles whereas the frame functions as a parameter for discussing a specific matter, a kind of 'super theme' (p.53). Finally, discourse is also profoundly associated with the frame of the matter being tackled. Simply defined by Altheide and Schneider (2013), discourse is determinant of the 'relevant meaning that one uses to talk about things' (p. 53). Kress (1985) refers to discourse similarly by stating that it is a system of meanings embedded in institutions. Altheide and Schneider (2013) point out that discourse and frame, combined, suggest a 'taken for granted perspective for how one might approach a problem' (p.53) because language and meaning are implicated in both discourse and the frame within which discourse is situated. Therefore, the interplay between frame, discourse and theme provide a rationale for carrying out the document analysis, as I explain in the data Chapters 6 and 7.

4.2.3   Data Collection Strategies

I developed some methods/strategies to conduct the previously explained approaches to facilitate the application of CDA. I emphasize the interconnectedness of data collection strategies and the process of analysis. The following procedures are combination of both, to inform the process when performing the overall CDA for the research.

4.2.3.1. Discursive Psychology Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

For the initial analysis, I have selected to scan the second term textbook of grade eight to gaining an overview of the content of the textbook as a sample of the lower secondary suspended human rights textbooks[29]. The aim of gaining this overview is to be able to, first, choose more specific material for the further data analysis, and second, to gain more familiarity, as a researcher, with the data. More generally, the

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[29] Scanning the textbook was accompanied with exploring the vision of the HRCRT policy in parallel with the MOEHE educational policy which I highlight in Chapter 6 in more detail.

aim is to contribute to the refinement of the methodological choices and the research focus. In order to uncover the preliminary remarks through the initial analysis, I have applied the abridged version of a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA), as developed from a discursive psychological practice, summarized by Willig (2013).

Willig (2013) develops the brief stages of FDA by referring to a more elaborate work in psychology, carried out and developed by the work of Parker (2014, first published 1992). Parker establishes that his work does not offer a method for FDA in spite of offering 20 steps to explicate his thoughts. He points out that his work focuses on *dynamics* by which different discourses operate systematically. To Parker, these dynamics recognize this fact about discourses- operating together and systematically- and hence, the dynamics look into the 'tensions within discourses and the way they reproduce and transform the world' (2014, p. 5). Willig's (2013) abridged FDA outlines six stages that she finds suitable for discursive psychological studies, to address interpersonal communication (p.117). This stands as one of the differences between discursive psychology and the Foucauldian discourse analysis. The latter goes beyond the immediate context of language use as a social performance. FDA examines the relationship between discourse and peoples' feelings, ways of thinking, practices and the surrounding material world within which they interact.

The six stages of Willig's (2013) FDA are summarized in defining: the discursive constructions, discourses, action orientation, positioning, practice and subjectivity (p 131-133) - I explain each in Chapter 6 on the initial analysis. These six stages allow for identifying the discursive object- which was "identity" at the early stages of the initial analysis- and locating it within different discourses and practices. This abridged FDA is also effective for highlighting where the power dynamics reside instead of putting them for analysis as this research does not focus on the analysis of the UN's institutional power dynamics. The preliminary remarks, which mainly include locating the discursive object, the surrounding discourses and the subject positions (ibid, 2013), inform the research by identifying the specific research problem, and contribute to the refinement of the framework and methodology. This framework allows the research to get the closest it can to the participants within the section of society under study- the Palestinian refugee

learners. That is through utilizing the researcher's position as the main tool for data collection and analysis, and as an insider to the culture, society and the UNRWA institution as well.

This is also a positive transition from the initial analysis phase to the more focused further analysis. Yet, as this research was not allowed access to participants, I realized that the application of a discursive psychological analysis was not only challenging, but also irrelevant. However, I highlight here that, at the time of carrying out the initial analysis, I was still awaiting a response from UNRWA to gain access to the research participants (students). Therefore, identity was the discursive object of the discourse analysis. Section 4.2.4 explains the initial analysis contribution to refining methodological choices, and more importantly, its role in highlighting the HRE curriculum as the research object, which is analysed in Chapters 7 and 8.

4.2.3.2. Qualitative Document Analysis (Protocols)

The data collection strategy for the further analysis takes two steps. First, identifying the *unit of analysis* (Altheide and Schneider, 2013), which is a selection of texts that undergo analysis in research. Second, designing *protocols* (ibid, 2013) by which I 'interrogate' the materials under study. First, in this research, I take the *unit of analysis* from the HRCRT policy and the lower secondary level HRE sample textbooks (grades 8 and 9). Gaining familiarity with the material under study is important because it contributes to identifying the selected text for analysis, the unit of analysis. Second, protocols are means for interrogating the materials under analysis to identify emphasis, meaning, definitions and concepts, as explained in section 4.2.2.2.

A protocol is a 'list of questions, items, categories, or variables that guide data collection from documents' (ibid, p.44). Variables and numeric data are the focus of quantitative content analysis whereas definitions, meanings, process and types are the concern for qualitative document analysis, which characterizes this study. The idea of constructing protocols, as developed by Altheide and Schneider (2013), allows for more flexibility for a researcher in coding and recoding the data to enhance the process of the data collection and the data analysis. Both the processes

of the data collection and analysis overlap due to the data-driven nature of the study. Thus, protocols as methods/tools/strategies are appropriate for the flexibility and the clarity they offer. Utilizing a qualitative document analysis of the textbook and the policy is necessary for building on the remarks of the initial analysis. Altheide & Schneider's (2013) work on qualitative document analysis is one way for carrying out document analysis by developing protocols by which data can be gathered, coded, compared, contrasted, and interpreted. One characteristic of these protocols is the flexibility they can offer in a sense that they can be tested and revised according to the emergence of the data and the progression of the analysis. I elaborate on constructing two protocols for this research in section 4.3 ahead.

I developed protocol 2 by studying other research examples, suggested by Altheide and Schneider (2013) in qualitative media analysis. I have also looked at Kullman's (2003) protocol application in the analysis of English Language Teaching (ELT) course books to examine learner's identity construction while learning English as a second or a foreign language. These examples emphasize that the questions of a protocol are highly dependent on the research topic and questions (Altheide and Schneider, 2013, p. 48). For example, Kullman (2003) develops two protocols. One for the course books analysis and another for the interviews with some of the writers of these course books. The course book protocol shows Kullman's engagement in a more linguistic level of examining the texts to be able to identify the models of identity that affect the learners' cultural identities. Therefore, Kullman's (2003) course books' protocol asks specific questions at the lexical and grammatical level, in relation to the learner's agency, in the study of the text and discourse. In the case of protocol 2 for this research, which focuses on analysing the HRE global model and the representation of the Palestinian culture and collective memory, I shift the focus of analysis from the detailed linguistic level to the discursive practices.

4.2.4. The Initial Analysis

The initial analysis of the grade eight textbook is crucial in various ways. It helps in gaining an overall view of some of the content of the suspended textbooks. It is also challenging because the research questions fall under continuous modification in the search for a more focused discursive object to examine. For instance, I

developed the research questions gradually in parallel with the development of the research methodology and in accordance with the conduct of the initial analysis before arriving at finalized questions. Two phases have influenced this development. The first phase was considering the learners' identity as the discursive object for the initial analysis while awaiting response from UNRWA to allow access to the research participants. Not achieving this has resulted in changing the focus to the textbooks while, still, looking at the learners' identity from a more distant position. Hence, in the second phase I started with the following questions, thinking that they were the final research questions, but soon- by reflecting on the "already done" initial analysis- the questions developed and even changed into the specific research questions, stated in the introduction of this thesis. Therefore, the questions were:

- What is the "problem" in UNRWA's HRE textbooks for secondary level?
- How do the learners perceive HRE in relation to collective memory?
- To what extent does collective memory correspond with the HRE programme?

With these questions, I shifted the focus to the textbooks as the discursive object, considered as a cultural artefact that mirrors the International HRE (IHRE) discourse, ideology and philosophy. The findings gained from the application of Willig's (2013) abridged version of FDA have guided me to think of the HRE "curriculum" as a discursive object. This is because the textbooks comprise only one aspect of the whole curriculum whereas I am analysing a number of these aspects that are represented in the policy document and the textbooks altogether. It is also through this process that I have applied Willig's version, heuristically, to explore Foucauldian philosophy. It was a data-driven exploration, which illuminated another dimension to the process of data collection and analysis. That is the dialectic aspect underpinning Fairclough's approach. I began to see discourse as both constituted in, and constitutive of, social practice, rather than only constituted. Hence, the initial analysis contributed to directing the methodological choice towards the dialectical-relational approach, as stated in the beginning of this chapter. The initial analysis has also exposed some of the functions of the dominant discourse, represented through the concepts of conflict resolution and tolerance, and some related concepts, detailed in the findings of the initial analysis in Chapter 6.

Another way in which the initial analysis is crucial is that it informs the literature review and paves the way for carrying out the further analysis of the textbooks. Finally, the initial analysis helps me as researcher to position myself within the critical theory research paradigm by making the most adequate and informed choice of methods (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 7), to best serve the research and answer the questions it poses. In researches where the construction of reality is 'context-bound' (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p.12), researcher seeks to contribute to understanding individuals' experiences without skipping the cultural setting and the context within which they interact. This research does not take "individuals" as research participants but that does not limit it from attempting to understand and reflect the historical and socio-political context that generates multiple realities (ibid, p. 12) that construct, and are constructed by the society as a whole. This is necessary for the research, as stated in earlier chapters, to highlight the aspects that relate to the Palestinian collective memory and identity, and enter a dialogue with other concepts, embedded in the dominant HRCRT discourse. Namely, the concepts of "identity", "tolerance", "peaceful resistance" and "conflict resolution". These concepts emerged from the preliminary scan of the HRCRT policy and the grade eight textbook, and they are included in the initial analysis.

4.3. The Further Analysis

Building on the findings of the initial analysis, this stage of further analysis takes systematic procedures to delve further into the content of the HRE textbooks, and UNRWA's HRCRT policy document (curriculum). Two stages comprise these procedures, *A* and *B*, Diagram 4.1. The first stage aims at applying two protocols for data collection from the assigned material (HRCRT policy and the sample textbooks). These protocols comprise questions that "interrogate" the materials, Appendices 1 and 2. The protocols explore the curricular construction of UNRWA's HRE, the representation of the Palestinian culture, memory and identity, and the discursive strategies and practices by which the discourse of HRCRT functions in producing and reproducing social practices. That is to gain better contextual knowledge of the social wrong, and contribute to answering the first research question on the concerning issues around the HRE curriculum at UNRWA schools in Gaza, as implied in the policy and mirrored in textbooks.

The second stage intersects with the first one in revealing the *order of discourse* by analysing the data gathered from the two protocols. The order of discourse, in turn, aims at connecting the data analysis with the dialectical-relational CDA approach to be able to interpret and explain the data within the wider context of the social wrong. I explain both of the stages in more detail in the following section.

Diagram 4.1 Stages A & B of the Methodological Framework
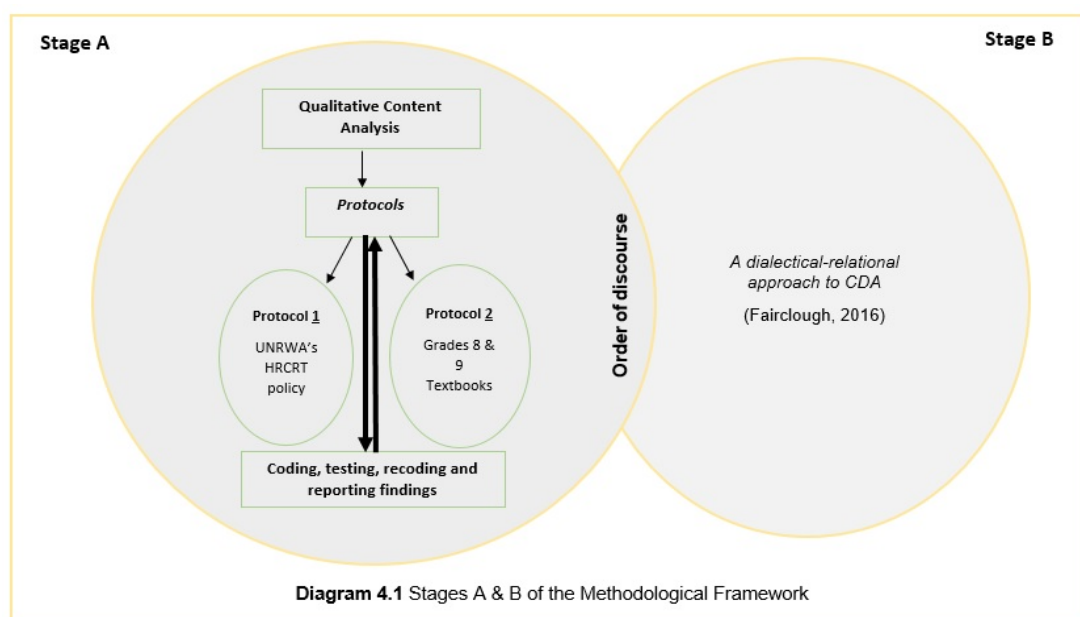
4.3.1. Stage A: Textual Analysis

4.3.1.1. HRCRT Policy (text) as Discourse

Having clarified the reciprocal bond between language and social practice in the theoretical framework, it is evident as to why this research treats the policy text as discourse. It is fundamental for this research to examine the HRCRT policy to be able to highlight the role of the policy makers in shaping and enforcing the global discourse of human rights through the HRE curriculum. The selection of the unit of analysis[30] is important for examining two dimensions in this research. Firstly, some aspects of the HRE curriculum, the language use for discoursing human rights and the functions of the discourse in the specific context of study. Secondly, to examine the explicit and implicit representations of local culture, identity, history, collective

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[30] Chapter 5 provides a context of the research. Specifically, the curricular aspects of the HRE curriculum and an overview of the content of UNRWA's HRE textbooks from primary to secondary level. This is to be able to focus down on the specific choice of the "unit of analysis" in preparation for the analysis in Chapters 7 and 8.

memory and narratives. The analysis of the policy is connected to the data from the discourse analysis of the secondary level textbooks, to inquire into the context, causes and impact of the controversy raised by the Hamas government in Gaza. The data collected from this unit of analysis- by applying the two protocols- contributes to locating the problematic aspects of the HRE curriculum, and the role of the discourse of HRCRT in maintaining the social wrong, and causing its proliferation. It also helps in directing the process of data analysis to the systematic identification of specific categories and themes that contribute to understanding the social wrong in relation to the wider context.

Therefore, thematic qualitative document analysis contributes to achieving this systematic identification. Kuckuartz (2014) describes thematic analysis as an approach for 'identifying, systemizing, and analysing topics and sub-topics and how they are related' (2014, p. 88). The phases of the thematic analysis, offered by Kuckuartz (2014), intersect with those offered by Altheide and Schneider (2013). These phases involve dealing with the text, building categories, coding, analysing and reporting the resultant findings. In his work on qualitative media analysis, Altheide (2000) develops an approach for conducting this type of qualitative analysis which takes into account the Foucauldian perspective on the 'significance of the cultural context for the emergence of social activities' (p. 290). Although Altheide's (2000) work focuses on analysing media documents, the framework he proposes is also applicable to this research for its qualitative application of document analysis, and for the ability to 'track discourses' (Altheide, 2000). Altheide and Schneider (2013), therefore, blend the traditional content analysis with ethnography, by which the researcher interacts with the documents. The aim is to immerse the researcher in understanding the 'culture, social discourse and social change' (ibid, p. 5) within the context under study.

4.3.1.2. Order of Discourse in the HRE Curriculum

At this point of the analysis, stages A and B overlap as the order of discourse gradually builds on the textual analysis and paves the way to applying the dialectical-relational approach, as shown in Diagram 4.1. I reiterate, order of discourse refers to the 'social constructing of semiotic difference- a particular social ordering of

relationships amongst different ways of making meaning that is different discourses and genres' (Fairclough, 2010, p. 124). The further analysis of the particular order of discourse, as found by applying Stage 1, includes "interactional" analysis. Interactional analysis comprises two aspects. The first involves interdiscursive analysis while the second involves linguistic and semiotic analysis. The former focuses on the articulation of different genres, discourses and styles because of particular interactions (ibid, p. 126). The latter involves analysing a range of textual, visual and other forms of text. For this research, I do not delve into the linguistic level, as it is not the aim of this research to apply a Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach. Therefore, I carry out a minimal level of linguistic and semiotic analysis for purposes of relating it to the discourse analysis. This minimal level includes the examination of the emerging themes in the policy and the textbooks, the choice of vocabulary, the structure of the texts, the concepts, and the images and illustrations.

Locating the order of discourse at this stage allows for asking more specific questions, in preparation for stage B of the analytical framework, these are:

- What strategies does the discourse of HRCRT employ to manifest itself in social practices?
- How are these strategies realised? And for what purposes?

4.3.2. Stage B: The Dialectical-relational Approach to CDA

CDA application is based on Fairclough's work (1999, 2010 and 2016). Particularly, as stated earlier, Fairclough's (2016) dialectical-relational framework to analyse the 'order of discourse' in the examined material. This approach in social research reflects the 'richness and complexity of the social interaction,' which Chouliaraki and Fairclough think can be missed if the conducted research is oriented to the 'abstract structures and social relations of societies and the ways in which they are reproduced or transformed' (1999, p.38). For this reason, I choose this framework to focus on the social wrong and reflect the complex political and socio-cultural context beyond the policy and the textbooks. In other words, to illuminate the political and socio-cultural aspects of Palestinian society that the textbooks and

policies may represent or underrepresent. The data compiled from the qualitative document analysis, utilizing Altheide and Schneider's approach, and the resultant data from this Discourse Analysis of the texts inform the overall analysis within the dialectical-relational approach.

This is by integrating this data in four stages that comprise this approach, to be interpreted and explained. These stages are not to be confused with the two main stages *A* and *B* of the methodology, Diagram 4.1. Fairclough (2016) reiterates that these four stages serve as a theoretical/procedural ordering rather than a mechanical application of a method (Fairclough, 2016, p. 91). The stages are as follows:

- Stage 1: Focus upon the social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.
- Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.
- Stage 3: Consider whether the social order needs the social wrong.
- Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles.

The first stage focuses on the problem as well as on constructing an object of research, based on the relevant theories that relate to the topic. Fairclough (2010; 2016) argues for a transdisciplinary approach that is capable of depicting the complex relationship between reality and discourse, in the broad sense- discussed earlier in the theoretical framework section 4.1. The second stage involves a diagnosis of the problem by considering the structure and organisation of the social order that makes the problem 'resistant to easy solutions' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p.125). This stage constitutes three vital steps. First, looking at the way in which social practices are networked together. Second, considering the dialectical relations between the semiosis and other social elements, and third, the semiotic analysis of the discourse (2010, 2016). This stage involves a structural analysis of the *order of discourse*, which I have explained earlier in section 4.3.1.2. The third stage of the dialectical-relational framework focuses on exploring the role of the social order in sustaining itself by maintaining the social wrong. This stems from the fact that discourses do ideological work, and therefore seek to sustain particular power relations that are dominant (van Leeuwen, 2005; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011; Fairclough, 2016). Such power relations suggest that power is possessed by one dominant group and can only be changed through

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resistance. The international HRE discourse, informed by the international human rights instruments and reflected by UNRWA, works to promote a globalised project of spreading a culture of human rights that binds states to accept and support its agenda without question. The marginalization of the home-grown discourses that are socio-culturally and historically constructed brings about resistance, and moreover, demands change.

The fourth and last stage of the framework seeks to recognise the 'possibilities within the 'existing social process for overcoming obstacles and addressing the social problem' (Fairclough, 2010, p.239). This can be achieved by highlighting the gaps within the social system and creating a shift from the dominant power to the opposition, the resistant one. At this stage of the analysis, there are possibilities for bridging the gap by proposing a framework for HRE that coincides with the local context. A critique of the current approaches to HRE is in itself a possibility for overcoming the obstacles. However, the shift to the resistant does not necessarily have to be drastic in a sense that UNRWA stops teaching human rights. Nor does it mean for Hamas's government and its opposition to be framed as "the wrong" especially since this opposition was not elaborate, nor justified. This stage of CDA application allows for this research to contribute to the field of human rights and HRE by creating a dialogue between the international and the local to recognise common grounds and identify the ways in which Palestinian cultural aspects can be an added value for HRE and vice versa. Chapter 9 focuses on discussing the data, as informed by the order of discourse, within these four stages of the dialectical-relational approach.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the theoretical framework and methodological choices with regard to carrying out a dialectical-relational approach to CDA. It has also reviewed the literature in order to formulate an understanding of discourse and its relationship with the social use of language. It has established that discourse analysis relates directly to power and that the role of the analyst is to locate this power to be able to address the social wrong critically. The chapter has outlined the systematic procedures for data collection and analysis strategies that contribute to the

data Chapters 6, 7 and 8, and the discussion Chapter 9. I have outlines two main stages for carrying out the dialectical-relational approach to CDA in Chapters 7 and 8. First is stage A in which I apply Altheide and Schneider's (2013) qualitative document analysis. That is by utilizing protocol 1 for collecting and analysing data from the HRCRT policy document, and protocol 2 for the collecting and analysing data from the grades 8 and 9 textbooks. Second is stage B in which I apply Fairclough's (2016) dialectical-relational approach by discussing the data in relation to the wider political and socio-cultural context.

Before starting with the data Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, the following Chapter 5 focuses on providing a more specific context of the research in terms of the analysed materials. Therefore, it focuses on three elements. Firstly, outlining the curricular aspects of UNRWA's HRE as reflected in the policy document. This is to be able to select the particular aspects to be examined in Chapter 7 as part of the unit of analysis. Secondly, providing an overview of the content of UNRWA's human rights textbooks. This aims at tracing progress in knowledge building from primary to secondary level. This is also important for outlining the content of the grades 8 and 9 textbooks, which I analyse in Chapter 8 also as part of the unit of analysis. Thirdly, Chapter 5 provides speculations to the reasons UNRWA dedicates a special curriculum to Gaza.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Introduction

Before starting the data analysis of some aspects of the special HRE curriculum in Gaza, I am giving an introductory segment to help gain an overview of the materials under study. The aim is to illustrate the main elements of the policy that point to some aspects of this curriculum. This is because the UNRWA defines some aspects of the HRE curriculum implicitly within the policy document rather than articulating them in an independent official document. These aspects include the policy, the frameworks and strategic aims, the teaching-learning practices, the teaching materials (textbooks), the environment and the curriculum development processes. I start by clarifying terminology in the document which is used to refer to different concepts included in the articulation of the HRCRT policy. These concepts are the HRCRT policy, programme, curriculum and approach that are mentioned at various places in the document, and may cause confusion. This part helps clarify the different meanings of the mentioned terms and the relationships between them.

The second section of this research context begins by presenting an overview of the lower secondary level textbooks, grades 7, 8 and 9. This is to trace the process of building knowledge through these levels while keeping in mind the gap that results from having access only to the second term textbooks. This section outlines the contents of the sample textbooks under examination, grades 8 and 9 of the second term textbooks. In two separate tables, I give the textbook units, titles of lessons, the main topics of each lesson and the principle concepts in focus. I also highlight the particular lessons chosen for further examination in the data Chapter 7 and the reasons for choosing these lessons.

In the third section, I take the opportunity, in this research context, to discuss UNRWA's dedication of the special curriculum for Gaza where human rights is taught as an independent subject, with specialist staff. I discuss potential reasons for this given that UNRWA does not declare anything in this regard in the official website, the policy or the media. This discussion is important for the discourse

analysis as it indicates the impact of the discourse of HRCRT on the specific community of Palestinian refugees in Gaza. It also contribute to building the line of argument in the data analysis chapters that are to come next.

5.1. The HRCRT Policy Document

It is important to begin by clarifying the different concepts that interrelate in the articulation of the HRCRT policy document. In this document, there are references to the HRCRT *policy*, *programme*, *curriculum* and *approach*. Each of these concepts requires clarification before proceeding with the analysis to avoid confusion- see Appendix 3 for a copy of the HRCRT policy document.

The HRCRT *policy* refers to the overarching conceptualization of UNRWA's philosophy and goals for delivering a culture of human rights, conflict resolution and peace education in the areas where UNRWA operates. The strategic aims of the policy define its purposes of making the HRCRT programme more coherent, enhancing the delivery of the HRCRT curriculum, and ensuring harmony between the programme and UNRWA's continuous reforms (UNRWA, 2012, p.4). The HRCRT policy is a new document drafted in 2012 by UNRWA as part of its educational reform. It reflects the agency's mandate to provide 'quality education for Palestine refugees' (ibid, p. 9). The HRCRT policy sets out a common approach, a rights-based approach, for all UNRWA schools for the teaching and learning of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance as an independent subject or as an integral part of other school subject. In the case of the Gaza strip, human rights is an independent subject with a specialist staff and teaching materials delivered to grade 1 through 9 (ages 6- 14 years old).

UNRWA's policy echoes the efforts made by UNRWA in developing the HRCRT *programme* since its pilot project in Gaza and the West Bank in 1999 (UNRWA, 2012). The programme is guided by certain objectives that include the promotion of 'awareness and knowledge of fundamental rights of persons and of children; facilitation of student participation in decision-making in schools and the promotion of leadership skills amongst students; creation of violence-free school environments that facilitate teaching and learning' (ibid, p. 4). Here, the focus on the

schools and students gives the impression that the HRCRT programme is oriented only to schools' educational setting and environment. This blurs the boundaries between the curriculum and the programme and makes them more likely analogous. However, in reference to UNRWA's official website, which includes a description of the programme, it is clear that the programme involves another broader milieu. The programme has been under development since the pilot project and endorses the current principles of the HRCRT policy through the teachers' HRCRT toolkit, the curriculum, the school parliaments, the Vocational Training Centres (VTCs) and the university level scholarships support (UNRWA, 2017b).
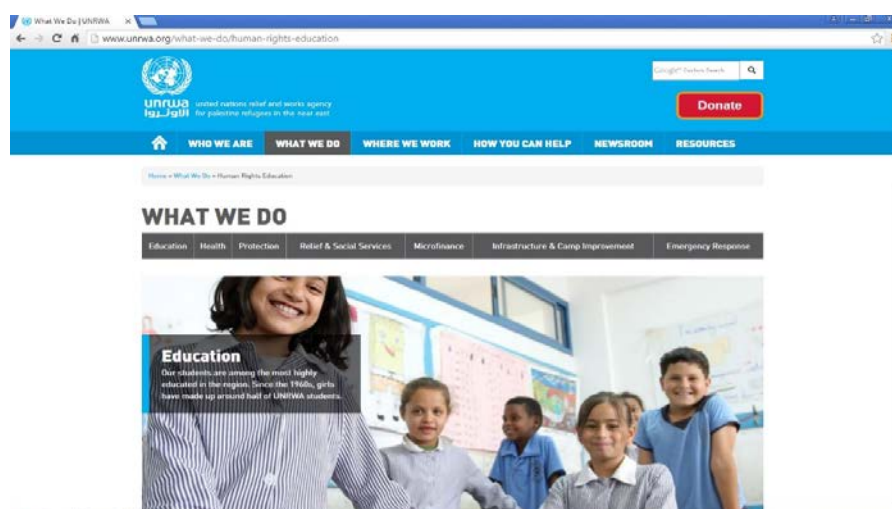
This distinction is important for the data analysis in two ways. First, it establishes that the *curriculum* constitutes only a portion of the whole programme and has its own features as part of UNRWA's formal educational system. Second, it helps pick out the aspects of this curriculum as reflected in the HRCRT policy document. This, in turn, helps define the boundaries of the curriculum, dedicated to the UNRWA schools in Gaza, when compared with the other four areas of UNRWA's operations- the West Bank, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. Based on the objectives of the HRCRT programme mentioned in the previous paragraph, it is apparent that the curriculum is mostly talked about in terms of the educational content and practices within school environments. However, the policy document emphasizes that the curriculum is also associated with the wider local community, which includes its social institutions, as well as the global one (UNRWA, 2012). The discussion of the aspects of the curriculum in the next section on UNRWA's HRE

curriculum aims at limiting the scope of the data gathered and analysed to certain aspects that are most relevant to the research focus.

Finally, to be able to foster the culture of human rights, UNRWA has developed a special ***approach*** to the learning-teaching practices, content and materials to ensure achieving a 'common understanding of the value of the human rights as a start point' (ibid, p. 8). A standardized culture of human rights informs the HRCRT approach, and therefore, gives it the label "rights-based". Some guiding principles of the HRCRT policy guide this rights-based approach in order to follow the standard language and discourse of HRE, as embedded in UN's institutions- more on this approach in the discussion of the data in Chapters 7 and 8. The preceding highlights indicate the use of at least two terms in the HRCRT document interchangeably to refer to UNRWA's delivery of the intended culture of human rights, the HRCRT *programme* and the HRCRT *curriculum*. Therefore, it is a priority, for this research, to focus on defining the features of UNRWA's curriculum in general terms in order to arrive at a clearer characterization of UNRWA's specific aspects of the HRE curriculum in Gaza. The following section outlines the aspects of this curriculum as reflected in the HRCRT policy document. It, then, continues to specify only three aspects to undergo examination that serves the research focus while explaining the reasons for choosing these particular aspects.

5.2. UNRWA's HRE Curriculum for Gaza

This section focuses on defining some aspects of the HRE curriculum as reflected in the HRCRT policy. However, it is crucial to establish the meaning of the term "curriculum" as various views contribute to generating different understandings of what makes a curriculum. Defining the term will help achieve three goals. Firstly, to make it as clear as possible what the term signifies throughout the thesis, i. e., the specific aspects of the curriculum that are chosen for the in-depth analysis. Secondly, it helps make the choice of the unit of analysis, taken from the policy document, justifiable and relevant to the research focus. Thirdly, it facilitates the process of identifying the features of the special HRE curriculum for Gaza in the following data chapters, and the unit of analysis taken from the sample textbooks.

To begin with, the term curriculum, must not denote the content knowledge of the teaching process at schools. This axiomatic assumption is in frequent use by some to refer to the curriculum when it, in fact, can only refer to the syllabus, which constitutes only part of the total curriculum. A curriculum involves different dimensions that go beyond just the content material. Kelly's (2009) aspects of curriculum study elaborates on these dimensions of what a study of the curriculum should focus on. Kelly's (2009) key aspects, for instance, include the strategies for the curriculum change and control, assessment, evaluation, appraisal and accountability, the politicization of the curriculum, and the curriculum planning (pp. 17-20). Some of these vital aspects of curriculum, and others, are evident or implied in the HRCRT policy document although not referred to as "aspects of the curriculum". I outline these "aspects", Diagram 5.1, in relation to the elements included in the policy document to come up with an understanding of what is to be considered as aspects of UNRWA's HRE curriculum in Gaza.

First, the policy positions the HRE curriculum within UNRWA's general strategic and educational reform frameworks as well as the educational systems of the host countries. This is a very important aspect as it provides insight into UNRWA's HRE framework as informed by the International Human Rights System (IHRS), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and other UN bodies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and academics (UNRWA, 2012, p. 5). This positioning also sheds light on the use of language to communicate certain standards for delivering the HRE programme and curriculum. This is evident in stating the instruments and standards, as adopted by the General Assembly, to inform the HRE approach. These instruments include the 'UDHR (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ICCPR (1966), the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights ICSECR (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Convention on the Rights of the Child CRC (1989), the Convention of Rights of Persons with Disability CRPD (2006), the World Programme for Human Rights Education WPHRE(2005- ongoing) and the related plans of action, and the Declaration of Human Rights Education and Training (2011)' (ibid, p. 5).

Second, the document states the key elements of the HRCRT policy which constitute one of the aspects of the curriculum. This is because the key elements indicate UNRWA's philosophical and theoretical framework for the HRE programme and curriculum. This section of the policy aims at concretizing the connections between the strategic frameworks, reform processes and the educational systems of the host countries, and the intended common standards, principles and objectives of HRE at UNRWA schools. This is a vital aspect of the curriculum as it sets out a definition for HRE which will be analysed to arrive at an understanding of one of the corner stones of the curriculum design. It is also pivotal because it also affirms a selection of guiding principles of the HRCRT policy and vision that the research will examine in the next two chapters in relation to the local context.

A third aspect of the curriculum pertains to the teaching and learning process at UNRWA schools by setting out the learning objectives that UNRWA expects the teachers and learners to meet. There are three elements that UNRWA considers as pillars for supporting the teaching-learning process: the learning competencies, the teaching practices and the curricular approach- these elements form the "Teaching and Learning" in the top right side of Diagram 5.1. The curricular approach, as referred to earlier, is the rights-based approach which determines the "adequate" teaching practices for the purpose of achieving the learning outcomes. Therefore, the teaching-learning process is an essential aspect in the design of the curriculum. It is one of the aspects for the study and analysis of the curriculum in Chapter 7.

A forth aspect of the curriculum is the teacher training and professional development. This involves the teachers' employment, their training in a pre-service setting and their in-service professional development (ibid, p. 12). Within the context of the special HRE curriculum in Gaza, the rights-teachers' professional development is promoted through the special training they receive while teachers of other subjects also receive training for integrating the HRCRT principles in the subjects they teach (ibid, p. 12). In the other areas where UNRWA operates, teachers of other subject also integrate these principles in the subjects they teach, but they do not teach HRs subject-specific classes. In addition, UNRWA ensures that the pre-service and the in-service teachers undergo the necessary training and professional development programmes to be able to change the classroom practices to fit with the HRCRT

approach. In Gaza, UNRWA is aware of the process of recruiting teachers who show commitment to the values of human rights.

Diagram 5.1 An Outline of the HRCRT Policy Document.
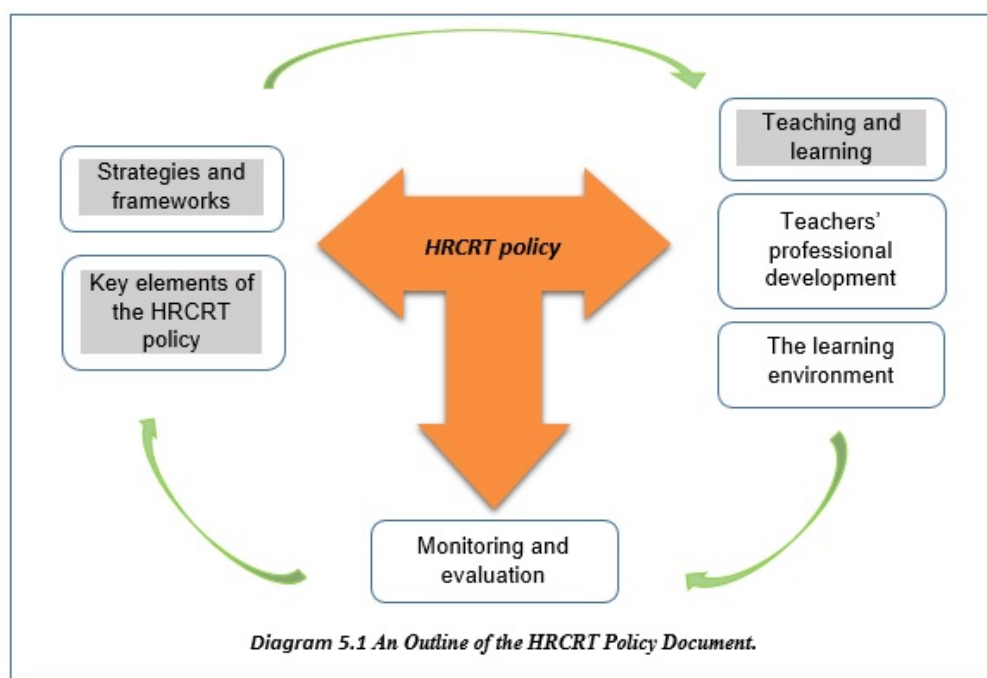
Another fifth aspect of the curriculum is concerned with the desired learning environment. The main characteristic of this environment is its rights-based approach. As reflected in the policy document, this environment is to be free of abuse, violence, harassment, bullying and corporal punishment (ibid, p. 13). The policy stresses the role of the schools' management in providing stimulating and safe spaces for the reinforcement of the HRCRT principles and objectives. It also states the teachers' roles in the "rights-based" schools as well as the experiences the learners will be exposed to within these schools' settings. The implementation of the HRCRT approach in schools aims at establishing and maintaining a link between the schools, the government and the wider community (ibid, p. 13).

The sixth and final aspect for the study of curriculum is the monitoring and evaluation criterion. This criterion has more focus on three of the aspects mentioned above: the teaching and learning, the teachers' professional development, and the learning environment. That is in addition to some "cross-cutting" issues underpinning the HRCRT approach, i. e., gender, youth, protection, inclusive education/disability, and educational environment (ibid, p. 17). UNRWA sets the

methodologies and data collection strategies for monitoring and evaluation, as part of the education reform plans, to measure and evaluate the implementation of the HRCRT approach in relation to the intended outcomes and expectations. The aim is to trace the progress and effectiveness of the whole HRCRT programme.

Based on the above description of what the curriculum consists of, the research takes only the first three aspects of the curriculum for the analysis in the following chapter, as highlighted in grey in Diagram 5.1 above. I elaborate on these three aspects in the following chapter while discussing the "unit of analysis", which makes the research analysis more focused. The following section also focuses on supplying an overview of the human rights textbooks in Gaza in order to clarify the choice of the specific sample for analysis from the lower secondary level, grades 7, 8 and 9.

5.3. Human Rights Textbooks in Gaza

Two main phases guide the exploration of the primary and secondary level textbooks in this section. First, the content and progress of knowledge building in the primary level textbooks, and second, the content of the banned secondary level ones. The former phase traces the development of the textbooks, grades one through six (ages 6- 11) while the second phase explores the grades 7, 8 and 9 (ages 12-14).

Exploring the primary level textbooks[31] involves looking at the general themes, topics and orientation of these textbooks, to embark on a conclusion as to why these textbooks are not problematic as the case is with the secondary level ones. As stated in the first chapter of this thesis, UNRWA has introduced the primary level textbooks into the schools it runs in 2009. Since then, the students have been learning about human rights as enshrined in the UDHR 1948. In this scan of the primary level textbooks, I identify the major themes in these textbooks for two reasons. First, it helps in developing an understanding of the gradual progress from the primary to the secondary levels. Second, it also shows the degree of coherence between both levels. By coherence, I mean the development of the material taught to the students from simple to more complex information, as well as tracing the representation of aspects of the Palestinian history, culture and lived experiences.

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[31] This exploration covers the 1st and 2nd term textbooks because they are still in use, and I could gain access to them easily.

Grades 1 and 2 generally focus on representing some of the human rights as enshrined in the UDHR. Mainly, article 1 on dignity and humane treatment for all human beings, article 2 on the preservation of rights for all without discrimination of any kind, article 19 on the freedom of expression, article 24 on the right to rest and leisure and article 29 on conforming to the state's laws while practicing human rights. These rights are contextualized within stories represented through animal illustrations, classroom and schools environments, or within family contexts. The activities within the lessons are situational in the sense that learners learn to negotiate and apply these rights according to the situations inscribed. Notably, these situations reflect everyday life experiences, however, they are divorced from the political context and the ongoing conflict.

Grade 3 progresses on in a similar fashion. It focuses on representing the same rights while adding others. For example, the right to education (article 26 of the UDHR and article 28 of the CRC), the right to participation in social life (article 21), the right to property (article 17) and the right to intellectual protection (article 27). Interestingly, the lessons that address the rights to education and property are the only lessons where direct connections are made to the UDHR. They are stated in the beginning to the lessons for the teachers to ensure that learners make these connections while executing the activities. The scan of grade 4 textbooks reveals that it includes a repetition of the previously mentioned rights and an addition of other rights such as the right to have good standards of living (article 25), equal opportunities for all (article 23) and the right to protection of one's life and reputation (article 12). Again, direct connections are made to the UDHR (articles 12, 17 and 25) and to the CRC (article 16, on privacy). Learners study these rights within a variety of situations and stories incorporated in the lessons. With regard to the right to freedom of expression (article 19), Marcel Khaleefa and Mahmoud Darweesh feature in one activity as Palestinian singer and poet, respectively, to represent positive ways of expressions. This is the only instance where the textbooks represent one aspect of the Palestinian culture.

Grade 5 textbooks focus on reinforcing a large number of the rights studied in the grades 1 through 4. They, however, extend to include more civil rights such as the right to vote as a part of the right to participate in social and political life (article

27) and acceptance of election results as a form of democracy, although the word "democracy" is not stated directly. Other important issues are also highlighted in these textbooks such as gender equality that reinforces article 2 of the UDHR on rights with no discrimination. For the first time, the first term textbook dedicates a lesson that focuses on "peaceful" congregations in relation to the right to freedom of expression.

Grade 6 textbooks are different in their detailed content and more focused themes. Similar to the previous grades, grade 6 textbooks reinforce the previously learnt rights but within a different and more concrete design or frame. Unlike the other textbooks, the concept of tolerance appears in the grade 6 textbooks, and informs most of the lessons' topics. The first three lessons of the first term textbook focus on the ideas of tolerance and acceptance of differences while the next 4 lessons focus on anger management by employing, mainly, the rights to freedom of expression, dignity/respect and the right to property (articles 19, 1 and 17). Lessons 8, 9 and 10 of the first term textbook, focus on employing these rights amongst others for resolving issues. These lessons hold the statement "I listen to you…so I respect you!" The last three lessons are enlisted under the title "conflict resolution without violence". They focus on reinforcing attitudes and skills for conflict resolution away from violence. The situations where these skills and attitudes are discussed are limited to classroom, school, family or social contexts regardless of the actual political conflict context.

Grade 6's second term textbook develops these ideas to emphasize the importance of human rights for reinforcing respect and tolerance. In this textbook, there is more focus on promoting positive behaviours for conflict resolution. Under the title of "generating alternatives to conflict resolution", the first 7 lessons focus on developing the necessary skills for this purpose. Then, lessons 8 and 9 focus on introducing the concept and traits of a "mediator", "peace-maker" by emphasizing the importance and role of human rights in the construction of these qualities. Lessons 10 through 13 focus on the importance of the qualities of "courage" and "responsibility" for decision making and conflict resolution.

There are perhaps two principles to be drawn from the content and construction of the primary level textbooks. First, the content is divorced from the local socio-political context that has ramifications on the lives of Palestinians living in Gaza, including the Palestinian refugee learners. The Palestinian cultural aspects are absent from representation in these textbooks. The imagined situations where human rights are discussed are contextualised within a realm that does not reflect the real lives of these learners. Second, the behaviours, skills and attitudes that are desired to be achieved through these textbooks are valuable for developing and promoting skills at the inter-personal level. This poses a question as to whether or not these skills can be transferable to the wider context where aspects of the political conflict become more challenging for the promotion of the UN's specific culture of human rights. In relation to the progress and knowledge building from the primary to the secondary levels, the scan of these textbooks reveals that the concepts of tolerance and conflict resolution are introduced specifically in the grade 6 textbooks. One interpretation for this is the intent to prepare the learners for the more complex and rich content in the secondary level textbooks. For this, the following section supplies an overview of the secondary level textbooks to highlight the process of transition from one level to another.

5.3.1. An Overview of the Secondary Level Textbooks

The grade 7 second term textbook is one of the textbooks that are suspended because of the Hamas government's opposition in 2014. I start here by giving some context of part of the content of this textbook (as I could gain access to only the first two units) to be able to arrive at a clear explanation as to why this textbook does not receive the same attention given to the other two grades of 8 and 9. This context also helps to trace the progress of building knowledge from one grade to another and the evolvement of the themes. I do not apply protocol 2 for the examination of the grade 7 sample. Instead, I scan its content in search for the themes, objectives and the representation of Palestinian cultural aspects political context. Therefore, this description of the content aims at highlighting these aspects by pointing out the instances where the content of the sample reflects them.

In the beginning of the grade 7, 2nd term textbook, there is a connection made to the previously discussed content materials of the first term, the unprinted one. This connection is not clear though. The first activity in lesson 1 is about the cycle of human rights, which holds in its core the three necessities for the good quality of life, the right to health, the right to shelter and to food which resonate with the primary level textbooks. The activity asks the learners to reflect on these previously studied aspects of the economic, social and cultural rights. This informs the research that the first term textbook was more likely planned to focus on an overview of the economic, social and cultural rights while the 2nd term textbook focuses on the expansion of the understanding of these rights. The civil and political rights are not mentioned in the first two units. There is possible speculation as to where they may be discussed. The civil and political rights may be located for discussion in the same second term textbook, the units that I had no access to. Eventually, this supports the possibility that the grade 7 teaching materials revolve around the two UN covenants of the year 1966, the International Covenant on the Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

The scan of the units in the second term textbook, grade 7, asserts that the content intends to expand the learners' understanding of the economic, social and cultural rights. The first lessons establish the importance of the indivisibility of the human rights as a corner stone of all the UN human rights instruments. 'The universal nature of these rights and freedoms is beyond question' and 'All human rights are universal, indivisible. Interdependent and interrelated' (OHCHR, 2017)[32]. This is to reassure the inseparability of the rights taught in the textbook. This is evident in the textbook lessons which focus on three rights that are necessary for guaranteeing a good "quality of life". These are the right to education, the right to health services and the right to shelter. The textbook introduces these three rights to the learners as one example of the indivisibility of human rights, as embedded in the lessons' objectives that the teacher are to achieve. The first unit comprises three

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[32] For details, see OHCHR. (2017). *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action: Adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna on 25 June 1993*) [Online]. Available at: http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/Vienna.aspx (Accessed 20 November 2017).

lessons that are concerned with the three rights just mentioned. The lessons' objectives aim at expanding the learners' understanding of the economic, social and cultural rights. The objectives also stress the need for the learners to see the strong bond between these rights. The second unit includes two lessons that focus on the rights of special groups with disabilities. Similar to the first unit, the objectives are sat to meet with the lessons' themes and the value of the indivisibility of human rights.

With regard to this sample of the textbook, there are specific references to some religious and some aspects of the Palestinian political context. The religious aspects are represented through the Islamic perspective as most of the residents in the Gaza are Muslims and Islamic values constitute a huge part of the Palestinian culture. For example, the textbook addresses the right to education within the context of the HRE discourse but it also represents Islamic belief and perspective, which views education as essential, valuable and praiseworthy. This is evident in some activities in lesson 1 where a verse from Quran and a text from Hadith, which is the words said by Prophet Mohammed, appear to encourage the learners to think of Islam's perspective on the right to education, and the roles of the family and the state in promoting this right. The rights to shelter and health are discussed in the second and third lessons from the perspective of the human rights discourse as rights for all to have and enjoy. Nonetheless, some activities of these lessons echo the political situation by asking the learners to discuss the reality of the Palestinians' experiences in relation to these two rights. Such experiences include the Israeli demolishing of houses, bombing, displacement and the Palestinians' challenges in accessing health services.

The main observation of this textbook scan is the relative absence of the theme of conflict resolution and tolerance. Tolerance is implied in the second unit in relation to the rights of the special groups with disabilities, mainly, to promote attitudes and values of respect, acceptance and inclusivity in the community. The overall brief description and the remarks made on the scanned material of the grade 7 textbook content indicate that the main theme in the textbook is the economic, social and cultural rights, which are represented as factual knowledge that is supported by UN legal instruments. The scanned material highlights, where possible, the

connection between these rights and the reality of the Palestinian experiences, and allows a space for discussing and reflecting on that.

5.3.1.1. Grade 8 Textbook

The grade 8, second term textbook, is not divided into units. Rather, it comprises 13 lessons as a whole. In order to impart more clarity, for analysis purposes, I divided the lessons into 5 units. Instead of giving a detailed description of the content of the textbook, the following Table 5.1 summarizes the titles of the lessons, the topics discussed, the main concepts and the units they are classified within-translated from Arabic:

No	Lesson Title and Topics Discussed	Main Concepts	Unit
1	Humane treatment for all. [Gandhi's humane actions during the Boer war].	-Peaceful resistance.	*Gandhi's humane actions and the independence of India.*
2	Independent India. [India's independence from colonial rule and the tension between the religious communities].	-Peaceful resistance. -Civil disobedience. -Independence. -Partition.	
3	The racial segregation "Apartheid" regime in South Africa. [The beginnings of the racial segregation regime and its legal basis in South Africa during the colonial period].	-Racial segregation regime "Apartheid". -Afrikaans. -Apartheid. -Racial discrimination.	*Mandela, language rights and the Racial segregation "Apartheid" in South Africa.*
4	Soweto Uprising.	-Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).	

	[The Language Rights and the students' resistance against the educational policies of the racial segregation's regime].	-Language/Linguistic rights. -Demonstration. -International Boycott.	
5	Nelson Mandela. [The role of Nelson Mandela, as a political leader, in the struggle for change of the racial segregation regime in South Africa].	-The African National Congress (ANC). -Boycott. -Civil disobedience. - Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). -Strikes.	
6	Human rights advocates. [The heroes from the dominant culture who defended human rights]. -Richard Goldstone. -Helen Suzman. -Betty Williams. -Mairead Corrigan.	-Stereotypes. -Advocates for human rights.	*Advocates for human rights.*
7	Rigoberta Menchú Tum. [The Maya culture and the efforts of Rigoberta Menchú Tum].	-Indigenous people. -Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples.	
8	The ethnic discrimination period in the USA. [Ethnic discrimination in the USA as a context for the civil	-Racial discrimination. -Civil rights movement.	*Racial discrimination and the civil*

			rights movement in the USA/Martin Luther King and other human rights activists in the USA.
	rights movement].		
9	Martin Luther King and his dream. [The background of Martin Luther King and his vision for change].	-Racial discrimination. -Inequality on the basis of race.	
10	Martin Luther King and the peaceful change strategy. [The relationship between the strategies adopted by the civil rights movement and the efforts of Ghandi in India].	-Boycott. -Civil disobedience.	
11	Rosa Parks and boycotting the buses in Montgomery. [The event which ignited the spark of the peaceful civil rights movement].	-Racial discrimination. -Apartheid. -Social integration. -The Higher Court. -Ku Klux Klan (KKK).	
12	Brown v. Board of Education case. [The verdict of the high court in the USA to end racial segregation at schools and educational institutions].	-The Higher Court of the USA. -The USA's constitution. -Separate but equal. -Social integration.	
13	The heroes of human rights in history.	-The human rights hero.	Heroes of human rights [Can be

| | [Analysing the personality traits, actions and systems of belief of the representatives of human rights, studied in grade 8]. | | combined with (6)]. |

<div align="center">

Table 5.1 Table of Content- 2nd Term of the Grade 8 Textbook

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This summary helps contextualize the content of the second term textbook, but it neither gives any indications to the content discussed in the first term textbook nor does it hint at what is to come in the following grade 9, first term textbook. Therefore, I reiterate here that the examination of the proposed material stands as a sample to be able to depict the most important component under analysis, which is the discourse of HRCRT.

5.3.1.2. Grade 9 Textbook

The second term textbook of grade 9 is divided into two units. The following table summarizes the content of the textbook, as has been done with the grade 8 textbook:

No	Lesson Title and Topics Discussed	Main Concepts	Unit
1	The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)'s support for the victims. [Medical aid- Prisoners' protection and the reinforcement of the laws of the IHL].	-Aid. -Reinforcement. -Monitoring.	
2	Military necessity and proportionality. [Military necessity and the proportionality principle].	-Military necessity. -Proportionality.	
3	The responsibility of the	-The international community.	

		international community.	-Random weapons.	
			-Military targets.	
		[The responsibilities of the international community towards the reinforcement of the basic rules of the IHL].		
	4	Armed conflicts in the twentieth century. [Cambodia (1975- 1979) The Khmer Rouge (KR)]. [The genocide in Rwanda (1994)]	-The international community.	
	5	Armed conflicts in the Balkans in the twentieth century. [Ethnic cleansing in the Balkans]. [Srebrenica massacre (1995)].	-Ethnic cleansing.	*The reinforcement of the International Humanitarian Law (IHL).*
	6	The international slackness and conflict. [The Congo war (1996-1998)].	-The international community.	
	7	Refugees and the right to return.	-The right to return. -Reinforcing legal rights.	

	[Bosnia and Herzegovina].		
8	Truth and reconciliation commissions. [Truth and reconciliation commission in South Africa].	-Non-judicial. -Truth and reconciliation commission. -Reconciliation. -Amnesty. -Escaping from punishment. -Restorative justice.	
9	Nuremburg trails and their legacy in the international criminal law. [Nuremburg International Military Tribunal]. [The legacy of the Nuremburg trails].	-International Court. -The international criminal law. -Nuremburg principles.	*Justice and post-conflict memories.*
10	Temporary courts. [Temporary courts for war crimes as the guardian for justice post violations of the IHL]. [The international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia].	-Temporary court. -International accountability systems. -The international community. -The international tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. -Integrity. -Transparency. -National courts.	
11	The International Criminal Court.	-The International Criminal Court. - Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.	

	[The International Court's jurisdiction and functions].	-Jurisdiction. -State Sovereignty. -Legal basis.	
12	The International Court of Justice (ICJ). [The International Court of Justice's jurisdiction and functions]. [The separation wall in the West Bank].	-The International court of Justice. - Adversarial judicial proceedings. -A binding decision.	
13	The prevention of conflict through tolerance. [Reinforcing the culture of peace and tolerance through education and arts]. [Religious tolerance].	-Tolerance education. -Racial diversity. -Multi-nationalities. -Commemorating. -Reconciliation. -Rehabilitation.	
14	Imagining a peaceful world. [Students continue projects on the reinforcement of tolerance].	-Tolerance education.	

Table 5.2 Table of Content- 2nd Term of Grade 9 Textbook

I take 4 lessons for the detailed CDA in Chapter 8. These lessons are highlighted in grey in the two tables of content, as shown above. In Chapter 8, I explain the choice of these lessons, in particular, as the unit of analysis on which I apply protocol 2 for data collection and analysis.

5.4. The Special HRE Curriculum in the Gaza Strip

The fact that the UNRWA dedicates a special HRE curriculum to the Gaza Strip raises questions with regard to the exclusion of the West Bank and the other countries that host Palestinian refugees. The questions raised are mainly concerned with the reasons for making Gaza a special case, and the UNRWA's strategic goals that are intended from this dedication. I discuss the following possible explanations as a way of speculating rather than making any unsubstantiated statements or hypotheses.

First, as indicated in Chapter 1, section 1.2.2, on the significance of the research, UNRWA provides services to more of the population in the Gaza Strip than in the West Bank. Therefore, the discourse of HRCRT has the potential to reach out to a wider community of refugees in Gaza, 1.3 million registered refugees of which are 240.400 students (UNRWA, 2017c). This potential guarantees a wide spread of the culture of human rights that UN promotes through its institutions and projects. The discourse of human rights, conflict resolution, peace and tolerance finds its way into the public lives of the refugee community through the institutionalization of this discourse. The role of this research is to analyse this discourse to be able to show the extent to which this speculation is true.

Second, with regard to the Oslo Accords 1993 and the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip 2005, this offers a possibility for imagining the Gaza Strip as a post-conflict region. This entails the inclusion of a human rights discourse that informs the local population of their rights and duties to fulfil the requirements of maintaining the peace process and engaging in the political proceedings to arrive at a definitive resolution. The same applies to the field of education in which the named discourse runs through UNRWA's educational institution, the teaching practices and the environment to spread the culture of human rights and mould attitudes and skills that mainly aim at peacebuilding. The initial analysis, Chapter 6, shows that the secondary level textbooks focus on the concepts of tolerance, conflict resolution and peaceful resistance which all contribute to achieving this aim. The inclusion of a HRE curriculum is not in itself the problematic issue under such circumstances, but rather, it is the limited view of the conflict that is problematic. That is primarily

because of addressing the macro levels of the conflict while skipping the roots of this conflict that hinder the process of teaching and learning about human rights.

Third, following from the point made about the aim of the discourse stated in the previous paragraph, and in reference to the objectives of the HRCRT programme above section 5.1, there can be some underlying assumptions that encourage the integration of a special HRE curriculum in Gaza. Some of these assumptions form as a consequence of Gaza's reputation as being confrontational with the Israeli occupation, for example, during the first, second Intifadas and the development of the role of armed resistance during the last 11 years of Hamas rule. Therefore, the most frequent assumption is the high level of violence among Palestinian youth and children in the Gaza Strip which necessitates intervention. UNRWA offers the HRE programme as a medium for promoting peace and conflict resolution in order to reduce the level of violence. I include these assumptions in the analysis of the discourse in the data Chapters 7 and 8.

Conclusion

This chapter has contributed with a descriptive account of some aspects of the HRE curriculum in Gaza along with the content of both the primary and the secondary level textbooks. This contribution is crucial for contextualizing the research in relation to three elements. First, it is crucial for clarifying the HRE curricular aspects as deduced from the HRCRT policy document, and hence, specifying the particular aspects of this curriculum for analysis in Chapter 7. Second, this contextualization helps have a general view of the content of the textbooks at the primary level that are still in use, and compare them with the secondary level sample textbooks. Third, this research context is important for speculating about the reasons for dedicating a special curriculum to Gaza.

The initial analysis in the following chapter applies the abridged FDA, borrowed from the field of discursive psychology (Willig, 2013), as explored in the methodology Chapter 4. The initial analysis aims at exploring the power dynamics in theorizing and designing the UNRWA's HRE policy and textbooks in Gaza by scanning the grade 8 textbook. The initial analysis is important for several reasons. First, it is one way of gaining familiarity with the data resources. Second, it helps in

maintaining the focus of the research on UNRWA's HRE curriculum while considering the other strongly related issues on identity construction and collective memory. Third, the initial analysis offers an opportunity for my epistemological development in the field of discourse analysis by which I can make informed decisions on the methodological choices for this research. Finally, the initial analysis offers remarks for further guidance for the further analysis to examine in more depth. The most important questions that guide the initial analysis are:

- Does the FDA offer theoretical and methodological guidance for the research? How/How not?
- What are the main issues for the further analysis to examine in Chapters 7 and 8?

CHAPTER 6

INITIAL ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter demonstrates the preliminary remarks and findings, gained from the initial analysis of the grade eight textbook in connection to UNRWA's HRCRT policy. This initial analysis contributes to the thesis in many ways. It helps in centring the focus on the research concerns rather than drifting away into other interconnected issues such as culture, ideology, resistance and history, to name a few. This helps me as a researcher to better locate the research object within different discourses surrounding the conflict. In the beginning, I focus on the learners' identity as the object of research. This changes towards the end, based on the findings of this chapter, and becomes the UNRWA's HRE curriculum in Gaza. The initial analysis moves us one step closer to identifying the "problem" of the textbook, specifically, by considering the dominant discourse of HRCRT that UNRWA promotes and reflects in the whole curriculum. The analysis is a preliminary phase for further analysis and it helps in mapping out the next process of the investigation. It plays a very important role in testing the chosen analytical framework, FDA, for purposes of refinement. Finally, it helps me to become clear about my positionality within the Critical theory paradigm.

This chapter examines one of the second term lower secondary level textbooks, the grade 8 textbook. The analysis traces the discourse of HRCRT as promoted through the UNRWA's policy in the textbook to cast light on major themes and topics, related to the discourse. This helps to move on to the further analysis embarking on links for understanding the impact the discourse has on the construction of the object of research "identity", and the role of UNRWA in this process. In addition, it indicates the extent of representation of the Palestinian history, memory and ongoing struggle for rights. The questions that guide this phase are:

- In what way is identity constructed in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?

- What themes and topics dominate the grade eight textbook and promote the discourse of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance?

For the initial analysis, I use the summarized version of FDA. I apply this framework as an exploratory process of the methodology's related-ness to the research topic, and its ability to respond to the research questions. The summarized version of the FDA lends itself to the field of discursive psychology research, as discussed in Chapter 4 previously (Willig, 2013; Parker, 2014). The choice of this methodology relies on the assumption that the dominant discourse is constitutive in social practices by a certain power balance, the UN body. However, the development of this exploratory application of the framework reveals the dialectic relationship between discourse and social practices, which guides the methodological choices for further analysis into a different dimension- as I explain near the end of this chapter.

The initial analysis therefore concludes with outlining the way in which the further analysis is carried out by applying the dialectical-relational approach to CDA, developed by Fairclough (2016). Furthermore, the remarks of the initial analysis narrow the focus of the research and state the areas that require further examination in the further analysis.

Key terms:

- *Government:* In this chapter only, it refers to the Hamas government in Gaza since 2007, unless stated otherwise.
- *MOEHE:* Represents both the Hamas government in Gaza and the PA in the West Bank after the *unity* of both the ministries in 2014.
- The Third MOEHE's (EDSP): Education Development Strategic Plan 2014-2019.

6.1. A Summarized Version of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA)

UNRWA introduced the second term of grade 8 human rights textbook in the school year 2013- 2014. Only the second term copies were printed in the February of that school year and distributed to UNRWA schools. This explains the reasons for not having access to the first term textbooks that UNRWA neither issued nor printed.

The MOEHE's opposition- administered by the Hamas government in Gaza- rejected these textbooks, and therefore, there is no access to the complete syllabus of the lower secondary level textbooks. In this initial analysis, I take only the grade 8 textbook for exploration by applying the summarized FDA version. The aim is to locate the research object, its process of construction within the surrounding discourses and the effects of the dominant discourse on the social practices in relation to the wider context.

As discussed in the methodology Chapter 4, frameworks and methods in CDA overlap according to the studied topic (Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak, 2011). I take this tenet as the ground for my heuristic approach in applying FDA framework in the initial analysis. Therefore, the analysis does not carry out a thorough FDA. Instead, it only tests this framework on a sample of the studied materials- the grade 8 textbook. FDA is concerned with capturing the relationship between discourses and the ways people think, feel (subjectivity), how they act (practice) and the material conditions surrounding and influencing their experiences (Willig, 2013, p.130). Willig acknowledges that for FDA to address these issues, it is indispensable for a researcher to carry out a thorough analysis based on Foucault's philosophy and thoughts, for example, historicity and the discursive formations over time. However, the abridged FDA that Willig (2013) develops remains focused on the most important elements of the Foucauldian analysis. Namely, the discursive resources of a text and the subject positions they contain, and the implications for subjectivity and practice (p. 131).

I initiate this analysis by applying the six stages of Willig's (2013) abridged FDA to the grade 8 textbook as the main source of data, and some aspects of the HRCRT policy. The stages of the analysis are; discursive constructions, discourses, action orientation, positioning, practice and subjectivity. As an "insider" to the Palestinian culture, I am the main tool in the analysis, as explained in the methodology Chapter 4. In each stage of the analysis, I relate the data from the textbook to my observations of HRE at UNRWA schools, and in juxtaposition with the wider socio-political and cultural context. I substantiate my observations by referring to some resources for the discursive construction of the research object, the MOEHE third education development policy, UNRWA's HRCRT policy and the

Hamas government's statements of opposition to the lower secondary level textbooks. Therefore, the data from the textbook, accompanied by data from the policies, feeds into the six stages of analysis. The data that emerges from the textbook reflects some of the key aspects articulated in the HRCRT policy. Hence, I highlight these aspects from the HRCRT policy as a reliable source for comparing and contrasting the data with my observations. These aspects are as follows:

- 'The key elements of the HRCRT policy,
- Teaching and learning,
- Teacher preparation and professional development,
- The learning environment' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 7- 15).

6.1.1. Discursive Constructions

The pivotal starting point for this discourse analysis is defining the 'problem' or the 'social wrong' (Altheide & Schneider, 2013; Fairclough, 2010, 2016). In Willig's (2013) terms, the analysis starts by defining the discursive construction of the 'discursive object' (p. 131), which is "identity" at this stage of the research. The object is derived from the research focus to investigate the representation of Palestinian identity in the HRE curriculum, and hence, identity is the discursive object for analysis. Identifying the discursive construction involves locating and explaining the different ways of the construction of the object by illuminating both the explicit and the implicit references to the object, within the text (only written and visual in this research).

A good place to start is the title and cover photo of the grade 8 textbook. The title is word-limited to "The Human Rights". However, the cover photo is more abstract and conveys a range of meanings depending on the perception of the reader although the authors/designers of the cover may limit the perceived meanings to specific dominating discourse while eliminating others meanings (ibid, p. 130). At the centre of the cover photo stands a visible bare branched tree with a thick trunk and thick branches that hold smaller branches and spread towards the sky. Underneath the tree gather a number of people (figures with no features) with arms spread out wide in a gesture of imploration towards the tree. At the side of the cover

photo appears a figure of a young boy holding the Palestinian flag up high with its distinctive four colours, red, black, white and green. The flag is formed by what looks like butterflies, or possibly the leaves flying off the tree to weave on the flag, which is also a symbol of Palestinian identity and unity.

The interpretation of the cover photo is highly dependent on knowing the designer of this photo. It is difficult to do that because of the fusion of co-authorship between the specialists from UNRWA, the Red Cross, human rights NGOs and the wider academic community (UNRWA, 2017b). I suggest two interpretations for this depiction. First, the tree as a powerful symbol of an olive tree. This is because in Palestinian culture, the olive tree represents the land, the history, resistance and resilience of the Palestinians. This interpretation is possible if the designer is an insider to the culture, or an outsider but sympathetic with the Palestinian cause. The more plausible second interpretation- for me as a researcher- is that the tree simply represents the tree of human rights while the figures underneath it represent equal individuals of the human family, regardless of their nationality, race, ethnicity, gender and any other classification. In either of the interpretations, the notion of identity is implicitly embedded in the cover photo and it is worthy of contemplation. It reveals powerful meanings, from my perspective as a researcher and as an insider to the Palestinian culture, but it is equally powerful for the observing eyes of the learners.

In another position, there is another instance of direct reference to the Palestinian identity in the HRCRT policy, as stated in its vision:

'To provide human rights education that empowers Palestine refugee students to enjoy and exercise their rights, uphold human rights values, be proud of their Palestinian identity, and contribute positively to their society and the global community' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 9).

The vision portrays Palestinian identity as something that "refugee" students are in need of and as a source of "pride". It is referred to as something that needs "empowering" to be proud of. The fact that upholding human rights values precedes

identity is significant when translated to Arabic, or when read by people with Arabic as their mother tongue. One of the characteristics of the Arabic language is the ability to front and pre-pose words and sentences within a sentence structure. This is possible for purposes of meaning, order of importance or chronological ordering. Referring to the policy vision, an Arabic linguist may interpret this as a prioritisation of delivering the knowledge-base of human rights- I explain "knowledge-base" further in the *practice* section 6.1.5. The Palestinian cultural Identity, in this sense appears to be constructed as a secondary element to the core objective of the HRE, the knowledge-base. The knowledge base refers to UNRWA's determination, as a UN entity, to promote the notion of universality of human rights values that are enshrined in the UDHR, 1948. Hence, the focus is shifted to constructing a global identity while preserving the cultural identity.

In relation to the literature on the global discourse of human rights in Chapters 2 and 3, UNRWA's inclusion of the HRE curriculum in Gaza acts as a means for introducing the culture of human rights, and citizenship and peace education. However, citizenship in itself stands a challenge because of the protracted nature of the Palestinian-Israeli ongoing conflict, which hinders the HRE curriculum from becoming a component for citizenship education. In comparison to another case, the inclusion of HRE in South African schools took place post-Apartheid, post 1994, where this inclusion would become a component for citizenship education and become a means for promoting the culture of human rights (de Preez, Simmonds and Roux, 2012, p. 84- 85). Therefore, legitimate concerns about the cultural identity emerge from this issue alone and make the inclusion of the HRE program in Palestine controversial. This controversy is evident, at least, in the language of the HRCRT policy's vision above. The policy reflects aspirations for empowering the refugee students to "enjoy" and "exercise" rights that they have not claimed, "uphold values" while tolerating oppression and "be proud" of an identity that is neither recognized internationally nor acquired legally. For example, "***Palestine refugee students***" and "***Palestinian identity***" in the vision statement indicates the unrecognised legal identity by referring to Palestinian refugees as *Palestine* refugees while associating *Palestinian* with identity to only refer to cultural identity. The use of concept of "empowerment" is elusive in this sense. It is obviously one step ahead

from the actual "claim" of human rights, sovereignty and statehood to the idealization of enjoying and exercising rights, and being proud of one's identity.

Seen from the previous discussion, there is a direct reference to the discursive object "identity" in the HRCRT policy but not in the textbook- except for the cover photo should the Palestinian flag be the symbol of identity. The absence of direct references to the discursive object in a text says a lot about the way in which it is constructed (Willig, 2013). For example, the Palestinian cultural identity, in this case, is constructed as a secondary element in the HRCRT policy's strategic planning. This maintains the role of UNRWA as a protector and a defender of the Palestinian refugees, as pledged upon its establishment. This role does not entail emancipation or transformation except at the level of building the knowledge base and the skills, as I discuss further ahead. This may, in turn, explain UNRWA's labelling of its approach to HRE as a rights-based approach, which is also an area for further exploration in this research, Chapters 7 and 8.

The discursive object is also constructed culturally through society within the different social institutions, formally, non-formally and informally- detailed in Chapter 3, section 3.2.1. The formal construction takes place through education at UNRWA, governmental and private schools by following the national curriculum, put forward by the MOEHE. The promotion of national identity is a core issue for the Palestinian Ministry's third EDSP 2014-2019, entitled "A Learning Nation". It is mentioned repeatedly in the vision along with the national priorities and international trends, and the strategic sector goals of the plan (MOEHE, 2014, p. 35-40). The vision of this EDSP is:

'To prepare human beings who are proud of their religious values, national identity, country, and their Palestinian, Arab and Islamic culture; who contribute to the development of their society; who think critically and actively seek knowledge, innovation and creativity; who interact positively with the requirements of scientific and technological development and are capable to compete; who are open to other cultures and regional and international markets; who are capable of building a society based on equality between males and females and upholding human values and religious

tolerance; and build up an education system which is accessible, diversified, multiple, flexible, effective, efficient, sustainable, responsive to local needs and qualitative.' (ibid, p. 35).

The national identity, religious values and culture of the region are among the priorities of the MOEHE's vision while maintaining certain characteristics of the international trends as shown in the last four lines. Although the EDSP text is not included in the data analysis in this research, it is extremely important for giving more context to the ways of construction of the discursive object. It also helps in understanding the reasons as to why this discursive object becomes part of the social wrong that is caught up between different discursive constructions. The informal construction of the learner's identity builds on that of the formal. The family, the mosque, the street, the television and the everyday social life, all contribute to strengthening the sense of belonging to the imagined state of Palestine- see Chapter 2, section 3 for more details. Undergoing everyday adversities caused by the occupation strengthens the process of identity construction that is resistant in principle. This may explain the prioritization of the national identity, values and culture in the MOEHE's vision. Therefore, under these influences of a culture/discourse of resistance, the concept of tolerance, becomes problematic and 'unstable' (Fletcher, 1996, p. 158) as it withholds resistance- I elaborate on this in the subsequent phases of the analysis.

6.1.2. Discourses

Discourses are situated and plural as the same discursive object can be constructed in different ways within different discourses (van Luvween, 2005; Willig, 2013). In the HRCRT policy vision, identity is constructed as a global project in progress. The policy focuses on engineering a global identity which is based on upholding the values of human rights and contributing to the global communities while preserving the Palestinian cultural identity of the learners. Different overlapping discourses are at play in the construction of the object. I discuss some of the most relevant discourses in this section.

In the textbook, the representation of the Palestinian identity figures in the cover photo, which can provide the learners with that feeling of belonging and pride. The

construction of the learner's identity in this sense falls under the influence of the global discourse of human rights, which aims at creating global tolerant identities that contribute to building and sustaining peace worldwide. There is another discourse that influences this identity construction, and it is political. Namely, the discourse of peace, which pertains to the Israeli claims of security, the Palestinian aspirations for a nation-state, and the international mediation in conflict resolution and peace building. This discourse became more crucial in the years following the Oslo Accords 1993, as a means for building and maintaining the peace process- as discussed in Chapter 1, section 1.1.3.1. The Ministry's educational policy echoes this discourse in, at least, the vision stated earlier. Consequently, the Ministry allows specific discursive constructions into the social institutions (education) that affect the social practices. In the more specific case of UNRWA's HRE, identity construction is embedded in the UNRWA's educational system through the discourse of HRCRT in order to regulate social practices- see Chapter 1, section 1.1.3.3, on this discourse.

One of the most important challenges that affects identity construction, as guided by UNRWA's discourse of HRCRT is the ongoing conflict. The inclusion of the HRE in Gaza is governed by the instability of the situation in Palestine as opposed to the earlier example I give on South African's post-Apartheid inclusion of HRE. This instability is an indicator of the challenges, if not haphazard, of this inclusion during conflict. With this instability going on, the discourse of HRCRT becomes problematic. The concept of tolerance is in itself vague in this context, and thus, it demands further investigation into its meaning, the reasons for its use and the functions in has in the process of the discursive identity construction. The word "tolerance" is stated, both implicitly and explicitly, in the title and in the main aspects of the HRCRT policy, and in the textbook. It is repeated more heavily in the textbook and activities than in the policy. The further analysis traces this discourse of tolerance and the related themes to be able to systematically capture the process of identity construction. This may support and add more depth to the preliminary findings presented in this chapter. It may, as well, challenge the findings, depending on the course of the further data-driven style of analysis in Chapters 7 and 8.

References to the local cultural and the historical events occur only in one lesson in the textbook. This is pertinent to the content of the textbook, which does

not tackle the conflict, history or culture, either explicitly or implicitly. The table of content, Chapter 5, section 5.3.1.1, contains no direct reference to Palestine, the Palestinian identity or any of the historical or contemporary events discussed in Chapter 1. The focus is wholly directed to demonstrating and reinforcing means of peaceful resistance by referring to a variety of examples taken from different contexts from certain parts of the world. Such examples come from the struggle for independence in India, the apartheid regime in South Africa and the racial segregation in the United States of America (USA). The lessons throughout the textbook show no direct reference to the Palestinian history or context. The activities following each lessons are no exception although a few activities convey possibilities for reflecting on the local context, although they be highly dependent on the teachers' training, practice and the bond with UNRWA's work ethics guidelines. There is, however, only one direct reference to the Palestinian context in activity 2 in lesson 4, *Soweto Uprising* against the apartheid practices. The activity illustrates a photo of the fourteen year old Palestinian boy "Faris Odeh" confronting an Israeli bulldozer with a stone in hand before being shot by an Israeli soldier. The learners are asked to only express how they feel about the picture. I take this activity/text, along with the image, for further analysis in Chapter 8, section 8.3.1.1.2, as forms of meaning making, 'semiosis' (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011, p. 357), which contributes to explaining the order of discourse in the textbook, as explained earlier in Chapter 4.

6.1.3. Action Orientation

The textual discourse analysis is closely aligned with the discursive contexts where the object is constructed (Willig, 2013, p. 132). This phase of the analysis focuses on the gains and functions of the specific construction of the object. It is therefore of extreme importance to closely examine the context where different discourses in the text function in the process of constructing identity. In the case of the Palestinian refugee learners, it is crucial to closely examine the discourse of HRCRT, its functions, strategies, implications and aims. Simultaneously, examining the local discourses on rights are equally crucial.

The local political, cultural and historical discourses, at least, are partially represented through the Hamas government's opposition to the content of the textbooks. Although this opposition is not elaborate, nor it is the definitive representation of the Palestinian population in Gaza- that is by keeping in mind the heterogeneous aspect of the Palestinian society as argued in Chapter 2- it does raise a legitimate concern that UNRWA is still not sensitive enough to the local discourses of right-hood- also discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, sensitivity, in this context, is not to be directly associated with the notion of cultural relativity, but rather, with recognition of the differing local discoursing of human rights and human rights culture. Moreover, the opposition indicates the government's own perspective on the discourse of resistance, which does not renounce violence as a means of resistance in the Palestinian struggle. One observation of this tension is that both discourses, the UNRWA's and the government's, appear to each other to be extremes in spite of their endeavours to express openness to one another, for example by forming a joint committee to revisit the textbooks- explained in Chapter 1, section 1.2.2. These extremes figure in UNRWA's promotion of peaceful resistance at the time that the local government promotes armed resistance as the only way to end injustice. One interpretation is that the government perceives the discourse of HRCRT as part of the more general discourse of pacification in which tolerance and tolerant attitudes are prerequisites for peace-building. It is in this context that the concept of tolerance is problematic because pacification overlooks the power dynamics are at play that normalize the terms of oppression and injustices.

This resonates with Brown's (2008) idea of modalities of tolerance, which refers to using the concept differently in accordance with the local contexts (p. 3). The model of tolerance, as represented through the UNRWA's HRE programme, takes on board the Western construct of the meaning it conveys. This model of tolerance is utopian in a sense that it is depoliticised and de-contextualized from the conflict- as discussed in chapter 1 section 1.1.3.1. The liberal and individualistic logics are two of what Brown (2006) identifies as sources of de-politicization that guide the conceptualization of tolerance, and facilitate the achievement of peace and coexistence while sweeping the roots of the conflict under the carpet. One way for this to function is that UNRWA institutionalizes the discourse of HRCRT in its

educational system and practices to serve the discourse. The right-based approach to HRE lends itself to providing the space and medium for achieving this aim- see the Right-based approach in Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.3. Chapters 7 and 8 examine this approach to capture the specific discursive practices, strategies or constructs of the dominant discourse to be able to substantiate this argument on the de-politicization of tolerance and de-contextualization of content of the textbooks.

The extent to which the right-based framework has a transformative quality is not the highlight of the UNRWA's efforts as an international body. The framework is indeed learner-centred and aim-driven in a sense that the policy clearly reflects the goals, structure and function of the offered HRE program. This demonstrates that UNRWA is keen to equip the learners with the knowledge, attitudes and skills that are essential for making them future defenders of human rights. This is well linked with the content of the lessons in the grade 8 textbook. The textbook introduces the learners to role models and heroes of human rights across history and in different contexts- mentioned in the previous section. Therefore, the question of the quality of transformation remains an issue for exploration in further analysis. It may as well add to the government's argument on the ideology underpinning UNRWA's efforts. There is the assumption that UNRWA's performance leads to the normalization of the situation rather than transforming it. This assumption, I base on my preliminary observations at UNRWA schools, as expressed by staff members who do not necessarily teach human rights. Therefore, this initial analysis highlights the importance of understanding UNRWA's role in mediating between the discourse and social reality.

Combining the model of tolerance with the educational approach contributes to forming the discursive context where the construction of the object takes place. This combination complements the process of construction of the discursive object by creating the UNRWA's required educational environment and practices. The HRCRT policy adopts the right-based framework for the HRE program to build an 'holistic approach to teaching and learning that reflects human rights values' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 9). This approach works on three levels: the learner competencies, the teaching practices and the curricular approach. The first focuses on the competencies that are expected to be gained by the learners. These competences

are presented within interconnected categories of knowledge, attitudes and skills. The second emphasizes that the structure and practices reflect 'the ethos of the teaching and learning environment as one of inclusivity, respect and empowerment' (ibid, p. 11). The final level mainly involves the development and enrichment of the teaching materials, supports teachers use of existing materials and/or development of new ones to help the learners acquire the expected competences (ibid, p. 11).

From the discussion above, the context where the object is constructed maintains the consistency of the discourse and the discursive constructions. While UNRWA constructs the learners' identity as tolerant and advocating for human rights, the local constructions continue to construct an identity that is predominantly nationalist[33].

6.1.4. Positioning

The emergent discourses from the texts affect the learners who are the recipients of the ideologies and agendas entrenched in these discourses. 'Discourses construct subjects as well as objects' (Willig, 2013, p. 135). Willig differentiates between roles and positioning by highlighting that the latter involves subjective identification which has implications for subjectivity (ibid, p. 135).

Within the discourse of peace, the Palestinians' objections and reactions to the Israeli occupation's practices are framed by the political discourse as failing the peace process and clinging to violence instead. The Palestinian refugee learners, in turn, are more likely to be assumed as violent subjects that need to be tamed and trained for peace making and tolerance. Thus, the discourse of resistance becomes irrelevant in this case. By contrast, the discourse of tolerance, promoted by UNRWA, positions the Palestinian learners as future advocates for human rights which demands that they develop attitudes that renounce violence. The only form of resistance that is praised is "peaceful resistance" which has considerable focus in the textbook. I generalize that all the activities covered in the textbook aim at reinforcing this notion- Chapter 8 provides a detailed textual analysis to discuss this notion as an inseparable part of the discourse and discursive practices. Here, the excessive use of the notion of peaceful resistance, in relation to the subject position, may present a

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[33] Based on the discussion in Chapters 2 and 3, constructing a nationalist identity does not necessarily indicate that this construct contradicts with the "values" of human rights.

new dimension for understanding the kind of tolerance that is intended by UNRWA. There is a possibility to see this tolerance as more associated with Palestinians accepting differences of the "other". The "other" being the Jewish people as a different ethnic or religious group rather than a settler community that is part of a larger political ideology, Zionism.

One of the key elements of the HRCRT policy is the definition of the HRE in which 'understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 7) are among the skills and attitudes that the World Program for HRE aims to foster among the learners. The point in this, in the Palestinian-Israeli context of conflict, is that it works with the discourse of tolerance being 'depoliticized' (Brown, 2006). One way to de-politicize tolerance is by reducing human suffering into feelings/differences, and shifting the focus from the issue of justice to constructing behaviours and attitudes of respect and sensitivity (ibid, p). Willig (2013) explains that the speakers, in this research the learners, can take up positions that are made available by the discourses surrounding them (p. 135). This suggests that the learners have to negotiate and take up positions depending on the degree of influence of the surrounding discourses. This, in turn, is directly related to the identity formation which becomes discursively constructed by the depoliticized discourse of HRCRT in HRE settings. This is one interpretation that can only be proven or challenged by carrying out the further analysis.

Based on the above, the positioning of the learners (subjects) joint with the discursive construction of the learner's identity (object) in the textbook raises issues and calls for a reconsideration of some of the concerns stated by the government's opposition, 2014. This reconsideration intends to focus on identity construction rather than the justification of the government's position and ideology.

6.1.5. Practice

Discourses have the ability to limit what can be said and done by constructing certain ways of viewing the world, and by giving particular positions to the subjects within this world (Willig, 2013, p. 136). Analysing "practice" at this stage refers to carrying out 'a systematic exploration of the ways in which discursive constructions

and the subject positions contained within them open up or close down opportunities for action' (ibid, p. 136).

As explained in the earlier stages of this analysis, cultural identity is constructed as a secondary, but still an important requirement for Palestinian refugees. The more important construct, however, is the global tolerant identity by which the subjects can 'contribute positively to their society and the global community' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 9). The subject position in this construction is that of global citizens who principally protect human rights and contribute to the global community while preserving their history, culture and identity. The absence of reference to the Palestinian identity in the grade 8 textbook may be interpreted- from the local culture's perspectives- as a gradual erosion of this identity. On another level, de-politicization of tolerance, in the way discussed above, results in replacing 'the project of justice with another one that is therapeutic or behavioural' (Brown, 2006, p.16). Based on Brown's argument, behavioural, attitudinal and emotional practices do not contribute to the transformation of the political situation, which, I argue, maintains the unresolved legal status of the Palestinians and their inability to claim rights.

The therapeutic/behavioural project links to UNRWA's rights-based approach, which includes elements of empowerment and transformation, yet it is not articulated as wholly transformative. The transformative approach is political and it involves an agency like UNRWA to take a political stand. UNRWA, however, assumes neutrality and does not declare any political stand because it is not authorized to do that[34]. UNRWA's performance is bound to its benevolent role in 'providing vital services for the well-being, human development and protection of Palestinian refugees' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 5). Therefore, the focus of UNRWA is on the benevolent aspects of providing services including education. This can be related to the assumption that UNRWA is, intentionally or unintentionally, pushing towards the normalization of the legal and political status of the Palestinian refugees.

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[34] This is because of the UNGA's resolution 302 reveals that no political role is ascribed to UNRWA in relation to the refugees' right to return (Bowker, 2003) - see Chapter 1, section 1.1.2.2.

The practices[35] that result from the application of UNRWA's HRCRT policy vision are most likely to be characterised as tolerant and peaceful, and in consequence, the emphasis on the notion of peaceful resistance is relevant. The set of practices UNRWA intends to integrate in the HRE curriculum offers a framework for peaceful resistance, conflict resolution and tolerance. This may, so far, explain the intense focus of the textbook and activities on peaceful resistance in relation to tolerance in the HRCRT policy.

6.1.6. Subjectivity

Continuing with the exploration of what can be said and done as a result of discursive practices, this stage focuses on highlighting what can be 'felt, thought and experienced from within various subject positions' (Willig, 2013, p. 136). The particular discursive practices guide the process of identity construction and affect the way the subjects' feel, experience the discursive events and act accordingly.

In the case of the Palestinian identity, on the one hand, the concepts of nationality and citizenship that are normally understood through the state in the present political logics, are denied from Palestinians because of the ongoing conflict. Palestinians, therefore, since Al-Nakba 1948 at least, have discursively developed their understanding of identity through their sense of belonging, which resurrects, from the cultural and historical deposit of memory, struggles and narratives (Kanaana, 2011). On the other hand, UNRWA's role focuses on the construction of an identity that is de-politicized, tolerant and aspiring for a peaceful future of the peace process. By positioning the learners as human rights advocates, through discursive practices, they develop degrees of 'subjective identification' (Willig, 2013, p.136), which affect the way they experience and think of their identities, and hence, reconstruct them. This ebb and flow of identity construction and reconstruction is informative of the functions of the dominant discourse and the power relations that regulate social practices. More importantly, it casts more light on the resultant social problems that occur as a consequence, such as that of the identity ambivalence.

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[35] I do not discuss specific practices I this analysis mainly because this analysis is based on an overall scan of the grade 8 textbook. However, I discuss specific discursive practices in relation to lessons and activities in Chapter 8.

Bjawi-Levine (2009) recognizes the 'problematic character of selfhood and identity in contemporary [Palestinian] society' (p. 83). However, in her research on children's rights discourse and identity at Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan- Al-Whidat and al-Emir Hassan camps- she argues that the legal position of these refugees creates an ambivalent understanding of selfhood and identity. Bjawi-Levine (2009), therefore, argues against standardizing definitions of these concept by understanding that they are negotiated within the contexts of the individuals. This is extremely important for the research as it demonstrates that the complicated legal status of the Palestinian refugees alone is a cause of ambivalence in an era of rights that they cannot claim. With the ongoing conflict, positioning of these learners as tolerant advocates for human rights causes deeper feelings of ambivalence regarding their identity, be it cultural or global.

In conclusion, the Palestinian refugee learners are under the influence of two main conflicting, but not necessarily contradicted in principle, discourses, the local and the global discourse. The global discourse does not contradict with the local conceptualization of the values of human rights and tolerance, but rather, it is contradict in practice. In other words, this contradiction is resultant from promoting certain discursive practices as a result of processes of institutionalizing and re-contextualization that overlook the complexity of Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the legal status of the Palestinians.

6.2. Remarks on the Summarized FDA
6.2.1. Initial Analysis Remarks

Upon starting the application of the stages of the summarized FDA, the analysis was data driven. From the initial stages of the application, some concepts and topics emerged, and helped widen the scope of the examined discourses while remaining focused on the discursive object. For instance, identifying the discourses surrounding the social wrong expanded to include not just the discourse of tolerance, but also other discourses such as the discourse of peace, nationalism and resistance. Tolerance is the major theme in the grade 8 textbook. It is expressed through the sub-theme of *peaceful resistance*, which occurs in most of the lessons and activities in the lessons of the textbook.

The following findings of the initial analysis require examination in the further analysis:

- The HRE curriculum, its aspects and design, as represented in the HRCRT policy, are of extreme importance in order to relate it to further data from the examination of the sample textbooks. Furthermore, it is important for systematically identifying the functions of the dominant discourse and the discursive strategies and practices it constitutes within the social context of UNRWA schools.

- This initial analysis shows the gap between the UNRWA's discourse of HRCRT and the government's counter-discourse of resistance and nationalism. The Palestinian identity representation is more likely to be distorted in between these contradicting discourses.

- UNRWA's conceptualization of tolerance and its application within a depoliticized framework is vague and hence problematic. It relates directly to the social "problem". More needs to be explored regarding the ideologies and agendas underpinning the HRE curricular design, the dominant discourse and the role of UNRWA in the inclusion of the special HRE curriculum in Gaza.

- There are indications for identity ambivalence affecting the learners which mainly results from the different subject positions and the different practices that come with these positions as affected by the polarization of the surrounding and conflicting discourses.

6.2.2. Commentary on FDA and Methodological Refinement

This application of the summarized version of FDA has, on the one hand, met the required goals that were intended for this analysis. First, it helped in getting as close as possible to the learners in order to understand their positions and the impact that surrounding discourses have on the social reality within which they interact. Second, it contributed to locating and highlighting some aspects of the discourse dynamics and the power relations within the given context. Third, it offered assistance in bringing the focus to the social problem by illuminating some of the major themes and topics that affect the learners' identity construction. Therefore, I find that the summarized FDA offers a good framework for forming an

understanding of the power dynamics, the discursive constructions of the research object and the effects this has on the wider context.

On the other hand, on a methodological level, I find some aspects challenging. Namely, the analytical stages, as demonstrated in Willig's (2013) work, are lacking in the detailed systematic procedures such as data collection strategies and data analysis. This adds to the second challenging aspect of the position of the researcher, the analyst. FDA puts the researcher in the position of an "author" rather than a "discoverer" of knowledge (Willig, 2013, p. 139). Therefore, this framework empowers the researcher to analyse the data discursively within the discursive context of the research topic. This stands as a challenge in terms of validating the data analysis and findings. Furthermore, it raises concern with regard to the question of subjectivity especially with my position as a Palestinian researcher. The third aspect is the relationship between discourse and reality, or the material world. FDA positions discourse as constitutive of social practices and therefore it is the main catalyst for creating certain social orders or social realities. This positioning meets critique from other scholars such as Fairclough (2010, 2016) who argues for the dialectic relationship between discourse and social practices in the way the discourse is both constitutive of, and constituted in, social practices- I have explicated this in the dialectical-relational approach in Chapter 4 of the refined methodology.

For the above mentioned challenges to FDA, and in addition to my understanding of discourse within the context of the research, I view discourse as both constitutive of, and constituted in, social practices. The initial analysis indicates the tension that has arisen between the discourse of HRCRT and the discourse of nationalism. I consider this tension as necessary in the sense that it allows for discourse to have an impact on social reality, and to be influenced by this social reality in turn. Having said that, I rectify the methodological choice for CDA in Chapter 4 to adopt a dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 2016), which takes into consideration this aspect of discourse. In addition, I take the dialectical-relational approach as the framework for further analysis because it offers concrete theoretical guidelines for carrying out CDA, as explained in Chapter 4. Finally, the focus on the "social problem" in the dialectical-relational approach encourages me to reconsider the discursive object. While Willig's (2013) framework focuses on the

ways people feel, experience and react to the discursive context within which they live, the dialectical-relational approach focuses on the specific social wrong that requires mitigation to resolve injustices.

Considering this, the revision of the initial analysis guided me to rethink the focus on the learners' identity as the discursive object. The lack of access to the research participants makes the application of a thorough FDA insufficient mainly because the Palestinian refugee learners are the main speakers who provide the research more credibility in terms of data collection and analysis. The absence of these speakers makes my analysis discursive, and hence open for criticism around the question of subjectivity. Therefore, the remarks contained within the initial analysis section 6.2.1 have offered another convincing discursive object for investigation. That is UNRWA's HRE curriculum in the Gaza Strip. The main speaker here is the UN body of institutions, which UNRWA echoes in the HRCRT policy document, and the special HRE curriculum in Gaza. For this, I acknowledge this shift of focus to be able to concretize the research focus and the research methodology in Chapter 4. Lastly, the analysis presented in this chapter has contributed to clarifying the research's social wrong, which is the marginalization of local Palestinian discourses of right-hood in order to promote the UN's standard culture and discourse of human rights.

Conclusion

This initial analysis chapter has demonstrated my heuristic approach to carrying out Willig's (2013) summarized version of FDA. I use the term heuristic to specifically indicate my exploratory attempt to apply and understand the FDA framework. The aim was to gain knowledge from the experience of applying the framework and discovering its potential in relation to the research focus. The focus of the initial analysis has centred on the learners' identity construction within the context of conflicting discursive constructions. Yet, this has changed due to the journey of discovery of the summarized FDA framework into focusing on UNRWA HRE curriculum in Gaza.

The remarks of the initial analysis inform the final choices of the methodological framework and procedures in Chapter 4 by adopting Fairclough's (2016) dialectical-

relational approach that I find more relevant to the research context. This chapter, in parallel to chapter 4, aim at defining the main issues that require further exploration in the following analysis in Chapters 7 and 8. These issues include the HRE curricular aspects, the discourse of HRCRT and the representation of the Palestinian history, culture and collective memory.

CHAPTER 7

HRE CURRICULUM ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter demonstrates the analysis of the HRE curriculum in Gaza. Previously, Chapter 5 on the research context has offered a distinction between the terms HRCRT policy, programme, curriculum and approach. The policy constitutes one of the pillars of a multifaceted HRCRT programme under the same title. UNRWA implements the HRCRT policy and programme in the five regions where the Palestinian refugees reside, Gaza, the West Bank, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. Therefore, the analysis in this chapter is not a thorough policy analysis, and it does not analyse the whole programme. To limit the scope of the study, the analysis focuses on the 'dedicated curriculum' (UNRWA, 2017b), delivered in the Gaza Strip alone, at UNRWA schools. This is done by analysing some of the aspects of the curriculum, as inferred from the policy document, and outlined in the research context Chapter 5, section 5.2. The qualitative document analysis of the curriculum make it possible to analyse the chosen curricular aspects in relation to the research questions. The aim is to identify problematic aspects of the curriculum that constitute part of the social wrong in this research. The contribution of this analysis resides in uncovering areas for further analysis such as the contents of the textbooks, the discursive strategies and representation of the Palestinian cultural aspects in Chapter 8.

Having outlined a map of the policy document and some aspects of the curriculum in Chapter 5, this chapter moves to analysing three specific aspects of the curriculum. Namely, embedding the policy in existing UNRWA's and global frameworks and strategies, the key elements and the guiding principles of the HRCRT policy, and the teaching and learning process. Keeping in mind the available sources of data- and fieldwork limitations- I explain the reasons this research is focusing only on the three aspects mentioned above, and not others. The first section of the chapter identifies these aspects as the unit of analysis. This leads to highlighting the development of the categories of protocol 1, Appendix 1, for the data collection and analysis. Within the first section of this chapter, I explain the

categories that emerge from the data collection while applying the protocol. The formation of the categories is data driven and it reflects a systematic method in approaching the data and identifying the frequent themes. Therefore, each category looks at the questions that the protocol poses and points out the frequent themes, topics and underlying meanings embedded in the policy. The first three categories in the protocol pertain to the examined aspects of the curriculum in response to the protocol questions regarding the theories and principles underpinning the philosophy of HRE, the *culture of human rights*, peace, conflict resolution and tolerance, and the approach to the teaching practices. The other two categories are a response to protocol questions about the dominant discourse in the HRE curriculum, and the representation of the Palestinian refugees' experiences and cultural aspects.

Following the process of coding and recoding of data, the recurring themes guide the analysis in the second section of this chapter. The themes are UNRWA's alignment of frameworks and effective engagement, UNRWA's role, the culture of human rights and the Palestinian cultural aspects. For each theme in this section, I give a descriptive account of the data gained from the policy document. I also give an interpretation of this data while focusing on the discursive strategies that contribute to constructing the HRE curriculum in Gaza. Furthermore, I also give an explanation of these discursive strategies through textual and interdiscursive analysis. It is very early to carry out a thorough dialectical-relational approach to CDA at this stage of the analysis because there are still areas for further examination in the sample textbooks, Chapter 8. Hence, this analysis helps flag out these areas while providing an overview of the power relations that make the discourse of HRCRT constituted in, and constitutive of, social practices. This chapter concludes by making connections with protocol 2, Appendix 2, to point out the areas for further analysis that can be evident in the textbooks' analysis, Chapter 8. This paves the way for the next chapter on the textbooks' analysis and the discussion chapter afterwards.

7.1. Protocol 1
7.1.1. The Unit of Analysis

The research takes the form of qualitative document analysis in which I examine some elements of the HRCRT policy document that lead to recognising aspects of

the curriculum and its framework, design, and objectives. Altheide and Schneider (2013) use the concept of "unit of analysis" within the context of media research to refer to the specific source of data for analysis such as a page from a newspaper, an article or a paragraph. Altheide and Schneider (2013) point out that the choice of the unit of analysis begins with gaining familiarity with the data documents. They add that the research problem and questions help in informing the suitable unit of analysis (p. 39-40), as discussed in the methodology Chapter 4. For this research, the choice of the unit of analysis is profoundly associated with the research focus and questions. The analysis in this chapter focuses only on the study of three aspects of the curriculum, as specified in Chapter 5, section 5.2. These are:

- 'Embedding the policy in the UNRWA's frameworks and strategies,
- The key elements of the HRCRT policy and,
- The teaching and learning process' (UNRWA, 2012).

The choice of these aspects is highly dependent on the relevance to the research focus and questions. In addition, the data collection process has helped finalize the choice of these aspects- see Diagram 5.1 in the research context Chapter 5, section 5.2. In the beginning, I included the aspect of the *learning environment* as one of the protocol categories. However, due to the lack of field work/participants, I found it less likely to respond to the research questions. For example, research involving participants gives more insight into the experiences teachers/students have within UNRWA's learning environment and is not feasible for this research. Another reason for excluding the learning environment aspect is its relevance to the other categories, which correspond more with the research focus and questions. The learning environment is more relevant to the teacher's professional development, educational reforms and the roles of schools' principals, for example. These issues are beyond the scope of this research, and therefore, will be suggested for further research in the concluding remarks of this thesis. Meanwhile, the specified aspects for analysis inform the research of the systematic language use in articulating the HRE curriculum's framework, approach, standards and practices, and relate to the textbooks analysis in the following Chapter 8.

7.1.2. The Development of Protocol 1 Categories

In the beginning of the application of protocol 1, I pre-set the categories according to the protocol's preliminary questions, which aimed at extracting data from the document, and help make the categories interrelated. During the application, the categories began to change because of two factors. First, continuous reflection on the research focus and questions, in general, and the protocol questions, in particular. Second, the process of 'progressive theoretical sampling' (Altheide & Schneider, 2013), which refers to selecting the material that comes from the occurrence of understanding of the studied topic during the application of the protocol (p. 56). In the case of this protocol application, reading the policy document and reflecting on the questions has helped in understanding UNRWA's performance and strategic goals, and hence, modify the categories. For example, the protocol included a category on the learning environment at UNRWA schools as one aspect of the study of the curriculum, as mentioned earlier. However, I replaced the category with another more relevant one that is interrelated with the other categories- see Diagram 7.1, applying and revising protocol 1. This category is: embedding the HRCRT policy in the UNRWA's existing and global strategies, and policy frameworks.

Therefore, this category became the first category to analyse in order to answer protocol questions relating to the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the HRCRT policy and HRE curriculum, and the power relations that govern the delivery of the HRE model to the local context. Hence, this category is relevant to the two following categories, the key elements of the HRCRT policy, and the teaching and learning (UNRWA, 2012, pp. 7-11). The fourth category in the protocol focuses on culture and the extent to which the policy document is sensitive and informed by the cultural issues related to the Palestinian context, history and experiences. This category is crucial as it links to the concepts of collective memory and identity that are important for the examination of the textbooks. The exploration of the cultural aspects necessitates looking closely at the dominant discourse underlying the HRE curriculum in Gaza. For this, the fifth category stems from the title of the policy document, human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance. Since the research takes a critical discourse analysis stance, it is important to locate the

discursive strategies that are entrenched in the dominant discourse of the HRE, and the extent at which they correlate or subordinate the local discourse of right-hood. The following section demonstrates the data gathered from the HRCRT policy document in four themes- as shown in Diagram 7.1- to discuss the main discursive practices and strategies that aim at regulating social practices.
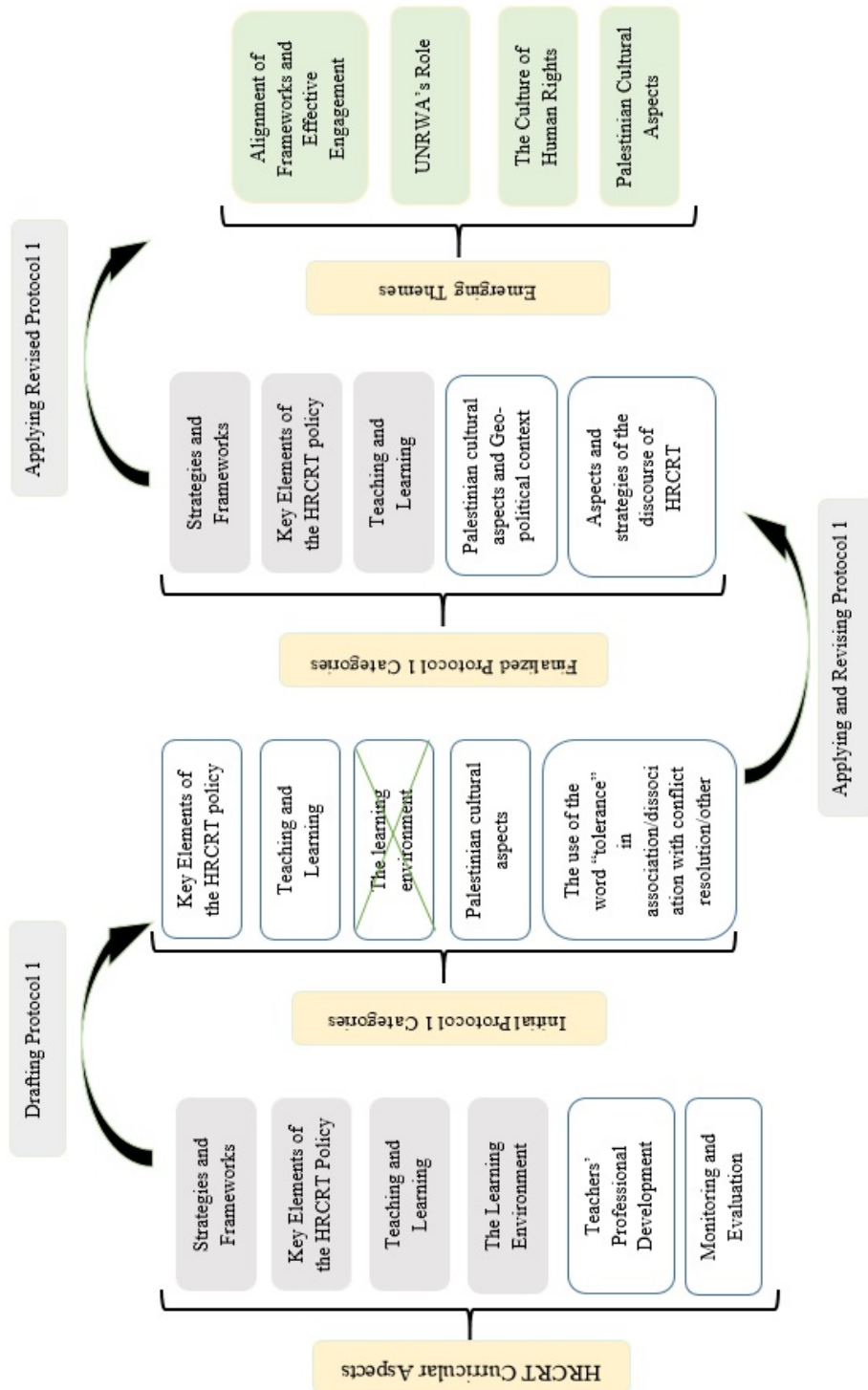

Diagram 7.1 The Development of Protocol 1 Categories and the Emerging Themes

7.2. The HRE Curriculum Data Analysis

It is important to mention here that the themes overlap in the protocol categories. Although each category highlights a main theme, this theme reappears, explicitly or implicitly, in other categories. This indicates UNRWA's strong and coherent articulation of the policy document. The well-organized articulation of the policy document makes it challenging to break down into smaller units of analysis. This is another limitation of the study as I recognize the need to carry out a thorough analysis of the policy document in further research. In this section, I map out the discussion in a way that shows the themes that emerge from analysing the data gained from the unit of analysis, discussed earlier. I focus the discussion in four themes. Firstly, the theme on UNRWA's alignment of frameworks and effective engagement. Secondly, UNRWA's performance and role in designing and delivering the HRE curriculum in Gaza. Thirdly, the theme on the *culture of human rights* and the rights-based approach. Fourthly, the theme examining the representation of the Palestinian cultural aspects in the curriculum.

Within the discussion of these themes, I reveal the specific discursive strategies that support the discourse and make it constituted in, and constitutive of, social practices. These strategies are de-politicization, legitimation, rationalization, cooperation and authorization. I examine the first two strategies as macro strategies that are realized semiotically in the text. I carry out a textual and interdiscursive analysis- as established in the methodology Chapter 4- of the data that focuses on revealing these strategies rather than carrying out a detailed linguistic analysis. I apply analytical terms that help in understanding the discursive functions of these strategies. These terms are:

- Intertextuality
- Interdiscursivity
- Re-contextualization
- Promotional culture
- Modality
- Naturalization (Fairclough, 2003, 2016) - see Glossary for definitions of these terms.

7.2.1. UNRWA's Alignment of Frameworks and Effective Engagement

The protocol questions in the first category- see Appendix 1- are concerned with UNRWA's position within the process of embedding the HRCRT policy in UNRWA's frameworks and policies, as well as the global frameworks and policies. The second question, for example, aims at identifying UNRWA's frameworks to help recognize its position with regard to implementing the HRCRT policy. The third question pertains to understanding the aspects of the educational systems in the host countries and the way they inform the HRCRT policy, programme and curriculum. Two themes emerge through the data collection and coding of this category. Namely, UNRWA's alignment of frameworks and effective engagement, and UNRWA's role. These themes reoccur in other categories and overlap with other themes, as I demonstrate throughout the analysis in this chapter.

UNRWA asserts that its strategic plans, frameworks and policy are relevant to the contexts where it operates. This is seen in its assertion that the HRCRT policy, for example, is 'relevant to the context of Palestine refugees' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 7-8). It is evident in the policy where the word "embedding" is used carefully in association with some key international and local levels. These levels vary between the global and the local- the broader and the specific- policies and frameworks. The global ones include the International Human Rights System (IHRS), the HRE and the UNRWA's strategic frameworks, and the HRE and the UNRWA's education reform strategy, and the local policies that include the HRE and the host countries' education systems (ibid, p. 5).

UNRWA's process of alignment is inseparable from that of engagement. This theme emerges from the HRCRT policy's repeated assurance of UNRWA's need to align its frameworks and policies with the frameworks stated above for HRE in order to achieve effective engagement. For this, there are international human rights instruments and standards that guide UNRWA's process of alignment and engagement. Some of these instruments and standards constitute the human rights treaty bodies, which include:

- 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948);

- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006);

- The World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-ongoing), and related Plans of Action (I and 11);

- The Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (adopted in December 2011)' (ibid, p. 5).

The alignment process of UNRWA's work within the IHRS is a catalyst for effective engagement. UNRWA 'is bound' (ibid, p. 5) to engage with some of the structural components of the IHRS. These components include the 'High Commissioner for Human Rights and her office; human rights treaty bodies; the Human Rights Council and associated mechanisms such as UN special rapporteurs, the universal periodic review and fact-finding missions; and several New York-based mechanisms' (ibid, p. 6). Therefore, these are the standards that UNRWA aims to maintain.

The policy states that the Human rights education is also closely 'aligned with existing UNRWA strategic frameworks, such as the medium term strategy 2010-2015 and the 2011-2015 education reform, and with the host country education systems' (ibid, p. 6). At the level of the existing UNRWA frameworks, UNRWA aligns the HRCRT approach to HRE with what it calls the Human Development Goals (HDG) and Strategic Objectives (SO) of the medium term strategy (2010-2015), which represents the broader strategic frameworks. The HDGs and SOs are corner stones for UNRWA's fulfilment of its role in providing protection and wellbeing for the Palestinian refugees as endorsed by the General Assembly. With regard to HRE, the medium term strategy stresses on HDGs such as the enjoyment of human rights to the fullest degree possible. This goal connects directly with the SO of safeguarding and advancement of the rights of Palestinian refugees through the promotion of respect for human rights, international humanitarian law and international refugee law. Another HDG focuses on acquiring the knowledge and

skills necessary for promoting the *culture of human rights,* which I discuss later in this chapter. This goal is also supported by the SO for providing quality education and outcomes that correspond to the set of standards reflected in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

In the first category of protocol 1, the protocol asks about UNRWA's specific policies and strategies that the HRCRT policy builds on in order to facilitate the integration of the HRE. The data reveals the existent key reform policies constructed by UNRWA, and the ones that were being drafted at the time of the articulation of the HRCRT policy document 2012. The core policy is the education reform policy (2011-2015) which is 'underpinned by a commitment to support effective teaching and motivating teachers to enhance the quality of education in general' (ibid, p.6). There are the other policies and strategies that the HRCRT policy builds on. They are as follows:

- 'Teachers for the Future: Teacher Education and Development Policy Framework" (draft December 2011);
- UNRWA Quality Framework for Curriculum Implementation (draft July 2011);
- Inclusive Education Policy for UNRWA (draft January 2012);
- UNRWA Gender Mainstreaming Strategy 2009-2015;
- UNRWA Policy on Gender Equality (2007)
- UNRWA Disability Policy (2010); and
- UNRWA Protection Policy and Strategy (draft 2012)' (ibid, p. 6).

These strategies and policies resonate with the "crosscutting" issues, mentioned in the research context Chapter 5, section 5.2, as an integral part of the aspects of the HRCRT curriculum development. This indicates the importance of the alignment of the HRCRT policy with the other frameworks to achieve coherence and add rigour to education development for Palestinian refugees. However, it is obvious that in spite of "human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance" featuring as the title of the HRCRT policy, UNRWA offers no policies or strategies on the provision of education under the conditions of a conflict zone, statelessness, legal suspension or refugeehood. These issues remain un-tackled in spite of UNRWA claims on the relevance of its strategies, policies and HRE to the refugees' context.

The alignment of the HRCRT approach to HRE with the strategic frameworks of the host countries' education systems is another level of alignment and engagement. Unlike the previous levels on the alignment of the HRCRT policy to the broad and specific frameworks and policies, there is a scarcity of information regarding specific strategies, goals or priorities of the host countries' educational systems. In the case of the Gaza Strip, there are no references to the national priorities as stated by the MOEHE, for example, since this ministry started functioning in 2000. Only going back to the introductory section of the HRCRT policy, page 4, there is the emphasis on the strong need for an implementation strategy of the policies to make them effective, coherent and strong in accountability and resources allocation (ibid, p.4). At this point, the main stakeholders are taken into consideration as involved in the policy making and fulfilment. These stakeholders comprise two levels as stated in the introductory section: 'the national level, e.g., local government, the Ministry of Education, teacher training institutions, research bodies, non-governmental organisations, and UNRWA level, e.g., headquarters [HQ], field education departments, head teachers and their staff, parents, and students' (ibid, p. 4). Therefore, this descriptive account of the data gained from the first category of the protocol shows the great emphasis given to alignment of policies and frameworks within UNRWA's level as well as international level. However, the level that corresponds to the local and regional frameworks and policies receives much less emphasis. I explain this next by analysing some specific discursive strategies in function.

With this data in hand, I begin by discussing the macro strategy of de-politicization, which I take as a 'semiotic point of entry' (Fairclough, 2016, p.97) for this analysis. The first thing to notice from the data is the absence of any reference to the geo-political conditions that shape a substantial part of the refugee experiences. The policy stresses the relevance of the HRCRT programme to the refugee context without elaborating on any of the political, social, economic or cultural aspects of this "context". The policy does not offer a rationale of this relevance by recognising complexity and challenging aspects of this "conflict" context. De-politicization strategy functions, among other supporting strategies, as a mechanism for the production of social practices that maintain certain power relations. In other words,

in relation to the refugee context, this strategy works on de-politicizing Palestinian responses to the global knowledge economy of human rights, with human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance being the core focus. I explain this further by applying re-contextualization, as an analytical term, which breaks down the processes of 're-structuring' and 're-scaling' (Jessop, 2002; Fairclough, 2016), which are fundamental processes within the new Capitalist discourse, see Framework section 4.1.3. To reiterate, re-structuring is changing the structural relations, for example, between economic and non-economic fields in the form of 'colonizing the latter by the former' (Fairclough, 2016, p. 99). Re-scaling is changing the relations between the local, national, regional and global scales of social life (ibid, p. 99). Education is one field where relations are shifted in structure and in scale under the influence of the New Capitalist discourse. Some of the characteristics of the New Capitalist discourse is the focus on technology, competitiveness, knowledge economy an information society- see Chapter 4, section 4.1.3 on *Discourse and Education*. UNRWA's borrowing of the UN's frameworks and policies is one way of embedding the international trends within the Palestinian context.

This brings about the discussion of the concepts of "travelling" or "embedded" policy. As established in Chapter 4, section 4.1.3, embedding policy entails merging it with local contexts as imperative to catch up with global competition and change (Ozga and Jones, 2006). Public institutions such as education are, therefore, required to follow the rapid rhythm of change and competition (ibid, 2006). HRE is no exception especially being a Western construct, as I argue in Chapter 3. The data, mostly gained from the first category on the analysis of the levels of frameworks alignment and effective engagement reflects the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling by which the UN's standardised culture of human rights can enter the Palestinian context. This is evident in the policy's articulation of the alignment of the international and regional policies and frameworks rather than the host countries' policies and frameworks. Legitimation, as another macro strategy, is also crucial in this discussion as depoliticizing Palestinian responses to the human rights discourse, and HRE curriculum, requires legitimizing this discourse and the subsequent discursive practices that sustain it.

The data shows three other strategies that are interrelated, and supportive, of both macro de-politicization and legitimation strategies. These are rationalization, cooperation and authorization. The first pertains strongly to legitimizing the discourse of HRCRT by supplying a rational and systematic articulation of the HRCRT policy. Cooperation is realized through galvanizing efforts of a network of UN institutions, in collaboration with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), academics, and some local human rights institutions, that share "commonality" in understanding and promoting human rights and HRE. Rationalization and cooperation strategies are entrenched, for example, in the policy's statement that it is 'based on a *global* understanding of *the meaning* of human rights education, a *common set* of human rights principles, and a *clear vision* of the HRCRT programme [emphasis added]' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 7). Authorization strategy is evident at two levels. First, it is realized through gaining access to the local context which is evident in the MOEHE's approval for HRE provision by UNRWA. Second, it is realized through UNRWA's role as a mediator for putting this programme into action. This strategy also supports the macro strategy of legitimation, for example, in examining UNRWA's obligation to '*adhere* to the UN's purposes and principles set out in the UN Charter to achieve *international cooperation* [emphasis added]' (ibid, p, 5).

Further on the strategy of cooperation, one of the questions asked by the protocol in the second category concerns the author/contributors to the HRCRT policy. The data shows that these partners are Governmental (IGOs), Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and academic institutions as well as the ICRC and some Palestinian human rights institutions. The policy specifies that UNRWA takes "Guidance for good practice and standards for HRE" from the OHCHR, and "curricular advice" from the UNESCO (ibid, p. 8). It also highlights UNRWA's collaboration with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to "strengthen" the material on the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) (ibid, p. 8). However, the policy has nothing to say on the collaboration with the Palestinian local institutions and the role they play in designing the curriculum. The names of these institutions are mentioned, in the sample textbooks, as contributors in developing the HRCRT approach. In the first page of each of the sample textbooks is an acknowledgment of the collaborative work between the international bodies,

mentioned above, and Al-Dameer institution, Al-Mezan Centre and the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights (PCHR). This reflects the particular networking of genres and styles by which the dominant discourse can interact, semiotically, with the social reality. In other words, it reflects a particular order of discourse that results from the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling to generate a network of discursive social practices.

With regard to partnership with the local human rights institutions, the role of these institutions is not articulated in the same clarity of the international institutions. This has an explanation other than a deliberate intent by UNRWA to conceal this role. The explanation is that the cooperation with these institutions was not achieved at the time of issuing the HRCRT policy (2012). The policy states that:

> 'Establishing and reinforcing links with academic institutions and non-governmental organisations, within and beyond the region, **will also be** important in order to benefit from the existing expertise of those with experience in human rights education teacher training….'

> '… In time this support **could be offered** to the League of Arab States as it has its own plan to teach and disseminate human rights across the Arab world (ibid, p.8).

The change in the grammatical structure of the sentences utilizing the modal verbs such as the ones in bold indicate UNRWA's commitment in relation to truth and necessity, in the analytical term of 'modality' (Fairclough, 2003, 219). This shows UNRWA's consideration of this collaboration with local NGOs and academic institutions, and furthermore, the provision of similar support to the Arab league to promote HRE in the Arab world. Two years after the publication of the HRCRT policy, UNRWA achieves this collaboration with the local institutions, mentioned above, in the form of the lower secondary level textbooks 2014.

In conclusion, the data collected from the first category does not reveal much on the alignment of the broad frameworks with the specific local ones, which stands as a challenge to UNRWA's statement on the relevance of the HRCRT policy, programme and curriculum to the socio-political and cultural context and experiences of Palestinian refugees. It was only after the release of the lower

secondary textbooks that the issue of irrelevance to the local context surfaced through Hamas's objection. This indicates a gap in the process of alignment with the local educational systems, policies and priorities of the host countries. This flags up the lack of reference/clarity of the process of embedding the HRCRT policy in the educational system in the Gaza Strip. It also encourages an examination of the role UNRWA plays in embedding this policy, which I explain in the next theme.

7.2.2. UNRWA's Role

With regard to the HRCRT approach, the idea of alignment of UNRWA's policies and strategies with the broader and the local ones shows the extent of UNRWA's engagement that aims to implement and sustain this approach. Understanding the role of UNRWA is significant in this analysis because it helps in understanding power dynamics and the circulation of power, which sits at the heart of Critical Discourse Analysis (Foucault, 2003; Parker, 2014).

UNRWA's role in the integration of the HRCRT policy, and the curriculum, indicates the dynamics of the power circulation from the international level to the local level. One dimension of Ozga and Jones's (2006) argument in terms of travelling and embedded policies is pertinent to the role of local policy elites in pushing for the adaptation of global agendas with national priorities (p. 2). The function of the latter is to 'translate' or 'mediate' global policy agendas to correlate with these priorities (ibid, p.3). This is evident when looking at the UNRWA's partners and co-authors of the human rights textbooks such as Al-Mezan Centre, Al-Dameer Institution and academics and NGOs. They form part of the national level stakeholders, the *politicized elite* (Hanafi and Tabar, 2003), that mediate global agendas.

The theme on UNRWA's role emerged simultaneously through studying the data on the alignment of frameworks and effective engagement. The policy asserts that UNRWA develops its educational frameworks and policies 'in the context of the broader organisational decentralisation processes' (UNRWA, 2012, p.6). Therefore, the HRCRT policy also '***builds on*** other key and emerging policies and strategies developed by UNRWA' (ibid, p. 6). However, the data depicts instances where UNRWA appears passive and lacking autonomy in informing the HRCRT policy. For example, there is a huge emphasis on UNRWA fulfilling its "mandate" by

following the international standards and principles to deliver HRE 'in a more systematic and cohesive manner' (ibid, p. 7). The policy reiterates this in UNRWA's statement of commitment:

> '*to providing quality human rights education in its schools and educational facilities in line with its education vision, the Universal Declaration for Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the related instruments in the international human rights system, and the World Programme on Human Rights Education*' (ibid, p. 9).

There is also the use of the passive voice in stating UNRWA's role in the alignment and engagement processes. For example, 'UNRWA is **bound** to adhere to the United Nations' purposes and principles set out in the UN Charter' (ibid, p. 5). The strategies, discussed in the previous section, are realised semiotically in the text, which defines the role of UNRWA in terms of mediation. Intertextuality, as an analytical term, helps understanding this in reference to the data. This is mostly evident in the policy's referencing the UN Charter's purposes and principles as follows:

- *'The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations" (Art. 29 (1) (b));*

- *The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own (Art. 29 (1) (c));*

- *The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin (Art. 29(1) (d))'* (UNRWA, 2012, p. 5).

Intertextuality highlights the presence of voices other than that of the main author in a text. In relation to the discussion in the previous section, the aim of this intertextual practice is to create the "commonality" that the strategies of cooperation and rationalization focus on achieving. UNRWA's role, therefore, is to reflect this

cooperation, and mediate between the discourse and the social practices of HRE. Another relevant instance of intertextuality is defining the concept of tolerance in the policy, which UNRWA does not construct on its own, or in relation to the Palestinian context. Instead the definition of tolerance comes from a UN institution that enjoys a higher level of autonomy, the UNESCO. In its declaration of principles on tolerance, UNESCO (1995) defines tolerance as:

> *'Respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty; it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace. Tolerance is not concession, condescension or indulgence. Tolerance is, above all, an active attitude prompted by recognition of the universal human rights and fundamental freedoms of others.' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 19).*

The matter of autonomy is very important for pointing out the specific ideologies behind embedding global agendas in local contexts. Looking at the complex structure of the UNESCO, for example, the member states govern the contributions, the suggested policies as well as the funding for the UNESCO to act upon (Seeger, 2015, p. 271). However, it enjoys a certain extent of autonomy that Seeger (2015) highlights in some examples of the different ways in which the UNESCO programmes can be implemented in different countries as desired by the internal operations of the member states without the interference of UNESCO itself. UNRWA, in contrast, does not enjoy any autonomous qualities except for participating in developing educational strategies and frameworks that prioritise the UN's purposes and principles, as mentioned earlier. This is another instance that depicts the strategies of rationalization and cooperation strategies that are realised semiotically through intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Intertextuality reflects the presence of another voice in defining the concept of tolerance other than UNRWA's voice, again, to stress the importance of international cooperation in generating this model of HRE.

Interdiscursivity, is part of intertextuality and it is a 'question of which genres, discourses and styles it draws upon, and how it works them into particular articulations' (Fairclough, 2016, p. 90). It is evident in UNESCO's declaration of principles, as a particular event/text that is profoundly associated with ways of interacting in the social world. As established earlier in Chapter 1, section 1.1.3.3, UNESCO (1995) emphasizes the need for a "systematic" and "rational" tolerance education methods to address causes of intolerance, and contribute to the prevention/resolution of conflicts by 'nonviolent means' (p. 4). The institutionalization of tolerance- in the sense of becoming a practice- serves the macro strategy of legitimation, and the supporting strategies of rationalization, authorization and cooperation. The HRCRT policy 2012, therefore, echoes and promotes the discursive construction of tolerance education, as established in UNESCO's 1995 work. This asserts the tenets about discourses as being historical and hybrid of other discourses (Gee, 2011b) in the sense that the discourse of HRCRT is an extension of UNESCO's discourse on tolerance. UNESCO's articulation of the declaration of principles on tolerance considers tolerance education as imperative for conflict resolution and peace, and therefore, the HRE curriculum is the manifestation of UNESCO's vision. I elaborate more on UNRWA's discourse and the discursive strategies discussed above in the following theme on the culture of human rights.

7.2.3. The *Culture of Human Rights*

The HRCRT policy represents the key elements of its approach to HRE in five interrelating points- examined in the second and third categories of the protocol. These are the definition of HRE, the key guiding principles, partnership with other organisations, UNRWA's rights-based approach and UNRWA's realisation of this approach. The five points respond to the questions posed by the protocol regarding the definition of the HRE, the expertise behind it, the guiding philosophy and principles, and the rights-based approach to HRE. This aims at identifying the specific meaning of the *culture of human rights*, as promoted through HRE. In particular, the aims, the guiding principles and the means for promoting this culture. For this, protocol 1 poses the question of how the HRCRT policy defines HRE. The protocol gains more data on the rights-based approach, the learners' competencies

and the curricular approach from both the second and third categories. As mentioned before, the themes overlap between the categories and therefore the protocol questions cannot acquire responses from each category separately- it is necessary to keep referring to the protocol, Appendix 1, to navigate easily through this chapter. The questions regarding the discourse, in the fifth category of the protocol, also contribute to generating this discussion of the discursive strategies in function.

7.2.3.1. The Definition of HRE

UNRWA adopts the United Nations' World Programme for HRE (2005-ongoing) definition of HRE which states it as 'education, training and information aiming at building a *universal culture of human rights* through the sharing of knowledge, imparting of skills and moulding of attitudes…' (UNRWA, 2012, p.7).

This definition informs international policy documents and approaches to HRE. Any related concepts also must be defined according to the UN's terminology and language in order to achieve consistency in the articulation of the policies and approaches to HRE. This definition of HRE continues to stress the aims of the shared knowledge, skills and attitudes that promote respect, *fundamental freedoms*, *dignity*, understanding, tolerance, gender equality, friendship among all nations, effective participation, free and democratic society, *building and maintaining of peace*, and *people-centred sustainable development and social justice* (ibid, p.7). When examining some of these concepts within the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, they become problematic. This is because of the political situation and the conflict rather than the rejection of the values, attitudes or skills themselves, as discussed in Chapter 3. First, for example, there is a limitation of the knowledge, skills and attitudes regarding the fundamental freedoms as the Palestinians are still in conflict with the Israeli state and do not have the legal tools by which they can acquire their fundamental freedoms. Second, the idea of promoting a sense of dignity indicates an existing presupposition that these international bodies are promoting a sense of dignity that is lacking in the Palestinian society.

In contrast, Palestinians cling to a great sense of dignity that is fed by their refusal and resistance of the Israeli practices- Chapter 2, section 2.2 has discussed the Palestinian collective memory and some of the symbols that are reminders of dignity,

resistance and steadfastness such as *Handala.* As established in the literature, Chapter 2, section 2.2.1, dignity is one of the core principles among Palestinians. Loss of dignity is expressed through the two powerful words of "Ihaneh" and "thul" (Amro & Giacaman, 2012, p.36) that result from the Israeli occupations violations of human rights. Therefore, the knowledge, skills and attitudes to fundamental freedoms and dignity cannot, alone, create an environment for the human rights to thrive in before resolving the roots of the conflict and strengthening the role of the international community in endorsing the implementation of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). Third, understanding, tolerance, gender equality, friendship among all nations are more likely to be ideal appeals if taken from the whole socio-political and cultural context. These concepts stand as problematic, in practice, in the context of HRE for Palestinian refugees. Each one of these requires a context-bound approach to HRE in a conflict zone that can make it effective by considering the roots of the conflict. Considering the political situation in Gaza, the aims of the HRE stated in the World Programme stand out as more relevant to a post-conflict approach to HRE- Chapter 2 previously discussed the multi-layered Palestinian-Israeli conflict. There appears to be a lack of sensitivity to the local context and the political reality on the ground. I explain these three points in relation to the discursive strategies, and by applying some analytical terms to support the argument.

The macro strategy of de-politicization functions here as a way of de-politicizing responses to the ideals disseminated through the UN's network of institutions and partners, which generates a unified definition on human rights and HRE. Idealization, as a supporting strategy, serves the discourse of HRCRT by promoting these ideals in non-ideal contexts such as conflicts, as interpreted in the previous paragraph. Legitimation, as another macro strategy, plays another role in legitimizing the normative bureaucratic language of the UN's network of institutions and partners. The power and legitimacy bestowed on this language allows for generating pre-suppositions such as the one involving dignity, without touching on the intricate political context within which dignity can be understood. Having said that, there is an ambiguity with regard to UNRWA's recognition of the political situation as whether to be in a conflict/post conflict context. Consequently, there is a clear disjuncture

between the refugees' context and the ideal definition of HRE. In other words, the policy uses this definition without making direct connections regarding its relevance to the refugees' experiences, as discussed in the previous themes.

As a result of de-politicization, the concept of peace building and maintenance in the HRE's definition is also problematic because it does not address the conditions and roots of the conflict. Instead, de-politicization serves the discourse in achieving pacification that dominates the political sphere rather than the actual peace building (Said, 2004; King-Irani, 2006; Pappe, 2006). Moreover, the issue of promoting "people-centred" sustainable development shows a problem of prioritization. It is sufficient in a post-conflict context as societies turn to their internal affairs, development and social justice. The use of the term "people-centred" points to the focus on promoting sustainable development that comes from a micro level, which requires an extensive research in terms of feasibility in the refugee context.

7.2.3.2.The Guiding Principles for UNRWA's HRE Approach

For global HRE discourse to be effective, UNRWA's role is to introduce it systematically into its educational institution. In UNRWA's HRCRT policy, this begins with ensuring a commonality of understanding of the HRE by following a set of guiding principles, which, according to UNRWA, are 'particularly relevant to Palestine refugee context' (UNRWA, 2012, p.7). The principles are[36]: **[Footnote: definitions of the first four principles from UN Population Fund Association UNPFA (2005), "Tolerance" from UNESCO (1995)]:**

• Human dignity
• Universality
• Equality and non-discrimination
• Participation and inclusion
• Tolerance.

The guiding principles reflect "commonality" among the UN bodies and associations that share the same language, principles and standards of the discourse

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[36] UNRWA borrows definitions for the first four principles from the UN Population Fund Association (UNPFA, 2005), and definition of "Tolerance" from UNESCO (1995).

of human rights and HRE. This has been evident in the process of alignment of policies and frameworks to achieve international cooperation, and to define UNRWA's role as a mediator between the discourse and the social practices. The policy states that the guiding principles inform all the strategies, practices and activities throughout UNRWA's educational system (ibid, p.7). Therefore, they operate as parameters within which human rights are to be discussed. I explain this further in the following section in relation to *framing* the discourse.

This data reveals another discursive strategy that pertains to setting these parameters. Namely, a standardization strategy, which is strongly associated with the previously discussed strategies of rationalization, authorization and cooperation. These four strategies, in turn, support the macro strategy of legitimation. The strategy of standardisation is realised semiotically through the intertextual and inter-discursive instance that is evident in borrowing the guiding principles from two other UN institutions. Again, this indicates UNRWA's passive role in setting guiding principles that are potentially more relevant to the local context such as legal justice and social justice. Therefore, with UNRWA's focus on this 'common understanding' (ibid, p. 6) by utilizing this set of principles it serves the goals of promoting the standardized *culture of human rights*. The acts of borrowing definitions, principles and policies within the UN's network of institutions fosters the process of standardization, which manifests in the 'grand/ large scale' (Gee, 2011b, p. 38-39) discourse of human rights. Therefore, the culture of human rights UNRWA promotes is realised semiotically through applying the analytical term of promotional cultural. This is evident in the text where the policy uses words that function in promoting, advocating, building and others. Some examples are UNRWA's medium term strategy's aim to '*promoting* respect/knowledge…' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 6), HRE's '*building* a universal culture of human rights through the *sharing* of knowledge…' (p. 7), the guiding principles 'to *ensure* a commonality of *understanding*…' (p. 7), the HRCRT programme which aims at '*fostering* a culture of human rights and peace' (p. 8), and the approach to teaching and learning that '*reflects* human rights values' (p.9).

Hence, the guiding principles, listed above, shape the vision of the HRCRT approach, which is:

'To **provide** human rights education that **empowers** Palestine refugee students to **enjoy** and **exercise** their rights, **uphold** human rights values, **be proud** of their **Palestinian identity**, and **contribute positively** to **their society** and the **global community'** (ibid, p.9).

I turn now to examine the rights-based approach by which UNRWA intends to turn this vision into reality by producing a set of discursive practices that aim at changing the learners' social realities with regard to rights.

7.2.3.3. The Rights-based Approach

One of the most important catalysts for promoting the UN's culture of human rights is the approach by which the philosophy becomes a practice. I have given an example, section 7.2.2 of UNESCO's (1995) proposal for promoting tolerance educations by developing systematic practices and effective methods to serve this purpose. So far, by examining the data, the HRCRT policy has laid the foundations for turning the concepts of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance into practice. These foundations are represented in achieving global/international cooperation, rationalizing the approach to HRE, and setting the guiding principles and standards for human rights. The rights-based approach comes to normalize the "new" discursive practices that are intended by the UN within the frame of human rights, tolerance and peace building.

The contours of the rights-based approach are well-defined through the data collection in the third category of the protocol. This category of the policy document includes three components where the rights-based approach manifests through the process of teaching-learning. These are the learners' competencies, the teaching practices, and the curricular approach. The policy states that the effectiveness and strength of HRE comes from the implementation of the rights-based approach, which it identifies as "holistic". The holistic character comes from ensuring that the teaching practices, the curriculum material and objectives are all rights-based (UNRWA, 2012, p.9). The WPHRE's (2005- ongoing) definition of the rights-based approach, stated in Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.3, is more informative of the holistic aspect of this approach. The holistic aspect stems from including both 'human rights through education' and 'human rights in education' (UNESCO & OHCHR, 2005, p.

3). The former ensures that all aspects/components of the curriculum are 'conducive to the learning of human rights' (ibid, p. 3) or 'conducive to promoting a culture of human rights' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 9). The latter involves guaranteeing respect of human rights for all members of the school community.

Near the end of section 7.2.2, I have discussed the process of turning the value of tolerance into a practice through institutionalization. As established in the literature, discourse functions and becomes impactful when embedded in institutions (Kress, 1985; Brown, 2006). In this research, the discourse of HRCRT is embedded in UNRWA's institutions in order to fulfil this vision of the holistic approach to HRE. Institutionalization, therefore, is a discursive strategy by which certain practices can be promoted systematically in order to spread the UN's culture of human rights. Before analysing the teaching and learning practices, the learning competencies and the curricular approach, I discuss *framing*, as a strategy, in order to clarify the process of construction of the HRE curriculum as a discursive object.

There is a pattern of development depicted from the data responses to the protocol. Firstly, there is UNRWA's alignment and embedding of the policy within broader and specific frameworks, standards and pre-sat principles. Secondly, there is also the setting of common understanding and the guiding principles for HRE. Finally, the utilization of the rights-based approach to promote certain practices to achieve the intended outcomes, as summarized in the UN Charter's purposes and principles in the first theme, section 7.2.1. This pattern of development in the policy's representation of the HRE curriculum is complimented by articulating the rights-based approach. This articulation is clearly stated to ensure the realisation of this approach and to contribute to guiding the practices of HRE in all UNRWA schools. The approach achieves that by regulating the teaching practices discursively to promote certain skills, attitudes and values that facilitate the promotion of the culture of human rights. To illustrate, I use Figure 4.1 from Altheide and Schneider's (2013, p. 51) qualitative media analysis of discourse to unpack one statement made by the policy that clearly frames the discourse of HRCRT. The HRCRT policy's states that it supports a programme which:

- 'Aims to *foster* a culture of *human rights and peace*

- *Is learner-centred*

- Allows for a range of approaches to *integrate* human rights education within the *curricula of host countries* (for example, "integrated" and "stand-alone" approaches)

- Has an *emphasis* on human rights, with *conflict resolution* and *tolerance* as *supporting skills development*' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 8).

Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4, section 4.2.2.2, illustrates the necessary determinants for identifying the underlying meanings and emphasis in qualitative research, as discussed previously in the methodology Chapter 4, sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.3.2. First, *formats* are the ways in which familiar experiences are familiar and recognisable. Taking the first statement above, I consider the format as the matrix of the human rights values and culture as articulated in reference to the UN standard, and concretised within the frameworks and policies. Second, *frames* are the boundaries within which a topic can be discussed.

As established in the methodology chapter, frames determine how and what can be discussed, and what is not to be discussed (ibid, p. 52). In the case of this analysis, and by reflecting on the data gathered so far, the human rights approach and practices are spoken of only within the frame of peace building/peace education. This is also implied in the first and fourth statements above where the emphasis is on human rights, conflict resolution, tolerance and peace. Third, *themes* and *frames* are inter-related. However, Altheide and Schneider (2013) explain that themes are a general representation of the frame, the same theme can be repeated and spoken of from different angles whereas the frame functions as a parameter for discussing a specific matter, a kind of 'super theme' (p.53). The theme that runs through the UNRWA's educational system and reform strategies is 'human rights education for conflict resolution, peace and tolerance, as stressed in the statement above. Finally, I have previously established that the discourse of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance is the dominant discourse in the HRCRT curriculum. The fourth point of the above mentioned statement states clearly the policy's aim to support a programme that promotes human rights with specific skills in conflict resolution and tolerance. Therefore, at this point of the data analysis, on the one hand, the discourse is clearer within the context where it is generated, and how it is talked about, and for

what functions. On the other hand, the specific practices that the discourse constitutes are yet to be highlighted and discussed in this data chapter as well as the following data chapter.

With this in mind, the rights-based approach is the main medium for creating a network of social practices of HRE at UNRWA schools to promote the normative or common culture of human rights. The HRCRT approach is not only compatible with this culture of human rights; it is tailored to be rights-based only. With the policy stating this out clearly through the guiding principles and UN standards, the word right in "rights-based" is to be interpreted only in accordance to these references. I argue that this approach is powerful because it contributes to embedding the discourse of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance into the educational institution in order for this discourse to be operationalized. I come back to explaining operationalization of the discourse in the following section.

7.2.3.4. Teaching and Learning

The third category of analysis focuses on the three components of the teaching and learning process. To reiterate, these components are the learning competencies, the teaching practices and the curricular approach. The learners' competencies are an indispensable component in the construction of the HRE curriculum. This is mainly because of the WPHRE's emphasis on 'imparting on skills and moulding attitudes' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 7) that contribute to 'building a universal culture of human rights' (ibid, p. 7). Therefore, achieving the learning competencies by the learners indicates the successful accomplishment of the curricular approach and the human rights educational strategies as a whole. In this section, I demonstrate the data gained on these three components by putting them in dialogue rather than discussing them in separate entities. This helps in identifying the discursive practices of teaching and learning human rights, and analysing the overall discursive strategies in operation.

The policy intends for the learning competencies to address the learners' cognitive, attitudinal and skills levels. Based on this, the HRCRT policy document distributes the learners' competencies among these three levels. Each level includes a specific set of learning competencies the learners are expected to acquire. The competencies are adopted from Human Rights Education Guidelines for Secondary

School Systems which was drafted in December 2011, Warsaw (OSCE/ODIHR, 2012), as referenced in UNRWA's policy (2012, p.10). The fact that the enlisted competencies are adopted from the mentioned document indicates to the extent of UNRWA's engagement in embedding the broader and the specific frameworks in the local context. This is another instance of intertextual and interdiscursive practice by which UNRWA's policy echoes other international discoursing of HRE. I demonstrate the data on the learning competencies, as gained by the protocol's question on this component of the third category, on teaching and learning.

At the cognitive level of the learning competencies, the learners are expected to recall information that they have learned about human rights, the principles, the arguments for the universality of HRs among other content knowledge that are integrated in the teaching materials. The words that are used in the enlisted competencies range between **understanding** and **knowing** about the history and philosophy of human rights, the surrounding arguments, the evolving nature of the human rights frameworks and standards, the contexts and causes of human rights violations, the current and historical events that cause these violations and the consequent human rights movements, and the regional/continental advocates of human rights (UNRWA, 2012, p.10). One piece of data stands out in this section with regard to the current/historical events and the advocates for human rights is the statement that accompanies them: 'in one's own country, continent and in the world' (ibid, p. 10). In relation to this research's focus in the socio-cultural and historical representation of the Palestinians' collective memory and identity, this is a crucial point to examine. This is because in the preliminary scan of the textbooks, in the initial analysis, there is an evident absence of reference to Palestinian historic events and local/continental advocates for human rights. I export this point to the following data chapter to examine further.

As for the attitudinal level, it is more aligned with feelings and emotions. The values the policy enlists include showing **respect** and **tolerance** based on dignity of all human beings, **believing** in the power to change by promoting human rights values, **valuing** and **engagement** in human rights in relation to justice/injustice themes, **demonstrating** compassion and solidarity with others who suffer injustices and human rights violations (ibid, p.10). The only concern in developing these

attitudes is the underlying assumptions that Palestinian refugees do not already have those internalized in their systems of beliefs as part of culture, identity and ideology. Therefore, framing the learners as such implies that there is a necessity for 'cultural reformation,' (Pinto, 2014) by which the learners internalize the new values and attitudes, as promoted through the discourse in function. This becomes clearer in relation to the second component of the teaching and learning, which is the teaching practices. The professional development of the teachers' practice sits as the core requirement for achieving UNRWA's curricular approach and strategic goals. The School Based Teacher Development (SBTD), the HRCRT toolkit and other apparatuses, put forward by UNRWA, are therefore designed to contribute to this continuous professional development. The teaching practices, according to the HRCRT policy document, **should** reflect the human rights principles. The teachers are bound to follow specific standards for the teaching practices to promote the three levels of learning competencies. For example, in relation to the knowledge competencies, teachers '**should** learn how to teach about HRCRT in a way that prompts critical reflection on the part of students, engages them in a participatory manner, places emphasis on strengthening **knowledge** of human rights principles' (ibid, p. 11). On the attitudinal level, teacher should also learn how to teach about HRCRT in a way that 'helps shape their [the learners'] personal **beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours**' (ibid, p. 11).

With regard to the skills level, the competencies include acquiring skills that range from simple tasks to more complex ones. For example, the learners are expected to be able to '**describe** historical and contemporary political, legal, economic, cultural and social processes from a human rights perspective and using human rights language, and **locate** information and sources on human rights relevant to one's personal and academic needs and interests' (ibid, p. 11). **Describe** and **locate** belong to a lower level ability to perform. They are related to the levels of awareness and perception that result from the constructed knowledge of a subject or task. Whereas, other words like **use/apply** belong to a higher thinking level that builds on the knowledge and understanding that result in the ability to use and apply the frameworks and principles of conflict resolution and defence of human rights against

violation at an interpersonal level, as stated in the competencies (p. 11). There are other higher levels skills that promote for more active involvement. Examples are:

- '**Take an active part** in discussions, debates and controversies related to human rights;

- •**Demonstrate confidence, motivation and leadership abilities**, as well as skills at building and maintaining collaborative efforts in taking action for human rights in schools and communities;

- •**Take an active role** in defending, protecting and achieving the human rights of others' (ibid, p.11).

In relation to the second component of the teaching practices, teachers should learn how to teach about HRCRT in a way that 'teaches them [the learners] practical **skills** (such as conflict resolution and/or mediation)' (ibid, p. 11).

The third and last component of the teaching and learning is the curricular approach. The protocol asks about the way in which the curricular approach can promote the learners' competencies and the teaching practices. The data taken from this category shows that it achieves that in two ways. First, UNRWA intends to achieve that by ensuring that the approach is 'versatile and adaptable' (ibid, p. 11). That is by ensuring relevance to the different experiences of the learners, in the five areas of operations, and by building on the existing work of UNRWA. Second, UNRWA focuses on achieving that by facilitating the learners' acquisition of the competencies that are relevant to their levels (primary/lower secondary). There are important considerations, in relation to the taught materials and approach to teaching human rights. The materials **must** be open to reviewing or revision (ibid, p. 11). Also, the teachers **must** be encouraged to use the supplied materials in their teaching and develop additional complementing ones (ibid, p. 11). Moreover, the employment of the materials **must** be accompanied by the use of a variety of teaching methods and resources that are rights-based (ibid, p. 11).

The data on this component indicates that the way the document speaks of the curricular approach as limited to the taught materials and the teachers use of the

materials. The language used in defining the main purposes and guidelines of the curricular approach reads as obligations. This is mostly evident in the use of modal verbs such as should/must. Modality is an analytical term that points out a feature of language by which an author expresses desire, certainty or necessity by using modal verbs. It reflects the author's 'varying degrees of commitment to truth or necessity' (Fairclough, 2003, 219). There are two types of modality, 'epistemic modality (modality of probabilities), and deontic modality (modality of necessity and obligation)' (ibid, p. 219). In the data represented, the use of the modal verbs should/must are more indicative of necessity and obligation. Therefore, the policy uses deontic modality to ensure meeting the standards and quality of the curricular approach. The policy puts the same emphasis on the teaching practices- as the second component- where teacher **should** learn how to teach HRCRT in a specific manner that is informed by the dominant discourse.

Having examined the three components of teaching and learning, the data reveals that a huge responsibility is laid on teachers, and their HRE practices, for realising the effectiveness of the rights-based approach. This is because the strategy of standardization functions in a way that guarantees conformity to UNRWA's training, principles and practices of HRE. Practices within the rights-based approach are inclusive (UNRWA, 2012) in a sense that all strands of UNRWA's educational institution are required to reflect the human rights principles, as reinforced by the HRCRT policy. The strategy of idealization is also relevant to this discussion as these new discursive practices are classified most desirable by the institution. The data on the three components reflects the interplay between the three strategies of institutionalization, idealization and standardization, which all contribute to the macro strategy of legitimation. The latter is realised semiotically through the process of operationalization of the discourse. In elaboration, these particular discursive practices within the educational institution of UNRWA become hegemonic. Under the circumstances of re-contextualization, explained earlier, the discourse becomes operationalized in the sense that learners develop new ways of interacting and new ways of being (identities), and in the sense that the discourse becomes materialized in, for instance, the organisation of the space (Fairclough, 2016, p. 89). With time,

the HRE practices become normalized within the institution, and contribute to promoting the ideal culture of human rights.

With regard to the learning competencies, they require further analysis in the textbooks in relation to the level of participation and agency. The interpersonal skills are a positive outcome that extends to the community outside the schools. However, looking at the bigger picture and considering the whole socio-political context, concerns arise regarding two issues, at least. One concern pertains to UNRWA's depoliticized educational framework of HRE, as discussed in the previous theme of this chapter. Another concern is related to de-contextualization of HRE in relation to the legal position of the refugee learners, and the actual claim of the rights they learn about. The processes of de-politicisation and de-contextualization of the framework causes a disjuncture between what is being taught and the chances of a well-informed political participation that is needed for the learners in their everyday experiences. Therefore, the discursive construction of the HRE curriculum focuses on representing the world as it "ought to be" rather than what it really "is". The legal position affects the learners' perceptions of the functions of the UN institutions that cease to make a change in their actual circumstances. This has its effects on increasing the learners' disenchantment with the international legal bureaucratic system, as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.

To comment on the data represented in this theme, section 7.2.3, the policy orchestrates four elements that guarantee the promotion of the common understanding/culture of human rights. These are the definition of HRE, the guiding principles, the rights-based approach and the teaching and learning. This orchestration is systematic and well-organized through the process of framing the discourse and limiting the ways in which human rights are negotiated. With this framing taking place, the policy theorizes certain teaching and learning practices that serve the discourse. The data depicts the two macro strategies of de-politicization and legitimation. De-politicization and legitimation are supported by a network of other strategies that promote an idealistic view of human rights and HRE in a heavily politicized environment. These strategies are rationalization, cooperation, authorization and idealization. However, the data in this theme reveals another important strategy of institutionalization by which the discourse is able to produce

new discursive practices to promote the desired culture. Idealization and standardization are the supporting strategies that contribute to legitimating the new discursive practices at UNRWA schools. The main concern the data shows is UNRWA's emphasis on the relevance of the HRE curriculum to the context of the Palestinian refugees. Therefore, the following theme focuses on examining the representation of the Palestinian cultural aspects in the policy document.

7.2.4. Palestinian Cultural Aspects

With regard to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the UN institutions' neutral position is evident in the construction of the HRE approaches within the paradigm of peace-building. The HRE curriculum in Gaza is no exception. This is to prevent the promotion of a "culture of war" as opposed to the intended "culture of peace" that UNRWA tries to achieve by committing itself, and the curriculum, to the enlisted principles for the HRCRT approach.

Looking at this data, the case is more evident by examining the choice of these specific principles and not others. Fostering and promoting a culture of human rights is one of the goals that are supported by the HRCRT policy (ibid, p. 8). Referring back to the theme on the *culture of human rights*, there are no traces to indicate aspects of the Palestinian culture, history or collective memory that inform the HRE curriculum. The representation of the local culture is not the priority because the *frame*, discussed above, works as a parameter that limits the discussion to a specific theme, from the particular vantage point of the UN body and its international partners. For this, one question in protocol 1 pertains to identifying cultural aspects/social geography of the refugee learners' environments in the document. First, I clarify what I mean by the cultural aspects and social geography. The former includes the socio-cultural and political context that includes history, education, gender, religion, human rights from a local perspective, identity and ethnicity. The latter, however, refers to the state of refugeehood inside and outside the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and the socio-economic, cultural and political inequalities that influence the lives of the Palestinian refugees.

There is an evident lack of reference to the political and historical contexts, generally, and a divergence from the local narratives and discourses of rights,

specifically. This divergence is evident, for example, in the language use in stating the learning competencies at the cognitive level, which requires that the learners are aware/know about:

- 'Current or historical events **in one's own country, continent or in the world** that illustrate major human rights issues, violations or movements;

- Individuals and groups - past and present - who contributed and still contribute to the upholding and defence of human rights, **in one's own country, continent or the world** (famous as well as unsung)' (ibid, p. 10).

The learners are expected to be aware of/understand the history and philosophy of human rights for the struggle for freedom, justice, dignity and equality, as well as the previous two points. Reading these two points gives the impression that the HRCRT approach is indeed culturally sensitive and that it does not exclude the local history and culture relating to human rights. The statement that 'Current or historical events "**in one's own country…**" implies that the local culture, history and individuals, groups that contribute/d to promoting human rights are recognised in the curriculum (material, practices, strategies, objectives…). The initial analysis of the sample of the textbooks shows a clear lack of such references. Therefore, the following chapter examines this further by analysing specific lessons from the sample textbooks. The unit of analysis, taken from the policy document, shows a few instances of representing the refugee context/experiences in relation to the theorization and implementation of the HRCRT approach. For example, the context is mentioned in the instance of declaring the HRCRT policy's relevance to this context (ibid, p. 7). The refugee experiences are also mentioned in the statement of curricular approach being reflective of these experiences (ibid, p. 11). Identity is mentioned in few places in association with stating the vision and goals of the HRCRT approach as reiterated in the UNRWA's education reform strategy (ibid, p. 9-12). However, none of these instances indicates a dialectic relationship between the constructions of the curriculum and the local context, and how they influence one another.

With regard to the social geography, there is a clear avoidance of directly referring to the political context of the conflict and the legal position of the

Palestinian refugee learners, and the impact this has on them and their attitudes towards HRE. The unit of analysis does not show any indication to the refugee learners' experiences of inequalities and human rights violations that result in, at least, a worsening political situation, escalating conflict, the socio-economic hardship. The HRCRT approach does not tackle the issue of HRE in a conflict context as opposed to a post-conflict context in any way at all. This affects the curriculum's credibility as it appears to be divorced from the reality of the situation. Only the analysis of the sample textbooks can confirm or challenge this argument. The misrepresentation of the Palestinian cultural aspects also explains UNRWA's adoption of the rights-based approach to HRE. In this sense, the transformative approach, Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.1, is absent from the policy and the teaching practices. All the efforts of UNRWA aim at delivering the HRE programme, as informed by the key elements that the World Programme for HRE (2005- ongoing) dictates in the HRCRT policy. These key elements are the 'common understanding of human rights education, principles of teaching and learning, teacher preparation and professional development, the learning environment, and a strategy for monitoring and evaluation of human rights education' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 6). UNRWA, therefore, plays a role as a mediator between the global and the local, a passage through which the ideological model of HRE enters the local context.

Conclusion

Looking at the data responses to protocol 1 questions, some themes have emerged that indicate to some problematic aspects of the HRE dedicated curriculum to the Gaza Strip. These problematic aspects involve the major focus on spreading a standardized *culture of human rights* that excludes the Palestinian local cultural aspects and discoursing of human rights. This has been evident, for example, in UNRWA's alignment of frameworks and policies with the Palestinian educational system, which has resulted in the Hamas government's opposition to part of the UNRWA's curriculum, the lower secondary level textbook. Another problematic aspect pertains to the rights-based approach to HRE, which the policy frames within a limited scope of practices that ultimately aim at spreading the common understanding/universal/global culture of human rights. The standards, principles and

values promoted through this approach configure the HRE curriculum as an ideological model that meets challenges in integrating in the local context.

Regarding those problematic aspects, the following data Chapter 8 on the textbooks analysis further examines these aspects. First and most importantly is the discourse of HRCRT. This aims at revealing more on the particular discursive strategies and practices through the textual analysis. Second, the rights-based approach is another issue for examination because the analysis of the textbooks delves more into the texts (visual/written only) as discourse, the activities and the learning competencies. This is important for revealing the limits of the rights-based approach to HRE in the Gaza strip, and more on the HRE as an ideological model. Another issue to examine is the history, cultural aspects and experiences of the Palestinian refugee learners, and the extent to which the textbooks represent these aspects. In the same manner as this chapter, protocol 2 comprises questions that contribute to gaining more data from the examined sample textbooks.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS OF TEXTBOOKS

Introduction

The analysis of the HRCRT curriculum in the previous chapter has recommended some areas for further examination. These areas have to do with identifying the specific discursive strategies and practices that are embedded through the discourse. It also recommended examining the implementation of the HRE curriculum in relation to the socio-political and cultural context of Palestinian refugees. Further analysis of the sample of the lower secondary textbooks in this chapter contributes to understanding the aspects of the discourse of HRCRT and its functions in networking particular teaching and learning practices at UNRWA schools in Gaza. Although I take the sample from the suspended textbooks, it serves the purpose of answering the research questions, later in Chapter 9 because of the sample's ability to reflect UNRWA's policy of HRE and the concerning issues pertinent to HRE in the proposed context.

This chapter begins clarifying the particular choice of the 'unit of analysis' (Altheide and Schneider, 2013) for the analysis in this chapter. The reasons for focusing the unit of analysis on grades 8 and 9 have been stated earlier, in Chapter 6 on the research context, in relation to the research aims and questions. In this section, I explain the development of protocol 2 by which I collect the data from the sample textbooks, particularly, the unit of analysis. That is to facilitate the next phase of tracing the discourse in the grades 8 and 9 textbooks. This is to provide an overview of the main themes of peaceful resistance, tolerance and conflict resolution in anticipation of the analysis of the selected lessons.

The third section of the chapter deals with the analysis of specific lessons from the grades 8 and 9. Following the steps of the HRCRT curriculum analysis, the textbooks' analysis also utilises an adapted version of Altheide and Schneider (2013) protocols for data collection. I collect the data by applying protocol 2, Appendix 2, then demonstrate the data, which emerges from the process of coding and recoding. In relation to discourse, the analysis traces the discourse of HRCRT in the textbooks,

to impart on the occurrences of the concepts of conflict resolution and tolerance, and the related concepts that serve the discourse. This section continues to the more specific analysis of the texts, activities and images to show the relationship between the discourse and the social structure, practices and events that are constituted through UNRWA's HRE curricular aspects, policy and frameworks.

This section demonstrates the data in three themes. First is the theme which discusses the discourse of HRCRT as found in the examined lessons. It is split into two separate sub-themes that examine grade 8 lessons and grade 9 lessons, respectively. The discussion is generated through the data-driven aspect of this research in a sense that the discussed strategies and practices emerge from the data collection process. I use this data to generate a descriptive account of the data, followed by an interpretation, then an explanation of the discourse. The second theme is the culture of human rights in which I examine the main discursive strategies that serve the discourse and contribute to promoting this standardized culture. The third theme is the Palestinian cultural aspects where I explain the main instances of 'textual silences' (Huckin, 2002) by which the discourse marginalizes the Palestinian context and cultural aspects in the textbooks.

The chapter concludes by highlighting the main findings of the analysis that contribute to the following Chapter 9 of discussion. It shows the way in which the analysis of the HRCRT curriculum, and textbooks, contribute to carrying out a thorough dialectical relational CDA in relation to the wider context.

8.1. Protocol 2 Application
8.1.1. Unit of Analysis

The choice of the unit of analysis has been briefly mentioned in the introduction of this chapter as focusing on grades 8 and 9 textbooks. This is for two reasons. One reason is the lack of access to the whole second term of the grade7 textbook unlike the other two. Second, there are more issues to explore in the chosen textbooks that are pertinent to the criticism raised through the Hamas government's objection to the content of these textbooks (Associated Press, February 2014). Namely, the issues of peaceful resistance, and the disjuncture between the content of the textbooks and the history, struggle, ideology and experiences of the Palestinians, including the young

refugee learners. The HRCRT curriculum analysis, Chapter 7, has indicated the importance of examining the dominant discourse of HRCRT in more depth in the textbooks. Chapter 7 has concluded with the necessity for tracing this discourse and its manifestation in these textbooks. Therefore, I choose this unit of analysis to serve this purpose. More generally, I make the choice of the unit of analysis in connection to the research focus to analyse HRE in relation to collective memory, as a core aspect in the Palestinian history, culture and identity construction. The chosen lessons from grades 8 and 9 textbooks, therefore, respond to protocol 2, and are capable of responding specifically to the research questions in Chapter 9.

In grades 8 and 9 textbooks, I take activities from lessons [1 and 4], [7 and 12], respectively[37], as the unit of analysis to explore the concepts of peaceful resistance, conflict resolution and tolerance in relation to the Palestinian culture and collective memory. The aim is to examine the discoursal use and functions of these terms within the HRE curriculum in Gaza, and the extent to which this use correlates with the collective memory, as one aspect of the Palestinian culture and identity. This analysis contributes to answering three of the research questions concerning the problem with HRE during conflict, HRE's correlation with the collective memory, and the importance of this collective memory for teaching human rights in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict context- Chapter 9 demonstrates this thoroughly. It is of crucial importance that I clarify that choosing these lessons' activities as the unit of analysis does not, in any way, aim to justify Hamas government's criticism of the textbooks. Instead, I consider this criticism to further explore, understand and contribute to addressing the social wrong of HRE in this context of conflict.

In the description of the contents of the two textbooks- see the research context Chapter 5, sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.1.2, lessons 1 and 4 of grade 8 textbook focus on the concept of tolerance and peaceful resistance specifically while introducing other concepts in relation to the topics discussed. Lessons 7 of grade 9 textbook discusses the refugees' right to return by studying the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war ended, 1995. I choose this lesson for analysis as it directly connects with the refugee learners' collective memory and their strong belief in the right to return- as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2. Lesson 12 of grade 9 textbook focuses

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[37] A scanned copy of the selected lessons for examination are to be found in Appendices 8 and 9.

on the jurisdictions and responsibilities of the International Court of Justice (ICJ). That is another lesson worthy of analysis as it draws on the ICJ's position with regard to the ongoing construction of the wall of separation in the West Bank. I choose this lesson to continue exploring the concept of conflict resolution through the international legal tools, as demonstrated in the textbook, and the complexity surrounding the context.

An additional remark that is worth pointing out is that despite the fact that some lesson themes do not directly use the concepts of tolerance, conflict resolution, peaceful resistance and others related to the traced discourse in the research, these concepts are implied in some of the activities directly, or indirectly. I illustrate, with examples, in the analysis the connection between the examined lessons and the other lessons in the textbooks. That is to give the analysis and findings more reliability and rigour.

8.1.2. Development of Protocol 2 Categories

Protocol 2, Appendix 2, shows the protocol questions that I have chosen to "interrogate" the texts under analysis, as specified in the previous section. The protocol comprises 5 categories. Each category includes a number of questions that focus on a pre-determined issue for exploration that I have chosen in relation to the research topic and research questions. These categories are the structure of the textbooks, the lessons/texts (visual and written), the activities, the discourse, and the local culture. There are two data collection sheets that enlist the protocol questions, the data from the two textbooks per sheet, and my comments on the gathered data, Appendix 7 shows a data collection template to be used separately for grades 8 and 9 textbooks. Appendix 6 shows the data collection template that has been used in the HRCRT curriculum analysis.

The first three categories focus on examining the texts (written and visual), the activities and topics discussed in the lessons. That is to be able to relate this data to the discourse of HRCRT, to which I specify the fourth category. The choice of the fourth category became possible after the application of protocol 1 in the previous data chapter, which concluded with a recommendation to trace the discourse and identify its functions and discursive practices in the textbooks. The fifth category

also builds on the findings of the previous data chapter in a way that it examines the representation of the Palestinian identity and culture in the sample textbooks. The data gathered from the unit of analysis, in turn, helps identify the main themes and sub-themes that serve the discourse and shape the discursive practices. The following sections, therefore, demonstrate these themes then move to present the analysis of the data.

8.2. The Secondary Level Sample Textbooks

The data, gained from the data collection process, shows that the grade 8 textbook receives most of the focus on tolerance as the main theme in the lessons and peaceful resistance as a sub-theme that occurs and reoccurs in different lessons, other than lessons 1 and 4 that are under study. Tolerance and peaceful resistance are represented as a medium for promoting the culture of human rights and peace- as the data demonstrates further in this chapter. The grade 9 textbook, in parallel, focuses on tolerance as the main theme and other sub-themes that include reconciliation and conflict resolution. Having said that, the analysis responds to the protocol questions that are used to find out the manifestation of the dominant discourse, its aspects, functions and the topics that serve it. These are best depicted by examining the text in the lessons to capture the semiotic elements that serve the discourse of HRCRT. The analysis of the activities adds another dimension to the analysis by responding to the protocol questions regarding the Palestinian cultural aspect, the application of the rights-based approach and the learners' competencies that the curriculum aims to achieve.

The data collection process confirms the strong presence of the discourse of HRCRT in the examined sample of the human rights textbooks. This presence is supported by a variety of discursive practices by which the discourse functions as aimed by the UN institutions, and constituted in the UNRWA's HRE curriculum in Gaza. I explain the discursive practices in detail, in the analysis of the chosen lessons, as examples. Before I initiate with demonstrating the themes of the data analysis, I give an overall view of the content of both the textbooks by tracing the discourse. This is to capture its specific occurrences, and the related concepts that serve it in the grades 8 and 9 textbooks. The aim of tracing the discourse is to specify

where and how the concepts of tolerance and conflict resolution are represented in the textbooks as a whole. This is very important because it involves the content of the whole sample instead of just focusing on the chosen lessons. This is a conscious decision so that the choice of the examined lessons does not only serve my argument, but rather, it is highly dependent on the data-driven aspect of the data collection strategies. Tracing the discourse throughout the contents gives more reliability for the specific analysis of the chosen lessons, the unit of analysis. The numbers of the occurring themes and sub-themes I present in the following section are for the purpose of gaining this overview of the content of the textbooks rather than an analytical strategy.

8.2.1. Discourse in the Sample Textbooks

The grade 8 textbook represents the concepts of tolerance as the main theme that runs through the lessons by using other related terms such as peaceful resistance, peaceful approach and effective/organised resistance, as examples. The word "tolerance" is mentioned only 4 times in the whole textbook while there is no direct reference to the concept of conflict resolution. The word "conflict" appears in dissociation with "resolution" to refer to specific historical events where conflicts took place. Therefore, other related terms dominate the textbook and are discussed as means for claiming rights and achieving tolerance and peace. The most frequently used term is "peaceful resistance", which runs throughout the topics in the textbook. It occurs 14 times throughout the textbook, and there are instances of using other similar words such as "peaceful approach/ways of resistance", mentioned 6 times, to refer to certain efforts or movements, carried out by individuals or groups, to fight oppression. There is also the less likely use of terms like "effective/organised resistance" and "peaceful struggle/demonstrations/protests" for the same ends. Indeed, the word "peaceful" occurs more than 27 times in the discussion of the lessons to emphasize that the practices, that are peaceful in essence, are the ideal ways for achieving rights, tolerance, peace and justice.

The grade 8 textbook also celebrates the roles of some prominent advocates of human rights, or "heroes", as far as the last lesson of the textbook refers to them. These advocates such as Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks

and Rigoberta Menchú Tum are role models who carried, and passed the values of love, tolerance, compassion, respect and peace in their approach to resistance against oppression. The celebration of the endeavours of these advocates sets out the standards for what counts as peaceful resistance as the only positive action for change, and discards any other. The setting of these standards is promoted through the organized and selective representation of the historical and political contexts of the discussed topics. Furthermore, these standards are represented systematically, or discursively, through the language use in the texts and activities of each lesson in the textbook. To illustrate, I take lessons 1 and 4 from the grade 8 textbook to clarify in details the discursive practices that constitute the discourse. I do that, as I do it in other examples throughout the analysis, by reflecting on the socio-political and cultural circumstances to contextualize the experiences and attitudes of the learners in Gaza. That is not to overgeneralize these attitudes towards the global discourse of human rights or justify any actions in this regard. Rather, the purpose is to capture some aspects of the collective society's local discourses that form the learners' attitudes as they encounter the global discourse of human rights, peace and tolerance.

The grade 9 textbook focuses on the study of various examples of conflicts, the armed conflicts in particular, and the legal ways to conflict resolution through the reinforcement of the International Humanitarian Law (IHL), which is heavily referenced throughout the textbook, 62 times. This makes "conflict resolution" the main theme for discussion throughout the lessons of the textbook. The IHL is heavily referenced through the different topics, which clearly indicate that the IHL and the UN treaties, legal structure, along with the influence of the international community, are the sub-themes that constitute the means for conflict resolution. The textbook represents these sub-themes as the only tools through which justice can be achieved, and conflicts can be resolved. The first unit of the textbook, which focuses on the reinforcement of the IHL, demonstrates a repeated reference to armed conflicts post World War II. In relation to this, the term "International community" is frequently used, 36 times, to assert that IHL can only be promoted and fostered by the active role of the member states of the UN with regard to ending human rights violations.

The term "armed conflict" is used more than 14 times, in different examples, to indicate the transgressions of individuals and states in spite of the IHL. The word

"conflict", mentioned 20 times independently, to describe the historical events where the transgressions took place. There is also a reference to "post-conflict", 7 times, only in unit two because of its focus on the post-conflict memories and the prevention of conflict through reconciliation and tolerance. Most importantly, the term "conflict resolution" is used only twice in unit 2 to confirm the role of the culture of human rights, tolerance and peace in resolving conflicts- I explain this in the analysis of the lessons. In terms of the reference to tolerance, the word is used independently 18 times within the context of the discussed lessons. The term "culture of tolerance" appears 8 times in association with the culture of peace and the culture of human rights to reinforce the concept of tolerance among other concepts to avoid conflicts. Remarkably, the references to tolerance/culture of tolerance are captured only in the last two lessons of the textbook which can be interpreted as a concluding summary of the whole philosophy of HRE in Gaza in a nutshell[38].

Unit 2 also focuses on the role of the international community and the IHL in relation to post-conflict contexts, and it employs another concept that is relevant to the ones mentioned above which is "truth and reconciliation", mentioned 19 times, whereas "reconciliation" alone is mentioned 13 times in this unit to emphasize its importance for the prevention of conflict. Having clarified the concepts that are related to the dominant discourse, I examine some texts and activities of lessons 7 and 12 of the grade 9 textbook to further depict the discursive aspects that are embedded in the language use in this unit of analysis.

8.3. The Data Analysis

Similar to the previous data chapter, this analysis chapter interweaves the data with the analysis for the same purpose of creating a dialogue between the context, the data and the available literature in the area of research. I emphasize here that in CDA researches, it is difficult to separate the data from the analysis mainly because CDA is not a conventional research method that follows a set of technical procedures and specific research designs, as discussed in the Methodology Chapter 4.

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[38] Grade 9 is the highest level of UNRWA's education provision. Students who pass grade 9 move to upper secondary level of education, which is provided by the state/government.

This dialogue aims at generating a better understanding of the social wrong by reflecting the complexity of the interrelated political and contextual elements that cause the proliferation of the social wrong[39]. In the following section I demonstrate the themes that have emerged from the data collected through the application of protocol 2. I structure the following discussion of the data in three themes. In each theme, I incorporate three stages of Fairclough's (2003) textual analysis that are description, interpretation and explanation. As established in the methodology Chapter 4, discursive practices/strategies in CDA refer to the combination of the specific linguistic "means" for the promotion of certain "goals" (Fairclough, 2016; Gavriely-Nuri, 2012). The data analysis that follows takes this into consideration throughout the chapter to identify the functions of the discourse and the discursive strategies.

8.3.1. Human Rights, Conflict Resolution and Tolerance

Protocol 2 initiates by asking questions about the structure of the sample textbooks in terms of units, topics, main concepts and objectives- for the purposes explained in the earlier section 8.1.2. In category one of the protocol, the questions become more specific to the lessons under analysis. One example is the question about the topics and objectives of each of the lessons in the grade 8 textbook. The topic of lesson 1 focuses on Gandhi's humane actions during the Boer war (1899-1902). The objectives stated at the beginning of this lesson expect the learners to be able to:

- '**Evaluate** the treatment of the *enemy* in a *humane* manner.
- **Know** the *ethical conduct* as one of the components of *peaceful resistance*' (Grade 8, 2014, p. 3).

In lesson 4 of the same textbook, the topic focuses on the language rights and the students' resistance against the educational policies of the Apartheid regime during the 1970s in South Africa. The objectives are as follows:

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[39] Following the curriculum analysis in Chapter 7, the social wrong here refers to the construction of the HRE curriculum according to international standards that are not fully inclusive of the local priorities. The examination of the sample textbooks contributes to articulating this social wrong more precisely.

- '**Show** that the *language rights* are human rights, identify the ways in which students can participate in *peaceful resistance*,
- **Demonstrate** how the *international community* can be influenced by the individual incidences that show the systematic violations of human rights, and,
- **Deduce** that the social movements can take long years to achieve their goals' (Grade 8, 2014, p.16).

As for the grade 9 textbook, lesson 7 belongs to unit one of the textbook, which centres on the enforcement of the IHL. Specifically, the topic of the lesson examines the refugees and the right to return by taking Bosnia and Herzegovina as an example. The objectives of this lesson expect that the learners to:

- '**Know** about the successful execution of the *right to return* in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina,
- **Conclude** that the execution of the *right to return* in Bosnia and Herzegovina was realized through the implementation of the rule of law' (Grade 9, 2014, p.29).

The topic of lesson 12 of the grade 9 textbook discusses the International Court of Justice (ICJ), its jurisdictions and responsibilities. The objectives of the lesson expect the learners to:

- '**Know** the jurisdictions and responsibilities of the ICJ,
- **Identify** the ways in which the ICJ reflects international standards of justice' (ibid, p. 56).

With regard to the discourse, the statement of the objectives in both textbooks works as a framing technique which determines what is to be discussed, how and what is not to be discussed (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). This comes as an affirmation of the general format of the HRE curriculum, discussed in the previous chapter, to only tackle the topics within the paradigm of human rights and peace building through emphasis on concepts that are profoundly associated with peaceful resistance and conflict resolution. Therefore, the main concept in lesson 1, grade 8, for the learners to internalize is 'peaceful resistance' by reflecting on the actions of Gandhi and his influence. The main concepts in lesson 4 of the same textbook are

also relevant to the concept of peaceful resistance. These are the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), the linguistic rights, demonstrations and the international boycott. In the grade 9 textbook, the main concepts of lesson 7 are the right to return, and the reinforcement of legal rights. In lesson 12, the main concepts are the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the adversarial judicial proceedings and the binding decision. Therefore, the concepts presented in the examined lessons function as the boundaries within which human rights are discussed. By drawing on the overall description of the content of the textbooks and tracing the discourse, it is evident that two main themes inform the topics, objectives and concepts of the lessons. These are the theme of peaceful resistance in the grade 8 textbook, and the theme of conflict resolution in the grade 9 textbook. The lessons of the former theme present some examples of historic events where peaceful resistance approach was a success. The lessons of the latter theme, however, present some of the international legal tools and terms that contribute to conflict resolution.

The correlation between the objectives and the main concepts serve the discourse of HRCRT by highlighting peaceful resistance and conflict resolution as the main themes that link the lessons throughout the textbooks, not only the lessons under examination. This correlation is fostered through the clear organisation of the HRE curriculum, policies and frameworks that inform and standardize the practices of teaching, as discussed in the previous data chapter. Chapter 7 has discussed these policies and frameworks in relation to UNRWA's role in HRE provision in Gaza. This chapter builds on this point by clarifying further the ways in which the textbooks mirror the alignment of those policies and frameworks. Looking at the data collected from the studied materials, the discourse of New Capitalism is evident through the inclusion of the more specific discourse of HRCRT. This takes place through the process of naturalisation (Fairclough, 2003) where the normative discourse on human rights enters the local context, with its ideological underpinnings, to promote the UN's standard culture of human rights. UNRWA is the medium by which the global discourses, such as the New Capitalist discourse and the human rights discourse, enter the local Palestinian context as ideological discourses. The aim is to promote a certain culture through the utilization of the discourse of HRCRT. The HRCRT policy analysis has revealed this partially by

applying 'promotional culture' (Fairclough, 2003) as an analytical term. The data gained from the textbooks analysis compliments this finding by capturing this moment of discursive moments, among others, as I show in the analysis of the texts from the chosen lessons in this chapter.

I, therefore, list the analytical terms that I apply in the analysis of the texts as discourse to be able to identify the discursive strategies in operation- see Glossary at the end of the thesis. In no particular order, these are:

- 'Re-contextualization
- Astheticization of Public identities
- Promotional culture
- Nominalization
- Operationalization
- Interdiscursivity' (Fairclough, 2003, 2016).

I also use Huckin's (2002) textual silences as another analytical term to depict evidence of manipulation, exclusion or marginalization of, for example, particular cultural aspects, or historical and political events.

8.3.1.1. Grade 8: Constructing "Peace" in Peaceful Resistance

By reflecting on the previous section, the process of framing of the discourse of HRCRT entails utilizing certain concepts for achieving certain objectives that promote the discourse. Peaceful resistance is the main concept that dominates the grade 8 sample textbook that serves the discourse. In this section, I analyse specific texts from lessons 1 and 4 from this textbook to reveal the discursive strategies in function and their role in constructing the social reality of the Palestinian refugee learners.

8.3.1.1.1. Lesson 1:Humane Treatment for All

Following the lesson's objectives, section 8.3.1, lesson 1 is divided into three texts with three activities. The texts, as well as the activities, focus on three topics, i. e., Gandhi's humane actions during the Boer war (1899- 1902), Gandhi's return of the medals to the British authorities as a way of objection to the government's

policies and practices, and Gandhi's peaceful approach to resistance for India's independence. I break down the third text and its activity because it is the only instance where there is a direct bond between the approach of peaceful resistance and the concept of tolerance. To begin with, this text builds on the information provided in the first two texts/activities. However, it centres on the main concept that the objectives focus on, namely, peaceful resistance. The activity goes on highlighting, specifically, Gandhi's peaceful philosophy and doctrine for the Indian people to resist oppression. The activity states that:

> "*Gandhi called his people to beware of* **anger** *because it comes from evil. To* **purify** *their hearts from* **hate** *because it harms the one who hates and to fight injustices and occupation. He also taught them that the British are no* **superior to them**, *and that they [Indians] are* **masters** *of themselves as long as they* **work hard**, *and continue doing that in* **dedication** *and* **love** [emphasis added]" (The grade 8 textbook, p. 6).

The learners are expected to answer or do the following tasks after reading the text:

1. What is the **approach** that we deduce from Gandhi's behaviours?
2. Use the **peaceful resistance approach** to prepare a **poster** that conveys the message of **tolerance**.
3. Hang the poster in the classroom wall as an **exhibition** for your **classmates** to see.

The opening task allows the learners to reflect on the text or the whole lesson to come up with the answer that classifies the actions of Gandhi. However, the second task states the approach overtly in a didactic manner that is most likely to lead the learners to modify their answers accordingly. The second and third tasks ask the learners to use this approach, peaceful resistance, to convey the message of tolerance through a poster of their own design, and hang it in the classroom. The third and fourth category of protocol 2 focus on examining the texts, activities and learning skills in relation to the dominant discourse and the discursive strategies in function- see Appendix 2 for the specific questions the protocol asks. The discussion I present here comes as a result of this data collection process. Three discursive strategies are in use in the construction of this text/activity in relation to the whole lesson. I discuss

these strategies by applying Fairclough's (2003, 2016) analytical terms, enlisted in section 8.3.1 earlier. These strategies are de-politicization, legitimation and idealization.

First, the main strategy of de-politicization, as established in the initial analysis Chapter 6, aims at generating therapeutic behaviours and attitudes instead of directly addressing injustices within their contexts of power, history and politics (Brown, 2006). It is depicted in the alienation of the refugee learners' experiences from the discussion of Gandhi's actions/peaceful approach. Therefore, the peaceful approach to resistance is the highlight of the lesson's objectives, activities and the intended learning competencies. Second, legitimation is profoundly associated with the de-politicization strategy in the sense that the peaceful approach to resistance is represented as the only legitimate way for claiming rights, justice and peace. In contrast, non-peaceful approaches are illegitimate, although not stated in the texts. Re-contextualization, as an analytical term, captures these moments of discursive practices. Re-structuring relations appears in setting the objectives, the topic and the texts of the lesson within the global context by referring to a specific historical event, with Gandhi's peaceful approach at the centre. The choice of this particular historical event also indicates the process of re-scaling in which the approach to peaceful resistance is required to correspond with the local, national, regional and international scales. This reassures the argument made in Chapter 7 on the continuation of the UN's dominant authoritative voice in the HRCRT policy that is embedded in the local context, and reflected in the sample textbooks. The local perceptions are expected to alter according to the international standards of the UN, mainly, by denouncing non-peaceful approaches to resistance and focusing on peace building.

In the activity above, learners are only led to adopt a specific answer that promotes a peaceful approach as the only praised and desired approach. They are encouraged to internalize it within their systems of beliefs, and further, into their actions. I explain this by discussing the third strategy of idealization where the UN's culture of human rights and peace is framed as ideal and universal. An idealization strategy guarantees that the design of the texts/activities contributes to promoting this ideal culture. Three analytical terms help clarify this strategy, promotional culture

and aestheticization of public identities and operationalization. Chapter 7 on the HRE curriculum analysis has discussed the first analytical term in relation to the articulation of the HRCRT policy text, section 7.2.3. It has indicated the repeated emphasis on promoting a "common" understanding of human rights. It has also revealed the role of the rights-based approach, combined with the learning competencies, in promoting, supporting, advocating and reinforcing this commonality. This is mirrored in the texts I examine in this section. Part of this culture of human rights is the promotion of the approach to peaceful resistance and humane actions during conflict. The HRE curriculum analysis has required further examination, with regard to the learners' competencies, in the analysis of the textbooks. These competencies are divided into three categories, knowledge and understanding, attitudes and skills. The texts in the lesson, combined with the activities serve to develop cognitive skills among the learners (understanding, comprehending, evaluating and creating). The activities, specifically, also serve that end by the selective and systematic use of the language and the wording of the activities, to push for certain internalized responses (attitudes) that are taken further to the level of action (skills). For example, in the HRCRT attitudes section, the learners are expected to demonstrate 'Respect for oneself and *tolerance* and respect for others based on the dignity of all persons and their human rights' (UNRWA, 2012, p.10). Thus, by focusing on certain learning competencies, the curriculum serves as a tool for promoting the ideal culture of human rights.

Moreover, advocacy, as a vital aspect of this promotional culture, plays an important role in fostering the ideal culture of human rights. This is most pertinent in choosing Gandhi as a role model for the learners to resemble. Here, the aestheticization of public identities shows the construction of a particular image of Gandhi. This is by focusing of aesthetics and values in the texts (Fairclough, 2003). One example is classifying his actions as "humane" and making this term the main concept in the lesson along with peaceful resistance. The text, from the activity, above is an example of a powerful rhetoric that emphasizes values such as peace instead of anger, love instead of hate, and dignity instead of low ranking. Another aesthetic example is the image in the examined lesson- see below. The image is an aestheticization of Gandhi and his actions during the Boer war. The emphasis on the

(Grade 8, 2014, p. 4)
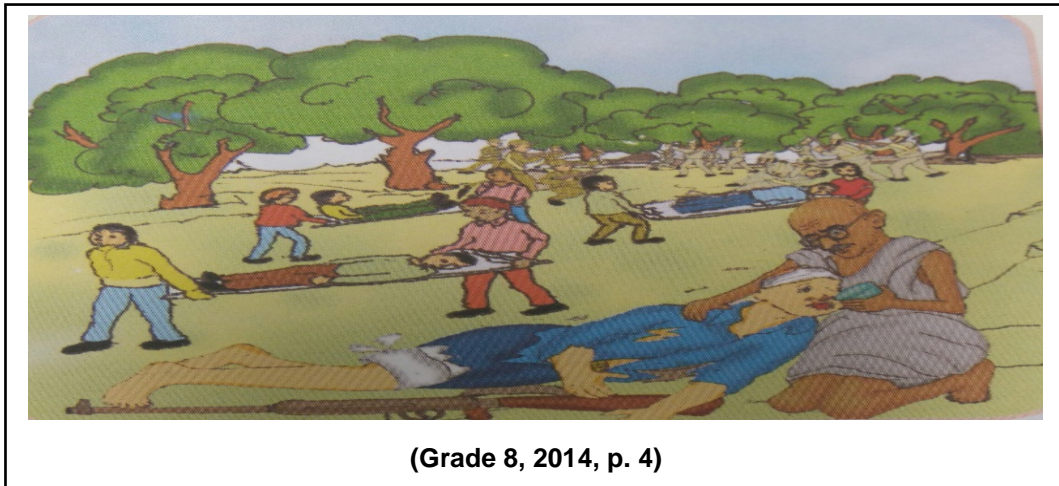
pre-mentioned values is illustrated in the image by bringing Gandhi to the front of it where he among others are helping the injured. At the far back of the image is the site of soldiers fighting with arms. The peaceful and humane actions dominate the image while the action of war is pushed back as a kind of background noise, and therefore, the values and attitudes associated with these action are to be discarded. In contrast, the values and attitudes associated with peaceful actions are advocated.

Further into the idealization strategy, I discuss operationalization, as another analytical term that helps understand the way in which the discourse goes into practice. This takes place through the interrelated processes of enactment, inculcation and materialization- see Glossary. In the activity above, the third task asks the learners to create a poster, an artefact, which contributes to the intensification of the value of tolerance. This visual artefact contributes to the materialization of the discourse in the classroom alone, but similar posters are hung outside the classrooms, and also drawn inside and outside the school walls to promote the culture of human rights. Chapter 7, section 7.2.3.4 has established an understanding of operationalization of the discourse mainly through institutionalizing and standardizing the teaching and learning practices. The analysis of this lesson carries on clarifying this process at the classroom level. With this analysis, I also argue that operationalization takes place beyond the production of such artefacts. It extends to the whole school environment through reproducing behaviours and attitudes that promote the discourse and the culture of human rights. The aim is that the learners absorb these values which become intrinsic to their ways of interacting and being.

This reveals the functions of the discourse in networking different genres and styles to produce and reproduce new practices.

This analysis captures one of the instances where the textbooks mirror the aims, principles and guidelines of the policy. For example, in the skills section of the HRCRT policy, the learners are expected to 'Describe historical and contemporary political, legal, economic, cultural and social processes from a ***human rights perspective*** and using ***human rights language***' (UNRWA, 2012, p.11). However, in terms specific to the context of HRE in Gaza, this functions as a limitation to the teachers' and learners' agency in exploring different possibilities, other than the ones determined by the discourse and tailored by its positivistic language.

8.3.1.1.2. Lesson 4: Soweto Uprising

Lesson 4 is an extension to lesson 3 of the grade 8 textbook- see table of content in Chapter 5, section 5.3.1.1. While lesson 3 introduces the racial segregation "Apartheid" regime to provide the learners with knowledge on its history, beginnings and legal basis in South Africa during the colonial rule, lesson 4 moves on to focus on the Soweto Uprising. This lesson discusses the uprising and the students' participation in resisting the educational policies of the Apartheid regime through peaceful demonstrations.

Two main texts comprise two activities for lesson 4. The texts sufficiently serve the objectives of the lesson, section 8.3.1. The focus on the Soweto Uprising and its effect on the international community gives the opportunity to discuss other related issues such as language rights, students' role in demonstrating and resisting the regime, and the important role of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The first text (Grade 8, 2012, p. 17-18) introduces the learners to the initiation of the black African students' movement in the 1960s and its development into a national movement, in the 1970s, to resist Apartheid, which imposed English and Afrikaans as the official languages on schools. The activity that follows this text expects the learners to answer a set of questions about the text. The activity asks the learners to state their opinions of Apartheid practices with regard to language, and they discuss new concepts such as the linguistic rights, cultural fusion and culture. The learners are also asked to state the position of the UDHR with regard to language rights. To

conclude, the activity provides the learners with factual knowledge about the beginnings of the students' participation in resisting Apartheid and the UDHR's position regarding language rights. This activity is a preparation for the following activity, which is centred on the Soweto Uprising 1976, and the approach to peaceful resistance.

For this, I analyse text/activity 2 (p.19- 20) along with the tasks that follow it. To begin with, the text, translated in Appendix 4, frames the Soweto Uprising as one of the most important events that initiated a series of demonstrations against the Apartheid regime in the 1970s. The escalations that took place during the time were reflected as playing a huge role in stimulating the international community to renounce the practices of Apartheid by supporting the economic and political boycott to lay pressure on the regime. In this way, the demonstrations are depicted as pushing for a positive change in collaboration with the international community. However, the Soweto demonstration is pointed out as being a peaceful demonstration that went "out of control", according to the text (p. 19). The resultant similar reactions in South Africa are not referred to as peaceful in the same text. There are implicit connotations to the violent outcomes of this resistance. For instance, the second paragraph in the text hints that there were casualties among 'men, women and young children' (ibid, p. 19).The text does not state that as an aspect of the resistance that involves sacrifice- I elaborate on this in relation to the tasks following the text as there is a possible interpretation to this precise choice of language.

Three discursive strategies are in function in this text, in particular, and in the lesson as a whole. First of all, there is de-politicization as a macro strategy that is supported by other strategies to serve the discourse. Similar to lesson 1 of this sample textbook, re-contextualization, as an analytical term, shows the role of the re-structuring and re-scaling processes in organising the orientation of the lesson. Again, the lesson focuses on a particular historical event that is situated within a global context. To explain, I start by looking at the depiction of the Soweto demonstration as a peaceful demonstration that '***went out of control when fire was opened on the protestors, and resulted in the death of Hector Pieterson who was at his thirteen springs***' (Grade 8, activity 2, p. 19). The passive voice in "fire was opened" indicates the authors' avoidance of deliberating the specific causes or the

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responsible party for the escalation. Therefore, the event becomes a mere historical reference, rather than, a politically charged and significant moment of nationalist resistance that the Palestinian learners easily relate to, and recognize as an echo of their own experiences. Therefore, the text, as discourse, focuses on limiting these forms of connections and meaning making by representing an anecdotal version of the event. In this anecdotal narrative of the event, the discourse establishes new dialectic relations that occur in structure and in scale. For example, the dialectical relationship between the role of the international community and peaceful resistance is reciprocal. In other words, only the positive, "peaceful", practices of resistance such as peaceful demonstrations guarantee a positive and powerful response from the international community like boycotting the Apartheid regime, in the case of South Africa. Therefore, the discourse focuses on establishing this type of new relations that, in turn, promote new discursive practices.

The image, accompanying the text, serves the context provided in the anecdotal narrative of the Soweto Uprising and the students' participation in it. The image constitutes the world, or at least, the practice of demonstration, as it "ought to be" rather than what it "is" or "was" at the time of the described event. Although the death of Hector Pieterson is portrayed and explained as a turning point in the struggle against oppression, his picture, which spread worldwide according to the

(Grade 8, 2014, p. 19)

Hector Pieterson (Image retrieved from the internet)
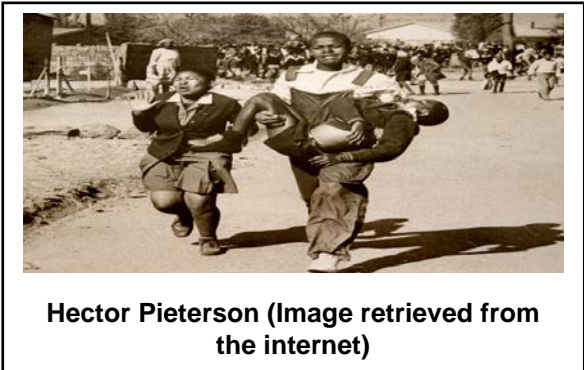
text (p. 19), is not included in the lesson. This is because Hector's picture stimulates certain connections and meaning making, by the Palestinian learners, that challenge the discursive construction of the new de-politicized reality of the learners. I explain this more by discussing the second strategy of rationalization, which supports the macro strategy of de-politicization. This strategy focuses on generating a rational

understanding of how human rights can be practiced. The lesson introduces the learners to article 20 of the UDHR on the freedom of peaceful assembly and association. Therefore, the lesson focuses on representing the "correct" peaceful approach to civil participation by avoiding instances where the learners make particular associations that can evoke feelings of anger, resentment or disapproval of the human rights discourse. Including the picture of Hector in the lesson can be considered as one of these instances that divert the attention from the concept of peaceful resistance especially when taught in the Palestinian context. The image used in the lesson, however, shows the students marching, holding slogans and participating in the peaceful act of resistance. This is the image that is intended to be strongly associated with the act of demonstration, as a form of resistance.

Two tasks follow this text/activity. In task 1, the learners are asked, in groups, to answer the following questions:

-How did the students in Soweto **express their rejection** to imposing the Afrikaans language?

-What other **peaceful ways** can be used to object to a policy?

The caption of the image reads as: 'The former *Secretary General of the United Nations*, Kofi Annan, lays a bouquet of flowers on the grave of the student Hector Pieterson' (ibid, p. 20).

(Grade 8, 2014, p. 20)

The first question relies on the learners giving the answer according to what they read in the text. That involves a lower thinking skills to only recall information that is limited to the text. The second question is ambiguous because it suggests two contrasting interpretation. The first one is that the Soweto demonstration was peaceful, and therefore, there can be other peaceful ways to object to a policy. The second is that there is an assumption, based on the fact that Hector lost his life, that the demonstration was non-peaceful so that the learners can come up with alternatives. The repeated use of the word "peaceful"

functions as a limit to the ways in which resistance can be viewed and talked about in the lesson. Furthermore, aetheticization of public identities is applicable in the discussion of rationalization as a discursive strategy. Kofi Anan represents the UN institution in its rationality, practicality and professional endeavour to end human suffering by promoting the values and practices of human rights, according to the standards of the UN. This resonates with the set of skills the HRCRT promotes through the HRE curriculum in Gaza. For example, the skill involving the learners to 'Describe historical and contemporary political, legal, economic and cultural and social processes from a human rights perspective and using the human rights language' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 11). The learners are therefore encouraged to think rationally by believing in the international system and the legal tools for claiming rights rather than taking matters in hand, and resorting to violence. In reference to the analysis of lesson 1, the strategy of legitimation is further extended in this lesson as well by encouraging positive attitudes towards a rational understanding of the values and practices of human rights where non-peaceful resistance is irrelevant.

In relation to the Palestinian context, task 2 asks the learners to 'look at an image that represents the Palestinian reality, and express their feelings about it' (ibid, p. 20).

The caption here reads: **'**Faris Odeh, a Palestinian child of 14 springs confronting **the military bulldozer** with his stone'.

The task and image are the only overt references to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in this sample textbooks. The task is relatively open to teachers' as well as the learners' input or open discussion of what they feel seeing the image.

(Grade 8, 2014, p. 20)

This may allow for a very critical discussion of the liability of peaceful resistance in the Palestinian context especially that the learners can make connections between Faris's and Hector's stories. In the Palestinian context, young people admire Faris Odeh and other martyrs who "sacrificed" their lives resisting oppression, and some of them have a wish to become martyrs themselves- this is based on my discussions

with some students I have taught at three different UNRWA schools. Therefore, in this sense, sacrifice and martyrdom make heroes and role models. However, the activity as a whole represents Hector, Faris and the other South Africans who lost their lives, or were wounded, as casualties rather than heroes. The picture of Hector's grave and Faris's last confrontation can function discursively as implying that non-peaceful actions lead to catastrophic consequences, and that there is a way to avoid these consequences. With this in mind, the strategy of rationalization focuses on carrying the learners to adopt peaceful resistance as an alternative, and modify their attitudes and actions accordingly.

The third strategy I discuss in the analysis of this lesson is textual silence. As established in the Methodology Chapter4, two types of silences I discuss here. Pre-suppositional silence and manipulative silence. The former refers to omitting information by the author assuming that this information is already known (Huckin, 2002). The omitted information can be 'reconstructed by consulting its immediate context' (ibid, p. 350). The latter involves the deliberate action of omitting information in the interests of the author (ibid, p. 351). In the examined lesson, I mark two instances of silence. The first is omitting the word "Israeli" from the caption of the image of Faris above. The second is the silence about mentioning the two Palestinian Uprisings, the First Intifada 1987 and the Second Intifada 2000 in which Faris was killed. In examining these instances, I locate this silence in the in-between-ness of presupposition and manipulation. This is because the task allows some space for the learners and the teacher to bring this omitted information to the discussion. However, I also argue that the main voice of authorship, represented in the cooperation between the UN and other international institutions, utilise this silence to serve the discourse. This, again, pertains to supporting the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling that promote the discursive construction of the learners' new reality through HRE. Therefore, pre-suppositional silence is not innocent or less manipulative (ibid, p. 350). Moreover, the argument I make with regard to HRE being an ideological model eliminates this aspect of innocence.

The analysis of lessons 1 and 4 of the grade 8 textbook reveals the huge emphasis on constructing "peace" and "tolerance" in relation to resistance. This is mainly achieved through employing certain concepts that serve this theme. Namely,

peaceful resistance, humane treatment and peaceful demonstrations. The discursive strategies discussed in the analysis play a role in generating a rational understanding of the values and practices of human rights for resisting oppression peacefully. Thus, they also play a role in de-legitimizing any other forms of resistance for claiming rights. The discursive strategies, therefore, focus on promoting the UN's culture of human rights, which I discuss in detail in section 8.3.2 of this chapter.

8.3.1.2. Grade 9: Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation

In reference to section 8.3.1 on explicating the main topics, concepts and objectives of the lessons under examination, I carry on analysing lessons 7 and 12 from the grade 9 sample textbook. As shown in section 8.3.1, this textbook focuses on the concept of conflict resolution by discussing the aspects of the IHL and the legal tools for accessing legal rights. Similar to grade 8 analysis, I apply Fairclough's (2016) analytical terms to discuss the strategies in function.

8.3.1.2.1. Lesson 7: Refugees and The Right to Return

Lesson 7 belongs to unit 1 of the textbook, which centres on the enforcement of the IHL. The lesson examines the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a successful example for implementing the right to return, through legal channels. The main concepts pertaining to the lesson's objectives are the *right to return* and the reinforcement of the legal rights.

The lesson begins with stating the *right to return* as one of the principles of the IHL and a right that is highlighted in the UDHR and the (ICCPR). It states article 13 of the UDHR and article 12 of the ICCPR which both elucidate the right of a person to leave and enter their country freely. It adds the OHCHR's three suggested solutions for refugees which I state below in the text's analysis. This contextual material- in the first page of the lesson- aims at preparing the learners for the topic of the lesson, the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The lesson then moves to introduce two activities on this topic. The first activity starts by asking the learners to locate Bosnia and Herzegovina, among the Balkans countries, on a map on the left side of the page. Next, the learners are to read a text entitled "The displacement of the

residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina" to acquire factual and historical knowledge of the events that took place. The lesson focuses on the right to return as a priority for abolishing the practices of ethnic cleansing, as stated in the text (Grade 9, 2014, p. 31- 32).

Accompanying the text are two images that show the mass migration of refugees who fled the ethnic cleansing (ibid, p. 31-32). The text carries on explaining the association between the right to return and the rights to property. In addition, the text points out the central role of the international community in prioritising the recognition of the rights to property, which are necessary to facilitate the return of the refugees to their properties. The Bosnian refugees had three options, as suggested by the OHCHR:

(Grade 9, 2014, p. 31)

(Grade 9, 2014, p. 32)

- 'Return;
- Compensation/selling their properties, or assimilation in the countries of refuge;
- Resettling in another [third] country' (ibid, p. 32).

The final part of the text summarizes, in a box, Dayton Peace Agreement 1995, which allowed the dispersed people to return to their properties and to own these properties. The application of the terms of the agreement began in 2003, and by 2006, more than a million of the refugees could return to their home (ibid, p. 32).

The discourse embedded in this textbook is guided by the legal framework in reference to the IHL, and with the active involvement of the international community. The text is highly de-politicized- de-politicization being the macro strategy in this textbook as well- that there are no details about causes behind the ethnic cleansing. This functions in limiting teachers and learners discussion to the international legal tools and the role of the international community. An expected

outcome of reading the text is making direct connections to the Palestinian refugees' experiences during/post Al-Nakba 1948. Seeing the images, the learners can identify with the Bosnian refugees because the scene resonates with the Palestinian collective memory of the first generation of the Palestinian refugees, as well as the following generations. Rationalization, as a supporting strategy, serves the discourse of HRCRT by outlining the practical procedures by which the international tools can be put into practice. One interpretation of the function of the text (written and visual) is the attempt to maintain the faith of the Palestinian learners in the legal channels and the international community as the sole way for claiming their rights. The cultural aspects and history of the Palestinian learners are, therefore, peripheral, or even irrelevant to the lesson objectives. This indicates to one of the strong functions of the discourse in constructing the text within the frame of peace-building and peace education, as explained in the framing of the discourse in Chapter 7, section 7.2.3.3. The precisely ascribed objectives limit the discussion of the activities to the legal aspects that are necessary for political conflict resolution.

Following the text, activity 2 requires that the learners discuss two quotations and express their opinions by answering some questions. First, a quotation by the International Higher Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina 2002- 2005, Paddy Ashdown:

'*It's a miracle, that 10 years after a war in which 250,000 people were killed - one-sixteenth of the population - and two million displaced, that one million of them have gone home*' (Cited in the grade 9 textbook, 2014, p.33).

The question following the quotation is about the crucial factors that guaranteed giving the Bosnian refugees a just solution. In a didactic manner, the learners are expected to reflect on the text and identify the enforcement of the IHL, informed by the rights enshrined in the UDHR and the ICCPR in addition to the active role of the international community, as crucial factors. The collective memory and aspirations of the Bosnian refugees to return are also crucial factors, which are absent from the text. Therefore, the question, in this sense, continues in limiting the scope of thinking to what the text identifies as crucial factors.

The second quotation reads as:

'The UN's General Assembly passed Resolution 194 pertaining to the Palestinian refugees' right to return but this resolution was not implemented on the ground till this day' (ibid, p.33).

Two questions follow this quotation:

- What are the ***factors*** that stand in the way of the implementation of this Resolution in the case of the Palestinian refugees?
- How can the Bosnian experience be ***beneficent*** in relation to the case of the ***Palestinian refugees***?

First, the lesson introduces an adapted version of the historical context of the Bosnia case. Adapted here refers to the adaptation of a historical event to serve the discourse. The learners are not well informed of the legal structure of the UN establishment and the resolutions it generates. In elaboration, the learners may not understand that the resolutions passed by the General Assembly are advisory to the Security Council, which is the only organ that can make resolutions mandatory. The concept of a binding decision, is not included as one of the main concepts of the lesson, and it is not clarified elsewhere in the activities. Unless it is discussed elsewhere in the textbook, the leaners will not be able to understand it within the context of this lesson. Therefore, the learners are more likely to deduce that the only obstacle in the way of implementing the resolution is the Israeli occupation. The argument I make here is that if the objective of the lesson, at least, is for the learners to grasp the concept of legal rights, then it is necessary to teach the mechanisms in which the IHL operates, and the structure of the UN body that is responsible for the protection of rights. As for the second question, again, there is a didactic approach to eliciting a right answer which is mainly concerned with awaiting the active involvement of the international community, as reflected in the text. Therefore, the skills that the learners can develop in analysing and creating their own evaluation of the two examples is framed within the standardized language of human rights, as ascribed in the HRCRT policy document regarding the learners' competencies.

The other macro strategy in operation in this lesson is legitimation. This strategy guarantees that the discourse conveys the significance of the implementation of the IHL through the assigned legal tools. This significance resides in the rejection of any

mechanisms for claiming rights that are not conventionalized through the UN body of institutions and standards. Therefore, the strategies of rationalization and idealization support this macro strategy. The former, as discussed earlier, centres on demonstrating the practicality of the international legal system and its success in conflict resolution. This is evident in the second question- of the activity above- where the learners are expected to develop positive attitudes towards the IHL and the role of the international community. In other words, to believe in *the rule of law,* as the lesson concludes by reminding them that conflict resolution is possible through these tools only. The latter compliments the rationalization strategy by idealizing the international legal practices and standards. It is also evident in Ashdown's statement of rejoicing the success of Dayton Peace Agreement. This success is primarily owned to the IHL and the active role of the international community, and second, to the Bosnians' belief in the role of law for resolving the conflict, as framed by the discourse.

8.3.1.2.2. Lesson 12: The International Court of Justice (ICJ)

Lesson 12 discusses the International Court of Justice (ICJ), its jurisdictions and responsibilities. To reiterate, the objectives of the lesson expect the learners to 'Know the jurisdictions and responsibilities of the ICJ, and identify the ways in which the ICJ reflects international standards of justice' (ibid, p. 56). The concepts enlisted for the learners to grasp are the ICJ, the adversarial judicial proceedings and the binding decision.

A question is used to start this lesson. This question is about the court where a state can complain when having a conflict with another. The answer is illustrated in the image of the ICJ in Hague, Netherlands. It is followed by two texts assigned for two

محكمة العدل الدولية في لاهاي بهولندا

(Grade 9, 2014, p. 57)
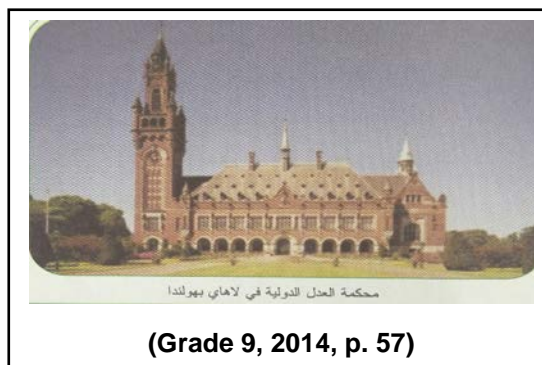
activities. The first text takes a Q&A format to answer three questions: What do we mean by the ICJ? Who can raise issues at this court? What is the difference between

the International Criminal Court (ICC), the temporary courts and the ICJ? (ibid, p.57-58). Each question is answered in a text that provides more details about the ICJ's duties that are different from other courts. The activity invites the learners to answer and discuss additional questions about what they have read in the Q&A texts. The image as part of the text plays a role in promoting the discourse that is embedded in the lesson. It reflects the operationalization of the global discourse of human rights in relation to law and justice. As established in the methodology chapter 4, Gee (2011) views discourses as being 'social practices and mental entities, as well as material realities' (p. 38- 39). The image in this activity indicates that the institutionalization of the discourse in the UN institutions and global partners, as well as its materialization in, for example, architecture. The ICJ, therefore, is discursively constructed as a powerful symbol of justice and rule of law for all the human family.

I highlight the second Q&A text about the parties who can raise issues at this court. The text shows that only the states that are members in the UN can do that, 192 states, according to the text (Grade 9, 2014, p. 58). First, the text does not refer to Palestine's position as a state that is not yet recognised internationally, and therefore, cannot raise cases to prosecute the state of Israel for its illegal practices-such as continuing to build settlements, building the wall in the West Bank and the annexation of lands. Second, the textbook is printed in 2014, which comes after the recognition of Palestine as a non-member observer state in the UNGA, 2012, Chapter 3, section 3.1. The learners are not informed by information about the very important legal position of Palestine, which is recognised, at least to their minds and collective history/memory/imagination. This implies that it is the teachers' responsibility to either teach the content of the lesson alone or do more research for the purpose of giving the learners a more comprehensive view of what is not included in the text. Similar to the textual silences, depicted in the grade 8 examined lessons, this instance of discursive construction of the lesson reveals the type of silence that is pre-suppositional, but also to some extent manipulative (Huckin, 2002). Chapter 7, section 7.2.3.4, has discussed modality in relation to the teaching practices and the curricular approach. It has revealed a lack of agency for both the teachers and the learners. This is evident at the level of texts and activities in the textbooks where

teachers are confined by certain practices that do not allow them space for discussing the issues that are excluded from the text.

Activity 2 moves to a more specific case that indicates the advisory decision given by the ICJ regarding 'the separation wall in the West Bank' (Grade 9, 2014, p. 59), as the title of the activity shows. The text in this activity explains the request made by the General Assembly to the ICJ to offer an advisory opinion with regard to 'the state of Israel's building the wall on parts of the occupied Palestinian lands', as translated from the text (p. 59). The text states openly that the purpose of this request is not for 'conflict resolution' (p. 59), but rather, to offer an advisory legal opinion to guide the UN in fulfilling its pledge to the Palestinian cause. The text continues to provide information about the beginning of the construction of the wall, 85% of which is estimated to be built on parts of the occupied territories of Palestine (ibid, p. 59). The last paragraph of the text talks about the implications of building the wall on the lives of the Palestinians. It depicts, for instance, the restrictions of movement of the residents to hospitals, schools and public services, and the farmers' inability to gain access to their farms. The paragraph concludes with the ICJ's opinion that building the wall contradicts the IHL, and points out the necessity for Israel to stop the construction and pay compensation to the ones who were affected as a consequence. The text further considers the permanent existence of the wall as a de facto policy for annexing more Palestinian lands to be under Israeli rule (ibid, p. 60).

(Grade 9, 2014, p. 60)

(Grade 9, 2014, p. 60)
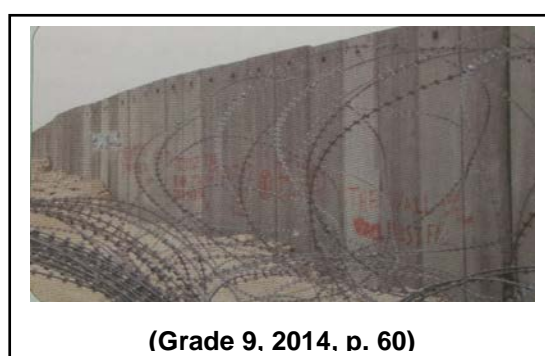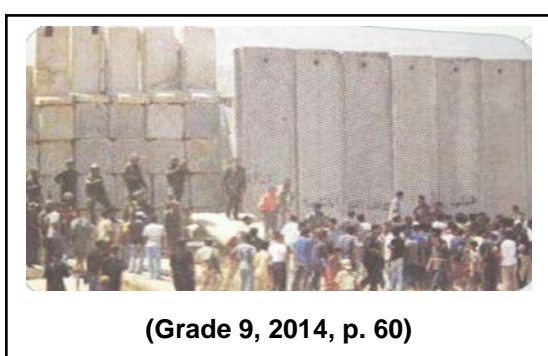
The images accompanying the last paragraph show the progress in constructing the wall. The first image show the massive size of the wall, but it also shows a peaceful congregation of people observing the process. Other images of the wall that show creative graphite done by people, activists and artists, for example, are not used. The choice of the image reflects the focus on the wall itself in order to limit the

discourse to the legal aspects that are pertinent to the construction. This indicates a cautious attempt to reflect the situation on the ground without stimulating any feelings that contradict with the purpose of the discourse. In the second image, the sight of the barbed wires and the size of the wall indicate to a segregation policy, which the international community rejects. However, the part on which the wall is built is remote and barren, and does not reflect everyday experiences such as the farmers trying to reach their farms, or people trying to get to hospitals and schools, as the text states. One interpretation is that the focus is only on depicting the wall, and maintaining the discussion around it in relation to the role of the ICJ and the international community.

The task that follows the text involves group work to discuss the implications of the existence of the wall on the political, economic, social, and educational and health services that affect the Palestinians (ibid, p. 61). The skills that can be depicted here involve comprehension, analysis and synthesis of the information provided in the text. In terms of the attitudinal development, the learners are encouraged to understand the mechanisms of the decisions made by the ICJ, and adopt positive attitudes towards the international legal system and the procedures it sets out for justice. On the action level, the learners are not asked to imagine or discuss the possibilities for a Palestinian state practicing its rights to raising issues of injustices to the ICJ. The vision stays blurry unless the teacher takes the initiative to engage the learners in a holistic experience of exploring these possibilities. Therefore, again, the question of textual silence and agency reoccur as obstacles in the way of discussing some of the vital aspects of the conflict such as the recognition of Palestine as a state, and the ways in which the legal system can be beneficent for the Palestinian cause. To conclude the lesson, there is an additional two-bullet point section under the title "Remember" to reinforce the main themes of the lesson:

- 'The ICJ is the highest court in the world.
- The regulations that were set to examine the issues arising between two states reflect the standards of justice and legal assets that should be reflected, in turn, in the standards of the judicial systems' (ibid, p.61).

Lesson 12 belongs to the second unit of the grade 9 textbook, which is entitled "Justice and post-conflict memories". Therefore, the main focus is the legal depiction of the discourse of HRCRT; by which conflict resolution, justice and reconciliation can be achieved in the long run. The same macro strategies of de-politicization and legitimation serve the discourse embedded in the lesson. Rationalization, as discussed earlier, contributes to achieving the objective of the lesson by providing the relevant knowledge about the ICJ and its jurisdictions. Idealization also contributes to limiting the possibilities for achieving justice through ways other than the IHL. The interplay between these strategies contributes to generating new discursive practices as well as new ways of interacting with the social world, and therefore, new identities. In terms of HRE for Palestinian refugees, this contributes to creating positive attitudes towards, and perspectives on, the international legal system.

This analysis is data-driven, as established in the methodology Chapter 4. Therefore, as a researcher, I have gained a better understanding while carrying out this analysis. One of the very important points I have realised while analysing the lessons of the grade 9 textbook has to do with preparing a future generation of Palestinians who commit themselves to claiming rights through the international legal system. This commitment comes along with the transformation of the state of Palestine from fiction to reality, through negotiations. One way to interpret this is by considering the UN's assumption that the PA represents all Palestinians in the two-state negotiations, and therefore, Palestinians can be prepared for the arrival of this resolution. Therefore, the data reflects that by constructing the HRE curriculum the UN also constructs a path to peace and conflict resolution. I discuss this in response to the research questions in the following discussion Chapter 9.

8.3.2. The Culture of Human Rights

To begin with, the definition of "tolerance", given in the HRCRT policy document (UNRWA, 2012, p. 19) is reiterated only, although partially, in the grade 9 textbook, lesson 13. It is only understood within the context and activities where it appears through clarifying what it is not, rather than what it is. I mention lesson 13

here although it is not included in the unit of analysis because it informs the analysis. This is by showing that tolerance is represented as an attitude that can be translated through medium concepts such as peaceful resistance, conflict resolution and reconciliation.

This attitude, combined with peaceful actions, is reflected in the lessons examined in the grade 8 and 9 textbooks. The grade 8 textbook demonstrates this combination by exploring different examples of conflicts around the world to praise peaceful resistance as a medium for promoting tolerance and peace. The grade 9 textbook adds a legal dimension by which more faith is harnessed in the international legal system for promoting tolerance and coexistence between people in conflict contexts. It is in this sense that the data responds to the fourth category of protocol 2, which asks about the ways in which the topics of the lessons are framed. The overall goal is to deliver the culture of human rights/peace/tolerance into the classroom environment through a set of systematic practices that serve the discourse. These practices are guided by two main elements, the careful choice of the textbooks' contents (texts, activities and images) and the teaching practices, which are strongly emphasized through the rights-based approach, as discussed previously in Chapter 7.

The previous theme on human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance has discussed the narrow scope for theorizing and promoting a standardised culture of human rights through the HRCRT discourse. The analysis of the lessons in the previous theme has contributed to revealing the discursive strategies by which the orchestration of the discursive practices is achieved. The rights-based approach is the medium through which these practices are produced, reproduce and sustained in order to regulate the social world in a way that serves the discourse. Chapter 7, section 7.2.3, has discussed the culture of human rights by examining the intertextual and interdiscursive interplay between the different UN voices that UNRWA echoes by articulating the HRCRT policy. The analysis on this chapter captures specific discursive instances that mirror the policy and contribute to realising its goal in promoting the UN's culture of human rights. Fairclough's (2003, 2016) analytical terms have contributed to discussing the strategies by which the particular events (texts) affect the social practices in a way that fosters this culture of human rights. Promotional culture and aestheticization of public figure are the two analytical terms

that reflect the semiotic dimension of the process of re-contextualization, as discussed in the analysis of the lessons earlier. This is mostly evident, for example, in the aestheticization of Gandhi and Anan as public identities in the analysis of lessons 1 and 4 of the grade 8 textbook, sections 8.3.1.1.1 and 8.3.1.1.2.

It is worth highlighting here that a major part of the grade 8 textbook is a celebration of heroes and advocates of human rights, and that the analytical term of aestheticization of public identities is applicable throughout the textbook. For example, the learners are asked by the end of the grade 8 textbook to analyse the personalities, actions and systems of belief of the advocates/heroes according to the information they have received through the term- see table of content in Chapter 5, section 5.3.1.1. The selection of these public identities represents the culture of human rights from a global perspective rather than the local one. Chapter 7 highlights the policy's emphasis that the learners know about 'Individuals and groups - past and present - who contributed and still contribute to the upholding and defence of human rights, in one's own country, continent or the world (famous as well as unsung)' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 10). However, in selecting the heroes and advocates of human rights, Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader of the PLO, as an example of "one's own country", is not represented in the textbook as a hero/advocate. I refer to Arafat specifically for his role in the Oslo Accords 1993 and the subsequent peace process.

Another instance is found in lesson 6 (p. 28-29) of the grade 8 textbook, which represents advocates of human rights as heroes. One example is Richard Goldstone who headed the investigation on the violence in South Africa 1991-1994, the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY) 1994, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) 1994, and the fact-finding mission on Gaza attacks 2008-2009. The lesson praises his efforts in the first three missions but does not come to mention the last at all knowing that the textbook was printed in 2014, which is 5 years after the initiation of the mission. In the collective experience of the learners', Israel refused to cooperate in the investigations and accused the UN of bias against Israel. Goldstone's report raised many debates at the time concerning its credibility. The learners who live in a highly politicized atmosphere, and have experienced the events in 2008-2009, and therefore, they are

aware of the fact-finding mission. However, the lesson excludes this particular information and focuses of aestheticizing of Goldstone as a hero/advocate of human rights. Therefore, I consider this instance among others in suggesting a way forward for HRE in relation to collective memory in the discussion chapter 9.

As for promotional culture, the analysis of the grade 8 lessons has revealed the way in which the discourse constitutes peace into the concept of resistance to promote the approach to peaceful resistance. This is evident in materialising the discourse in the physical environment of the classroom and school where the discursive practices become hegemonic, and the discourse become operationalised. One obvious example is in lesson 1, section 8.3.1.1.1 above, where the activity asks the learners to produce a poster that represents tolerance. Another example is in lesson 5 focusing on Nelson Mandela, which is not included in the unit of analysis, but enriches the data analysis. In lesson 5, one activity asks the learners to imagine being a public figure who believes that tolerance, forgiveness, love and peace are the only ways for achieving a stable and pleasant life, then construct a two minutes "speech" to convince others with these ideas (Grade 8, 2014, p. 25). This is another instance of operationalization of the discourse by which discursive practices constitute new ways of interacting (genres) that encourage new styles (identities). With this in mind, promotional culture contributes to capturing these instances of discursive practices that regulate the social reality and contribute to advocating the culture, as intended through the discourse.

The analytical terms of aestheticization of public identities and promotional culture also reveal the particular discursive strategies and practices that serve the discourse in the grade 9 lessons' analysis. They depict other predominant discursive strategies, which are idealization and standardization. Both of these strategies contribute to promoting the UN's legal discourse and the standard culture of human rights. The aestheticization of Paddy Ashdown as a public figure who had a role in the Bosnian claim for the right to return depicts these strategies at play. The strategy of idealization dominates the grade 9 textbook, and this strategy is realised semiotically by discussing promotional culture, as an analytical term in the textual analysis. While the first unit of the textbook focuses on the enforcement of the IHL, the second unit focuses on reconciliation and post conflict memories, and both units

discuss topics within the frame of peace building and peace education about the legal system. The analysis of lessons 7 and 12 has captured instances of discursive practices that help realise the strategy of idealization. One example is the representation of the ICJ, the 'court of the world' (Grade 9, 2014, p. 59) as a symbol of justice and peace. This is realised through examining the lessons in relation to the whole textbook. For example, the association between "conflict" and "resolution" throughout the textbook is a form of nominalization- see Glossary.

Nominalization often entails 'excluding social agents in the representation of events' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 220). Conflict resolution in the grade 9 textbook is a metaphorical or nominalized representation, which excludes social agents from the process of resolving conflict. Instead, the focus is on the UN's institutions and legal system as the only powerful and impactful means for resolving conflicts. Reconciliation is another metaphorical representation of the discourse of HRCRT in the textbook. These metaphors can be termed as "cultural codes" that are also part of the "discursive capital" (Gavriely-Nuri, 2012, p. 82). As established in Chapter 4, section 4.2.2.1, the aim of the latter is the 'achievement of social dominance and the promotion of political interests' (ibid, p. 82). Therefore, the metaphors of "conflict resolution", "reconciliation" and "replacing the culture of war with a culture of peace" are part of the 'global market of cultural codes' (ibid, p. 82) by which the UN achieves dominance. Chapter 7 has revealed the intertextual and interdiscursive instances that promote the culture of human rights through cooperation between the different UN institutions and partners. The previously mentioned cultural codes also intersect with these instances and allow for the exchange of the global discursive capital in between these institutions.

To conclude this discussion on the culture of human rights, the analysis of the sample textbooks reveals the main discursive strategies that promote the discourse and the culture of human rights, as discussed. It also reveals that this culture is fostered through the systematic implementation of the rights-based approach to HRCRT by which specific discursive practices are promoted. The discussion in the following theme centres on the representation of the Palestinian context and cultural aspects in the textbooks.

8.3.3. Palestinian Cultural Aspects

The analysis presented in the previous themes informs the discussion in this section, which carries on examining the representation of the Palestinian context and cultural aspects in the curriculum. With regard to the conflict context and collective memory, these are partially represented in relation to the themes of the lessons. The references that are made to the "Israeli occupation" and some of its practices, although extremely rare as shown in the analysis, fall in place, but allow a limited space for the learners to reflect on their everyday experiences. These rare occurrences cast light on the relevance of the HRE curriculum to the complex political issues that surround the refugee learners. As for the Palestinian context, history and experiences, there is a clear absence of reference to these concepts, and in some instances, a deliberate silence. Some examples are the silences surrounding the two Intifadas and the Palestinian advocates for human rights- in the grade 8 textbook- and the legal position of Palestine as a state and Palestinians as quasi-citizens- in the grade 9 textbook. The two examined lessons of the grade 9 textbook are the ones that have direct references to words like "Palestinian refugees", "West Bank", "Palestinian/occupied lands", "Palestinian farmers/cities", "Palestinian residents" and "Israel". The latter being mentioned as "Israeli Occupation/occupying force" earlier in unit 1, but mentioned here as a state to correspond to the language that dominates unit 2 which comes from a legal view point.

Although the grade 9 textbook focuses on the enforcement of the IHL and the legal structure for conflict resolution and protection of rights, it is found as lacking in depth and breadth. The learners are not well informed of their legal position, their state's or the legal structure through which they can better formulate their understanding of the implementation of the IHL in order to either critique or adopt it. It lacks in breadth because the examples given are presented from certain viewpoints that limit the learners' ability to gain a comprehensive insight into the circumstances governing each context. For example, the connection made between the Bosnian experience and the Palestinian case (Grade 9, 2014, p. 31-32) is represented from a legal point of view only. The avoidance of reference to the Bosnian local narratives and struggle for claiming the right to return indicates that the talk about the subject is kept within the boundaries of the human rights discourse and the legal frame. This is

evident in the previous theme and shows the great focus on idealizing and standardizing the UN's culture of human rights while excluding the local discourse and culture of human rights in both the Bosnian and the Palestinian contexts.

Re-contextualization, as explained earlier in the chapter in relation to de-politicization, contributes to facilitating the discursive production of new social practices that become hegemonic. The aim is to promote these new practices by which new attitudes are adopted in viewing the social world. One of the main effects or this re-contextualization is the marginalizing of old practices or ways of being in the social world. Rationalization, as one of the main strategies encountered in the analysis, focuses on challenging the 'figured worlds' (Gee, 2011b) of the local people to create new ideas, values and practices that correlate with the rational discourse. With this taking place, it becomes possible for the ideological underpinnings of the discourse to impose new agendas and reform values, attitudes and behaviours. Building on the analysis of the two textbooks of grades 8 and 9, especially the unit of analysis, it becomes apparent that the texts in the lessons do not only serve the topics and themes, but rather, they serve the discourse and the discursive practices embedded through it.

The semiotic dimensions (forms of meaning making like language and images in this analysis) are discussed in the lessons' analysis and indicate the process of configuration of the discourse by which I mean constituting certain meaning making that serves the discourse of HRCRT. The semiosis figures at three levels of the social practices- as explained in the methodology Chapter 4, section 4.2.2.1- which are the ways of acting, representation and performance. These levels are reflected in the written, spoken, visual and embodied forms of meaning-making in genre, discourse and style, respectively. Therefore, the networking of these levels in relation to the social structure and practices is what constitutes the discourse and the order of discourse. The order of discourse in the textbooks functions in a way that employs the semiotic aspects to generate and sustain certain meanings, and not others. I explain this thoroughly in the CDA discussion chapter in relation to the wider context where HRE takes place.

In light of the discussion of this chapter, the refugee learners come from a very complex socio-political background that translates into day-to-day experiences of rights violations and oppression. As established in the literature, the UN's complex legal bureaucratic tools for ending the human rights violations cause disenchantment, Chapter 2, section 2.3. The informal education- Chapter 3, section 3.2.1- which the learners receive from the social institutions outside school informs their judgments of the political situation, and expands their awareness of their legal position. They are aware of their *right to return* and the Israeli occupation's obstruction of its application. The analysis of the sample textbooks confirms that the disenchantment of the International legal system causes distrust in the UN's ability to mobilize for justice. It is also the outcome of the collective frustration of the international community's role in pushing the state of Israel to abide by the IHL. This analysis draws an image of these learners coming to the human rights class to learn about the importance of the IHL and the international community in contexts other than the Palestinian one, which is seldom reflected in the textbooks. They build knowledge about conflicts, wars and war crimes that took place in spite of the legal structure that is established to stop them. They also undergo these experiences and witness the length of time which elapses before these legal tools accomplish even a minor change.

Analysing the dialectic relationship between semiosis and other elements of social practices is important because it shows the ways in which the people test, challenge and disrupt the dominant discourse and its logics (Fairclough, 2016, p. 88). This analysis contributes to this by examining aspects of the HRE curriculum, including a sample of the textbooks, in relation to the representation of the Palestinian context and cultural aspects in order to understand the social wrong. Having presented the findings of the data analysis through Chapters 7 and 8, I can now state the particular social wrong as: the de-politicization of Palestinian responses to the ideological model of HRE, which marginalizes the Palestinian local discourses on right-hood. With this I can carry out the application of the dialectical-relational approach to CDA in the following Chapter 9.

Conclusion

The analysis of the texts has revealed the main strategies that function in promoting the discourse of HRCRT. These strategies include de-politicization, legitimation, rationalization, standardization and idealization. The data analysis reveals the ways in which the discourse plays a role in the construction of the concepts of peace and tolerance in relation to resistance and conflict resolution. This is by employing a number of discursive strategies that contribute to strengthening the discourse. Protocol 2 has interrogated the unit of analysis searching for these strategies. These strategies are realized semiotically through the discourse's dissemination of the different genres, styles. This is necessary for the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling because they constitute the new imagined reality of the discourse. The analysis of the HRE curriculum, as one field where re-contextualization takes place, reveals these discursive strategies that contribute to producing the new networks of social practices by which the discourse becomes operationalized. Some analytical terms have contributed to revealing these discursive strategies, namely, promotional culture, aestheticization of public identities, interdiscursivity, re-contextualization, operationalization and textual silences.

By building on the analysis of Chapter 7, this chapter has contributed to locating the order of discourse by which it is possible to carry out the dialectical-relational approach to CDA in the following discussion chapter. For this, the following chapter focuses on achieving three main goals. Firstly, it aims to articulate of the "social wrong", as understood from the data analysis. Secondly, it aims to offer a systematic analysis of this social wrong in relation to the social order. Third, the following chapter also contributes to answering the research questions in accordance with the research findings.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

From the discussion of CDA in the methodology Chapter 4, it is apparent that the CDA of this thesis has developed a preoccupation in exploring politics, justice and power within the context of this research. The study of the specific curriculum on HRE in Gaza requires an understanding of the political, economic and cultural aspects surrounding the social wrong. The analysis of aspects of the HRCRT curriculum and the sample textbooks contributes to formulating this understanding, which is now valuable for generating this discussion chapter. Therefore, this chapter presents an overall discussion of the findings in relation to the wider context of Palestinian-Israeli conflict. That is by applying the four stages of the dialectical-relational approach, developed by Fairclough (2016).

The data from the previous two analysis chapters has contributed to locating the order of discourse by which the application of the dialectical-relational approach is possible. Therefore, the first section of this chapter focuses on the application of the four stages of this approach. In the second section, following the application of the dialectical-relational approach, I move to stating the conclusion of the research by presenting responses to the research questions. First is the question on the concerning issues of HRE within the conflict context of Gaza. Second is the correlation between the HRE curriculum and the Palestinian collective memory. Third is the importance of Palestinian collective memory for HRE. The third and last section of the chapter outlines the research's limitations and suggestions for further research.

9.1. The Dialectical-Relational Approach to CDA

The dialectical-relational approach addresses a very important question that pertains to highlighting the significance of semiosis and the dialectical relation between this particular semiosis and the social elements (Fairclough, 2016). The analysis of the materials in the previous two chapters has contributed to locating the

order of discourse, which refers to the particular networking of discourses, genres and styles which produce and reproduce social practices.

As established in the methodology Chapter 4, the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 2016) comprises four stages for application. I reiterate that the analysis of the data is inseparable from the process of data collection. For this, the discussion I offer in this chapter encapsulates, and expands on, previously discussed points in the data Chapters 7 and 8. In other words, this is a more general discussion that involves looking at the wider context within which HRE takes place. Furthermore, this discussion aims at answering the research questions that the previous two data chapters have not addressed directly. Hence, in this section, I apply the four stages of the dialectical-relational approach in order to answer the research questions thoroughly.

9.1.1. Focus on the Social Wrong, in its Semiotic Aspect

Step 1 of this stage focuses on selecting a research topic that points to the social wrong, and can be examined in a transdisciplinary approach (Fairclough 2010; 2011; 2016) with a special focus on the dialectical relations between semiosis and the other social elements. Step 2 involves constructing the object of research within the proposed topic to be analysed in a transdisciplinary fashion.

Therefore, this stage of CDA requires a clear identification of the object of research, which has been pre-established through the application of the initial analysis in Chapter 6. The HRE curriculum, as the object of research, has also been analysed in the previous two chapters by examining some aspects of the curriculum, including the selected sample textbooks from grades 8 and 9. I have constructed the HRE curriculum as the object of research within a transdisciplinary fashion. This transdisciplinary aspect is reflected in the literature Chapters 1, 2 and 3 in which I have explored other fields of research such as geo-politics, conflict resolution, history, identity, memory studies, and human rights and HRE. Both the steps of this stage have been executed through the analysis of the data in the previous two chapters, in particular. This is mainly because of the intersectional quality of the data collection and analysis processes that I emphasize in the methodology Chapter 4. Having said that, I specify this section for elaborating on the social wrong, in its

semiotic aspect, to be able to generate an in-depth discussion within the consequent stages of the dialectical-relational approach to CDA.

To begin with, I use de-politicization strategy as a 'semiotic point of entry' (Fairclough, 2016, p. 98) for the discussion of CDA in this chapter. The social wrong in this research is specifically the marginalization of Palestinian local discourses and cultural aspects by constructing an ideological model of HRE. I have explored "de-politicization" as a macro strategy that is realized semiotically, and is evident through the discourse analysis of the data [Chapter 7, sections 7.2.1/7.2.3.1 and 7.2.3.4], [Chapter 8, sections 8.3.1.1.1/8.3.1.1.2/8.3.1.2.1 and 8.3.1.2.2]. The initial analysis has also revealed the ways in which the discursive practices, as intended by the HRE curriculum, aim at promoting specific constructions of identities, attitudes and behaviours that correspond with the culture of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance [Chapter 6, sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.5].

The data analysis confirms that UNRWA's endeavours in the construction and delivery of the HRE program are problematic. This study of aspects of the HRE curriculum in Gaza is one example where UNRWA's policy adopts a certain language that reveals an ideological model of HRE. This is most apparent on a lexical level where the policy situates HRE in a global context. Furthermore, it uses powerful terms such as "universality/tolerance/peace" to frame this model. It also avoids describing the local socio-political context and uses ideological terms such as "the culture of peace/human rights/tolerance" that limit the practices of HRE at UNRWA schools. This ideological model also discards references to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and any experiences of the students living these conditions. I elaborate on these problematic features of the discourse in the following stages of CDA, as informed by the data analysis Chapters 7 and 8.

9.1.2. Identify Obstacles to Addressing the Social Wrong

Step 1 at this stage focuses on analysing the dialectical relation between semiosis and other social elements. Two levels of dialectical relations make up this step. The first is the dialectic between the social structure and events that are both mediated through a network of social practices. The second dialectic is between the text and other social events (semiosis and other elements).

In elaboration, the first dialectic can become clearer through understanding the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling, as established in the framework Chapter 4, section 4.1.3, and exemplified in the data chapters [Chapter 7, section 7.2.1], [Chapter 8, sections 8.3.1.1.1 and 8.3.1.1.2]. Analysing these processes help contextualize the UN's policies for the promotion of the specific culture and practices of human rights and HRE in Gaza. Re-structuring is evident in the field of education provided by UNRWA which is colonised by new international trends that are guided by New Capitalist discourse, with knowledge-based economy as the main feature of this discourse. Re-scaling is also evident in the constructions of the HRE programme that is bound by the shift of relations between the local, national, regional and global priorities within the new globalized world order.

The data reveals these processes of re-structuring and re-scaling by discussing some significant concepts that are associated with the UN policies and frameworks, and the role of UNRWA in the construction and integration of the HRE curriculum in Gaza. The concepts of 'travelling policies' and 'embedded policies' (Ozga and Jones, 2006) are significant indicators of the re-structuring and re-scaling processes by which education becomes a tool for accumulating the human capital that is needed for the knowledge economy. Education for Palestinian refugees in Gaza is not only bound with local and national relations that guide education provision; regional and global relations also interplay by attempting to embed international policies into the local context. UNRWA's HRCRT policy reflects this interplay through the process of alignment of frameworks and strategies in a way that overlooks national priorities-I elaborate on this point in step 2 of this stage of the CDA approach. Therefore, the dynamics that guide policy making are in themselves obstacles for addressing the social wrong, which is the marginalization of Palestinian local discourses and cultural aspects by constructing an ideological model of HRE.

Moreover, the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling have a semiotic dimension that unveils networks of social practices- orders of discourse- that cut across structural and scalar boundaries (Fairclough, 2016, p. 99). Discourses, genres and styles are disseminated through these networks of practices. To explain, the discourse of HRCRT is dominant in UNRWA's education system and its philosophy, as dictated by the UN mother institutions. The processes of re-structuring and re-

scaling begin as part of discourses that constitute the 'imaginary projections' (ibid, p. 99) of peace and tolerance, for instance. Hence, the new relations between the structures and scales in education- HRE- become hegemonic. The new relations then become "operationalized" through the discourse and therefore result, at the semiotic level- in the dissemination of different genres and styles that serve the dominant discourse, and maintain the new deeply entrenched networks of practices. Therefore, by analysing the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling within the first dialectic between the structure and events, the semiotic dimension of this dialectic is evidently part of the previously stated obstacle to addressing the social wrong. The deeply entrenched relations within the networks of practices of HRE at UNRWA schools are also an obstacle to addressing the representation of Palestinian cultural aspects in the curriculum.

With regard to the second dialectic between the texts and the other elements of social events, UNRWA's strategies and HRCRT policy that adopt a global approach have a specific textual formation that is rationalized through a network of events (UN Charter, UDHR, WPHRE, and other UN declarations, covenants, conventions and reports on human rights). These different types of texts, as a semiotic aspect of events, are linked together systematically by a network of genres that semiotically constitute the relations, practices and procedures within the UN institution. The specific textual formation under study in this research takes only two samples from the UN's network of texts. These are the UNRWA's HRCRT policy and the sample of textbooks from grades 8 and 9, as examined in the previous two chapters. Having said that, step 2 of this stage of CDA focuses on the selection of the texts and categories for analysis. Identifying the object of research- the HRE curriculum- has contributed to making this selection of the texts at the early stages of the data collection process. Protocols 1 and 2 [Appendices 1 and 2] have offered systematic and effective steps for selecting the unit of analysis and categories that facilitated the data collection and analysis process.

As mentioned in section 9.1.2 earlier, de-politicization is semiotically realized through texts, and it is used as a semiotic point of entry for the analysis. Therefore, before moving to step 3 of this stage, I state that the main analytical terms which I have applied in the data analysis. These analytical terms have contributed to

revealing the strategies that support the macro strategies of de-politicization and legitimation. I explain these in the following step of the textual analysis by also referring to the more specific instances from the data Chapters 7 and 8. These analytical terms are textual silences (Huckin, 2002) as well as intertextuality, interdiscursivity, aestheticization of public identities, modality, naturalization, nominalization, promotional culture, operationalization and re-contextualization (Fairclough, 2003, 2016). Therefore, step 3 of this stage of CDA focuses on the analysis of the texts in both the interdiscursive and the semiotic/linguistic forms. The former involves the articulation of the different discourses, genres and styles together in the texts. The latter focuses on the linguistic analysis and the related semiotic analysis that includes, for instance, the examination of images. As established in the Methodology Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.2, I maintain the linguistic analysis to the minimum as it is not the aim of this examination to carry out a Systematic Functional Linguistic (SFL) analysis. I focus on the interdiscursive analysis, which plays an important role in connecting the linguistic analysis and the analysis of texts as part of an event with the analysis of social practices. The following section presents the overall discussion of the data gained from the previous two analysis chapters to further illustrate step 3 of this stage of CDA.

9.1.2.1. Analysis of Texts

As an international United Nations body, UNRWA works according to an agenda that is dedicated to the fulfilment of its obligations towards the Palestinian refugees, based on the UNGA Resolution 194. UNRWA's administration of health services, infrastructure and education provision in the Gaza Strip takes place from within the area where it has a headquarters office in Gaza city. This administration works in proximity to the locals, especially the beneficiaries of its services, the registered refugees. This gives UNRWA a special position as an observer on the Palestinian culture, political aspects of their lives and their views on human rights. This special position potentially allows UNRWA to bridge the gap between the local and international discourses on rights effectively, if given autonomy. However, this is not the case with the passive role of UNRWA which is highly dependent on borrowing policies and embedding them into the local context [Chapter 7, sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2]. It has been established in the literature chapters that International

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Governmental Organizations (IGOs) work within paradigms that are predefined by principles and funding priorities to serve a global agenda to integrate with a chosen local context (Hanafi and Tabar, 2006, p. 86). This integration becomes problematic when governed by a *positivist discourse* that only communicates through a standardized legal language that does not necessarily correlate with the local context.

De-politicization strategy is realized here through the other macro strategy of legitimation. Legitimation reveals the UN's attempt to legitimize its strategies and the policies associated with them in order to promote a certain culture and practices of human rights. As established in the literature, Chapter 3, human rights language gains its legitimacy, and hence its power, from the UN's international legal standards that become naturally inherited in the HRE discourse (Hanafi & Tabar, 2003, 2006; Baxi, 2008, Coysh, 2014). The voice of authority is evident in the policy's language, which reflects the General Assembly's adoption of the rationalized international human rights instruments, standards and the IHRS by which UNRWA is 'bound' in its performance (UNRWA, 2012, p. 5). This is mostly evident in the data collected from the HRCRT policy where the macro strategy of legitimation is supported by three other more specific strategies: rationalization, cooperation and authorization [Chapter 7, sections 7.2.1/7.2.2/7.2.3.2 and 7.2.3.4]. The network of genres found in the IHRS include the Office of the Higher Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the periodic reviews, the human rights treaty bodies, and others. These networks of genres produce and reproduce the social life in a semiotic mode (Fairclough, 2003) and 'constitute procedures' (Fairclough, 2016, p. 100) to legitimize UNRWA's practices of HRE at the micro level. Ultimately, the extent to which the UNRWA aligns its frameworks with the international standards shows the degree of its 'effective engagement with the IHRS' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 5) at the expense of the effective engagement with local needs and priorities.

Interdiscursivity as an analytical term, which refers to the particular articulation and networking of the different discourses, genres and styles which produce certain practices, also contributes to realizing the macro strategy of de-politicization. The process of rationalization guarantees the dissemination of a network of genres that serve the dominant discourse of HRCRT, and reproduce certain ways of being, identities, that correspond with this discourse. Interdiscursivity also functions as part

of intertextuality where a particular social event includes voices other than that of the author. UNRWA borrowing of human rights principles and purposes from the UN Charter, and the definition of tolerance from UNESCO's declaration of principles on tolerance 1995 are examples of intertextuality [Chapter 7, section 7.2.2]. The analysis of UNRWA's policy, specifically, shows this intertextual and interdiscursive strategies at different points of the policy's articulation. Another example is the listing of the guiding principles for HRCRT approach that are taken from the UNPFA and UNESCO [Chapter 7, section 7.2.3.2], and proclaimed to be 'particularly relevant to the context of Palestine refugees' (UNRWA, 2012, p. 7- 8).

Re-contextualization also figures as another analytical term that reveals the macro strategy of de-politicization. As explained earlier in the re-structuring and re-scaling processes, the UN's policies and strategies re-contextualize HRE within the new relations and structures of knowledge-based economy, and the shift in relationships between the different scales. Thus, re-contextualization prioritizes the new structures and scales by which specific discursive social practices are produced and maintained. Consequently, "old" social practices, within the Gazan context for example, become irrelevant to this shift, and hence, these old practices become marginalized. With regard to the time, tense and modality, the articulation of the HRCRT policy is generally in the present/future tense, thus, suggesting an imagined vision of what human right and HRE are ought to be, rather than what they are within the studied context. This is evident in the analysis of the HRCRT policy, and it is reflected in the textbooks' analysis. Modality, as an analytical term, is found in the HRCRT policy in the form of deontic modality (Fairclough, 2003, 219), which indicates necessity and obligation in terms of the teaching and learning practices [Chapter 7, section 7.2.3.4]. This type of modality manifests in some activities of the textbooks as a way of limiting social agency of both teachers and students [Chapter 8, section 8.3.1.2.2].

Moreover, the language used is the policy and textbooks is apolitical and ahistorical in the sense that it is divorced from the reality on the ground and the ongoing protracted conflict. Hence, the discourse of HRCRT "imaginary projections" (Fairclough, 2016) within the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling. This is evident through analysing the images, as well as some of the texts, that are used in

the examined lessons to represent the world as it ought to be. Examples are the representation of humane treatment, peaceful demonstrations and justice [Chapter 8, sections 8.3.1.1.1/8.3.1.1.2/8.3.1.2.2]. I therefore argue that re-contextualization of HRE and operationalization of the discourse of HRCRT aims at constructing an imagined path to peace. In other words, the reformation of the local old practices and social realities requires a long time before the discourse can be effective and functional for achieving the institution's goals. I explain the manifestation of this process next by highlighting UNRWA's emphasis on promoting the UN's culture of human rights.

The new discursive practices that the discourse of HRCRT produces make UNRWA's HRE curriculum an ideological model. As explained earlier, the operationalization of the discourse involves facilitating the production of the desired social practices, which in turn become hegemonic. Hence, the change in the social structure requires a network of social practices to strengthen the discourse and the underpinning ideology. The data confirms that this discourse figures through UNRWA's mediation that facilitates the shift in networks of practices by establishing new relationships between semiosis and the social elements. Promotional culture, as an analytical term in the discourse analysis of the examined materials, reveals aspects of re-contextualization and ideological orientation that are realized semiotically. As shown in the analysis chapters, promotional culture refers to a cultural phenomenon that always serves promotional functions as well as other functions such as representing, advocating and anticipating whatever this culture aims to deliver (Fairclough, 2003, p. 221). In addition to the strategies of rationalization, cooperation and authorization that support the macro strategy of legitimation, standardization in another strategy that serves the discourse in promoting the culture of human rights. In the policy text, the analysis reveals the repeated emphasis on promoting the culture of human rights [Chapter 7, section 7.2.3.2].

At the linguistic level of the textual analysis, the policy focuses on articulating the importance of promoting this culture in the first 8 pages of the policy documents. For example, the policy (UNRWA, 2012) repeatedly highlights the need for *fostering* a culture of human rights (p. 8), *ensure[ing]* a global/common understanding of human rights (p. 7-8) and *building* a universal culture of human rights (p. 7). The

words in italics point to the function of the discourse in the promotion of the culture of human rights. The learning competencies, stated in the teaching and learning section of the policy, also complement these statements by highlighting the relevant skills that are needed for achieving that aim. Advocacy is also another necessary element for the promotion of this universal/global/common understanding of human rights. In the analysis of the textbooks, the data reveals idealization as a strategy that is realized through promotional culture and aestheticization of public identities, as analytical tools. Idealization supports the previously mentioned macro strategy of legitimation, and other supporting strategies such as rationalization and cooperation, aiming at promoting the UN's standardized culture of human rights. This reflects the particular networking of relations between semiosis and the social events. While the policy emphasizes the main practices and strategies, the textbooks reflect those practices and strategies by focusing on more specific functions of representing, advocating and anticipating according to the discourse of HRCRT [Chapter 8, sections 8.3.1.1.1/ 8.3.1.1.2/8.3.1.2.1/8.3.1.2.2 and 8.3.2]. Therefore, referring back to the point made on the ideological model of HRE, analysing these discursive strategies has unravelled the systemic organisation of social relations in structure and in scale to enhance the role and functions of the dominant discourse.

The grade 8 sample textbook is, particularly, a good example where promotional culture and aestheticization of identities reveal the strategies of idealization and standardization, and thus, the macro strategy of legitimation of the UN's culture of human rights. Chapter 8 concludes that the grade 8 sample textbook is a celebration of the achievements of what the textbook refers to as advocates of human rights through history. The representation of these advocates as role models for the Palestinian refugee learners is ideal. Their advocacy is framed as genuinely positive only from the perspectives of peaceful resistance, tolerance and humane treatment [Chapter 8, section 8.3.2]. The learners are asked by the end of the grade 8 textbook to analyse the personalities, actions and systems of belief of the advocates/heroes according to the information they received throughout the term. The reformation or shift of relations, explained above under the term re-contextualization, is construed as a necessity within the demand of the globalised new world order. Therefore, consensus for the universal culture of human rights is fundamental. However, this

consensus does not necessarily take place in the presence of an active role of social agents. The shift is authoritative, as reflected in the voice of the policy makers and curriculum authors [Chapter 7, section 7.2.1]. The learners, teachers, schools principals and other micro-level agents are framed within the policy, particularly, as advocates and promotors for public acceptance of this universal culture. By referring back to Dembour's (2010) streams of thought on human rights, I argue that UN institutions, including UNRWA, combine elements from the natural school with others from the deliberative school for promoting consensus (Merry, 2006; Dembour, 2010; Valen-Sendstad, 2010). With this consensus, the UN body of institutions succeed in maintaining the 'standards of production' as well as the 'production of standards' (Baxi, 2008) of human rights as presumably "universal". Therefore, the UN's stream of thought on human rights pays more attention to consensus rather than social agencies that are diverse in their responses to the international discourse of rights. Therefore, the emphasis on achieving public consensus through hegemonic practices, as explained above, is also another obstacle for addressing the social wrong.

I have identified three main obstacles for addressing the social wrong in this stage of CDA. The first is the national, regional and international network of relations that the UN's policies and strategies are embedded within to generate and regenerate the UN's specific standards of human rights and human rights culture. The second is the deeply entrenched relations within the networks of the discursive practices of HRE, exemplified by the analysis of aspects of the curriculum. These entrenched relations contribute to the de-politicization the global discourse of human rights and the marginalization of the Palestinian collective memory, and the local discourses of right-hood. The third is the influence of the dominant discourse in stimulating public consensus through the networks of discursive practices within a new de-politicized context.

9.1.3. Consider Whether the Social Order 'needs' the Social Wrong

This stage of CDA focuses on recognising the ways by which the new social order needs the social wrong. This is, for example, by considering whether the social wrong can be addressed within the particular social order, or only by changing it

(Fairclough, 2016). Moreover, this stage considers the last mentioned statement in relation to issues of ideology and domination by keeping in mind that 'discourse is ideological as far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination' (ibid, p., 94).

I have already identified the social wrong in stage 1, section 9.1.1 as the marginalization of Palestinian collective memory and local discourses by constructing an ideological model of HRE. In other words, the marginalization of local different discoursing of human rights in order to promote the global discourse of human rights and public consensus. The social order is in need of this social wrong in the sense that international endeavours to globalize the culture of human rights- that is founded on neoliberal thought- necessitate that local governments integrate this "new" culture into the local context while skipping/reforming the "old" culture. To clarify, in order to achieve consensus, there has to be a great level of acceptance of the dominant discourse through which hegemonic practices take place. Since I argue that the HRE curriculum is an ideological model, I also argue that the new social order needs the social wrong to maintain certain power relations and domination through the "naturalization" of ideology by which the UN institution sustains relations of power and domination (Fairclough, 2016, p. 104).

Moreover, based on the textual analysis presented above, the new social order needs the social wrong to justify the institution's proposal of this new social order, and hence, produce new social practices to improve, or replace, old ones. In case of the discourse of HRCRT, as manifested in the textbook's analysis, this is evident in constructing "peace" in peaceful resistance [Chapter 8, section 8.3.1.1], and situating "justice" within the jurisdictions of the UN's legal tools and institutions alone [Chapter 8, section 8.3.1.2], thus, the discourse aims at de-legitimizing old practices and perspectives on resistance and conflict resolution. De-politicizing the discourse of HRCRT, as I argue throughout the thesis, is the main catalyst that contributes to strengthening this proposal. This is because the discourse disperses the new discursive practices within de- and re-contextualized milieus. Textual silences, as an analytical tool, has approached this by arguing that these silences indicate pre-suppositional and manipulative decisions with regard to the way information about the local context is excluded [Chapter 8, sections 8.3.1.1.2/8.3.1.2.2 and 8.3.3].

9.1.4. Identify Possible Ways Past the Obstacles

As mentioned above, the shift in the relations between structures and within scales that cause the emergence of the new world order, and social practices within it, demand the adjustment of national strategies in turn by skipping the old ways. I have explained through the discussion so far the strategy of de-politicization as the main strategy for creating this new world order. One way past the obstacles is by generating a clear 'counter-hegemonic strategy' (Fairclough, 2016, p. 105).

Reflecting on the Hamas government's opposition to the contents of the textbooks (The Associated Press, 2014), one way to view this opposition is as a possible strategy in which politicization is the base. In contrast to the UN's construction of a de-politicized culture and practices of HRE where there is an exclusion of social agency, the Hamas government encourages politicization through representation of Palestinian history, ideology and culture. However, the lack of information on this opposition makes it extremely difficult to explore this strategy of politicization, or its semiotic dimensions. Therefore, this is not to suggest adopting and representing Hamas's ideology or any other Palestinian faction's ideology. Rather, it is to suggest further research in forming a counter hegemonic strategy that focuses on representing the Palestinian collective memory within a context-specific HRE model, which benefits from regional and international experiences. This suggestion comes to address the obstacles- I have identified in the last paragraph of section 9.1.2.1- for addressing the social wrong.

9.2. Research Conclusion
9.2.1. Answering the Research Questions

In this study, I have argued that UNRWA's HRE is an ideological model that is mediated through UNRWA by operationalizing the discourse of HRCRT. Power is circulated through UNRWA by the UN mother institution that generates the grand discourse on human rights and HRE. Analysing the texts (only visual and written) as 'sites of struggle' (Wodak and Meyer, 2016) has revealed this struggle between the differing discourses and ideologies in strife for dominance. On the one hand, the UN

promotes its ideology and discourse of human rights with a transcultural and universalistic zeal. On the other hand, local Palestinian discourses of nationalism, resistance, dignity and right-hood that are constituted, and are constitutive of, collective memory and ideology; strive for international recognition. Understanding and reviewing UNRWA's role has been important for comprehending the change of social structure that UNRWA mediates through the new discursive practices of formal HRE. The local discourses, therefore, stay in the margins.

I have argued through the data analysis that the UN's discourse of human rights is informed by the grander discourse of New Capitalism, which governs the processes of re-structuring and re-scaling in the field of education, as an example. I have also demonstrated that the discourse of HRCRT is "split" or "hybrid" of these two discourses (Gee, 2011b). The discourse of HRCRT is specifically framed within peace education and peace building through deliberating certain meanings of the concepts of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance. The two macro strategies of de-politicization and legitimation have proven to be well-chosen to serve this discourse by de-politicizing Palestinians' responses to the discourse, legitimizing new discursive practices, and de-legitimizing old practices and attitudes. Therefore, the data reveals that re-contextualizing HRE in this sense, and operationalizing the discourse of HRCRT aim at constructing an imagined path to peace by overlooking the deep-rooted conflict.

Re-structuring and re-scaling, as discussed in the thesis, begin as part of the discourse of HRCRT, which constitutes "imaginary projections" (Fairclough, 2016) of peace and tolerance. Hence, the new relations between the structures and scales contribute to producing the desired HRE hegemonic practices by which the project of justice is replaced by another project of therapeutic and behavioural reformation (Brown, 2008, Pinto, 2014). However, the reformation of local old practices and social realities requires a long time before the discourse can be effective and functional for achieving the institution's goals. Therefore, with time, the operationalized discourse of HRCRT results in disseminating of different genres and styles that serve the dominant discourse, and maintain the new deeply entrenched networks of practices. The discourse of HRCRT constitutes the imaginary projections of peace and tolerance by cultivating relevant cultural codes that are part

of the "global discursive market" (Gavriely-Nuri, 2012) where certain meanings and associations are established to signify particular and discursive meanings of the concepts of human rights, conflict resolution, tolerance, reconciliation and peace.

These general findings help in addressing the first research question on the concerning issues of the HRE curriculum in Gaza. The discussion shows that the problem is not in the values and concepts of peace, human rights, tolerance or conflict resolution. Rather, the problem is the discourse that is entrenched in the curriculum, which determines the teaching-learning practices and marginalizes the local informal discourse of right-hood. It aims at reforming the local culture of rights into making it more fit with the universal/global and standardized culture of rights that is generated and re-generated through the UN's network of institutions. Thus, UNRWA's ideological model of HRE serves this reformation. Pinto's (2014) study of HRE in the West Bank reveals similar processes of reformation and de-politicization of Palestinian responses to the grand discourse of human rights. Examining the discursive strategies that function within the discourse of HRCRT, in this study, has helped in understanding the ways in which this ideological model of HRE aims at naturalising hegemonic practices.

Another problematic aspect is UNRWA's construction of a HRE curriculum that is apolitical and ahistorical. Apolitical in the sense that it is divorced from the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and the resultant legal and political ill-recognition of Palestine as a full member state in the UN, and Palestinians as citizens who can claim and gain access to human rights. The curriculum is also ahistorical as it undermines the importance of past historical events that shape the Palestinian collective memory and identity, as well as present experiences of human rights violations. The complexity of the conflict and its ramifications are pushed aside while the focus is shifted to constructing a future imagined path to peace. The ideology underpinning the HRE model, therefore, centres on pacification and normalization of the status quo in the wait for creative and definitive political resolution to the conflict. Tolerance is found to be the core attitude to foster through this model of HRE; in order to achieve pacification, as I have commented earlier in relation to Brown's (2008) work.

The concerns I have discussed lead to the second research question on the correlation between HRE and the collective memory. Based on the data analysis, I identify two concepts that denote correlation. Firstly, human suffering. As established in Chapter 3 on human rights and HRE, human rights' main concern arises from the necessity to stop human suffering. That is by emphasizing that human rights are universal, indivisible and inalienable, and that all human beings have access to them (Asad, 2003). Collective memory, as discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to conflict, also centres around stopping human suffering by empowering narratives of identity, right-hood, dignity and others. Therefore, HRE is one milieu where learners engage in studying human rights in relation to their own experiences and narratives. Although the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a special and complicated case in terms of the legal and political status of Palestine and Palestinians. Therefore, Palestinians ongoing suffering strengthens the bond between HRE and collective memory. I have also argued that the discourse of human rights is global rather than universal (Baxi, 2008). Human rights laws are enforced by states, and thus, human rights are accessible by citizens (Asad, 2003). To Palestinians, in their current legal suspension, human rights are alienable and divisible. The correlation between Collective memory and HRE, therefore, comes from taking the "human" as the core concern rather than the human with a civil status, "citizenship". Thus, it is through this correlation that the discourse of human rights and HRE restores its universalistic aspect.

Secondly, collective memory and HRE correlate as they are both sources of enchantment with human rights. I have established the importance of collective memory in relation to conflict, and in relation to HRE in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The data reveals a rupture between the normative discourse of human rights and HRE, and the Palestinian local discourses and collective memory. This rupture has been depicted, at least, in the process of alignment and embedding of frameworks and policies, and in the systematic framing of the HRCRT discourse, and the teaching-learning practices. As a consequence, this rupture causes viewing HRE and collective memory as conflicting terms, with collective memory being problematic. I argue that the two correlate and complement one another. Where collective memory enchants Palestinians to imagine and reimagine their community, identity and human rights,

HRE offers the means for transforming this imagination into reality. This correlation is best seen in transformative and hermeneutical approaches to HRE which challenge and scrutinise the UN's one-dimensional, positivistic approach to HRE. The transformative approach gives rise to voices of resistance to oppression (Freire, 1990; Tibbitts, 2005; Kanaana, 2011). The hermeneutical approach refuses unity under one ideal conception of human rights (Al-Daraweesh & Snauwaert, 2013). This approach recognizes the role of culture and community in encouraging a "fusion of horizons" (Gadamer, 2004) and understanding the multifaceted aspects of human rights and HRE.

In response to the third research question on the importance of collective memory for HRE, the data analysis reveals three ways in which collective memory is important. Firstly, building on the response to the previous research question, collective memory is a source of enchantment that is important for HRE. I have argued in Chapter 2 that UNRWA's HRE model engages in processes of enchantment and re-enchantment of learners with the positivistic discourse of human rights. That is based on the presupposition that Palestinian learners are disenchanted subjects. As established in the literature, Palestinians are enchanted with human rights as values rather than practice. Collective memory, the right to return and the narrative of return are strong indicators that Palestinian learners are enchanted awaiting the actualization of their imagined community. The UN institutions' rationality and over-bureaucratic mechanisms for dealing with crises are signs of "decline of magic" (Jenkins, 2000) which means that human rights are institutionalized, and therefore, have become a profession rather than an international cooperation to end human suffering. Having said that, collective memory is important for HRE to keep on the enchanted world views of learners in times of crises.

Secondly, in relation to the ongoing conflict, collective memory contributes to preserving memories of the past that are under threat of erosion in the continuous transformation of societies which replaces the old memories in aspiration for the future (Nora, 1989). UNRWA's ideological model of HRE contributes to actualizing this by constructing the imagined path to peace that I have discussed earlier in light of the data analysis. By, at least, promoting and idealising the culture of human rights

and aestheticizing of public identities form the past and the present times; this model facilitates the processes of enchantment and re-enchantment with a future of human rights and peace. Collective memory also plays a role, during conflict, in employing the past for the construction of coherent, meaningful and empowering forms of identities (Wertsch, 2002; Weedon and Jordan, 2011). Therefore, collective memory is important for challenging the orthodoxy of the UN's construction and dissemination of HRE frameworks and policies that do not fully correlate with local demands especially within a context of conflict. As mentioned in response to the second question of the research on the correlation between HRE and collective memory, the former is the means by which collective memory can be perceived as enriching and complementary to HRE rather than problematic.

Thirdly, collective memory is important for developing more effective frameworks for HRE by embracing local narratives and discourses rather than excluding them. In identifying ways past the obstacles in the discussion, section 9.1.4, I suggest constructing a "counter-hegemonic strategy" (Fairclough, 2016) by which local narratives, discourses and collective experiences are represented in a context-specific HRE model. This suggestion is to be coupled with social agency where learners and teacher engage in debates and discussions that challenge the learners to form their own views. The data analysis shows UNRWA's curriculum is learner-centred (UNRWA, 2012) but the analysis of the textbooks shows it to be knowledge-centred. As argued throughout the thesis, the focus is on promoting a standard and idealistic culture of human rights. Therefore, this suggests that embracing collective memory can enhance the theoretical, pedagogical and practical education of human rights in Gaza.

Having responded to the research questions, this study contributes to the fields of research in HRE in two different ways. Primarily, it contributes to understanding the controversy raised by the Hamas's government in terms of representation of Palestinian history, struggle and ideology. As I have emphasized throughout this thesis, this contribution is not in any way a justification of Hamas's position or opposition. Rather, it is a heuristic stance to carry out a form of CDA that is "problem-oriented" (Fairclough, 2016) to be able to suggest a way forward with HRE in Gaza, which is understudied. Secondly, this study makes a contribution in

the field of memory studies during conflict by illuminating the importance of refugees' collective memory during conflict. Thus, the study sheds light on the power of imagination, narratives and symbolism as constructive elements in HRE programmes during conflict.

9.2.2. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

This research has limitations and gaps that other researches can bridge. The first gap pertains to the sources of data. For obstacles related to gaining access to participants, teachers, students and officials at UNRWA, and officials at the MOEHE in Gaza, the research took a theoretical stance by engaging in the literature while analysing aspects of the UNRWA's HRE curriculum. Therefore, gaining more insight into the Hamas government's opposition to the HRE curriculum at UNRWA schools is a vital aspect for further research. Similarly, having research participants from UNRWA would add another valuable asset to a research in exploring attitudes, experiences and perceptions of participants to contribute to generating a better understanding of the local discourses and the political context in relation to HRE.

Second, the study is not empirical in a way that shows the actual implementation of the HRE model. The CDA I have carried out does not provide tangible measurements or indications to the changes of learners' attitudes towards the HRE model. The analysis points the implications this HRE model might have, rather than what they really are. Therefore, I acknowledge that this research is an exploratory stance, which can lead to further analyses of the actual implications of the curriculum in Gaza. Thus, I consider fieldwork research that involves participants as enriching for HRE field of research. Gaining access to research participants (teachers, students and school principals) is an added value to researching the manifestation of the discursive practices as they take place throughout the fieldwork periods. Furthermore, due to unforeseen circumstances, I could not carry out the research at UNRWA schools. Therefore, I have recognized this as a limitation of the research as soon as I started the data collection and analysis process. I have limited the choice of the unit of analysis to examine only three aspects of the curriculum, as reflected in Chapter 5. For example, I excluded the examination of the teaching and learning in parallel to the learning environment and teachers' professional development. Hence,

I suggest further examination of these aspects of the curriculum to enrich the discourse analysis. Therefore, for further research, I suggest a thorough policy analysis in relation to the HRE curricular aspects.

Third, based on the findings of the research with regard to collective memory, more research needs to be carried out in the field of memory studies in association with human rights and HRE. The research I carried out follows a transdisciplinary approach (Fairclough, 2010; 2011; 2016) that creates a dialogue between different fields of research, as I clarify in this thesis. The three main fields this research has encompassed are conflict resolution, human rights and HRE, and history, identity and memory studies. This research does not examine these three areas in abundance. Therefore, I consider a limitation of the study because it does not extensively, nor directly, explore the concepts of identity and conflict in relation to HRE.

Glossary of Fairclough's (2003, 2016) Analytical Terms:

Aestheticization of public identities

'The 'aestheticization' of fields such as politics or business is the shift away from these fields being seen as operating according to purely rational principles, and the tendency for both social agents within them and analysts of them to attend more to their aesthetic aspects. The aestheticization of public identities is the more-or-less self-conscious construction of public identities (e.g. the identities of politicians, leading businessmen) to create particular 'images'. Text analysis can contribute to researching this process (and more general processes of 'aestheticizing' social life, including everyday life) by analysing aesthetic (including 'rhetorical') aspects of texts and values in texts' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 212).

Interdiscursivity:

'The interdiscursivity of a text is a part of its intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992b), a question of which genres, discourses and styles it draws upon, and how it works them into particular articulations' (Fairclough, 2016, p. 90).

Intertextuality:

'The intertextuality of a text is the presence within it of elements of other texts (and therefore potentially other voices than the author's own) which may be related to (dialogued with, assumed, rejected, etc.) in various ways. The most common and pervasive form of intertextuality is reported speech (including reported writing and thought), though there are others (including irony). Reported speech may or may not be attributed to specific voices, and speech (writing, thought) can be reported in various forms, including direct (reproduction of actual words used) and indirect report (summary)' (Fairclough, 2003, p.218-219).

Modality:

'The modality of a clause or sentence is the relationship it sets up between author and representations – what authors commit themselves to in terms of truth or necessity. Two main types of modality are distinguished, epistemic modality (modality of probabilities), and deontic modality (modality of necessity and obligation). In the case of Statements, explicitly modalized forms (marked by modal verbs such as 'may' or other markers) can be seen as intermediate between categorical Assertion and Denial, and they register varying degrees of commitment to truth or necessity' (Fairclough, 2003, p.219).

Nominalization

'A type of grammatical metaphor, which represents processes as entities by transforming clauses (including verbs) into a type of noun. For instance, 'employees produce steel' is a non-metaphorical representation of a process, whereas 'steel production' is a metaphorical, nominalized representation. As this example shows, nominalization often entails excluding social agents in the representation of events (in this case, those who produce). It is a resource for generalizing and abstracting which is indispensable in, for instance, science, but can also obfuscate agency and responsibility' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 220).

Operationalization

'Discourses may under certain conditions be operationalized, 'put into practice', a dialectical process with three aspects: they may be enacted as new ways of (inter)acting, they may be inculcated as new ways of being (identities), they may be physically materialized, for example as new ways of organising space, such as in architecture. Enactment and inculcation may themselves take semiotic forms: a new management discourse (e.g., the discourse of marketized 'new public management' which has invaded public sector fields such as education and health) may be enacted as management procedures that include new genres of interaction between managers and workers, or it may be inculcated as identities that semiotically include the styles of the new type of managers' (Fairclough, 2016, p. 89).

Promotional culture

'A view of contemporary cultural phenomena as virtually always serving promotional functions in addition to whatever other functions they may have, as simultaneously representing, advocating and anticipating whatever is referred to. The notion of 'consumer culture' is similar. This co-presence of promotion with other functions can fruitfully be examined in detail through textual analysis, for example in policy texts' (Fairclough, 2003, p. 221).

Re-contextualization

'A relationship between different (networks of) social practices – a matter of how elements of one social practice are appropriated by, relocated in the context of, another. Originally a sociological concept (Bernstein 1990), it can be operationalized in discourse analysis in a transdisciplinary way through categories such as genre chain, which allow us to show in more detail how the discourse of one social practice is re-contextualized in another' (Fairclough, 2003, p.222). In addition, re-contextualization 'should be seen as an appropriation/colonisation dialectic (Habermas, 1984; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999): a matter of an opening to potentially colonising external presence which is however potentially appropriated and 'domesticated'' (Fairclough, 2010, p. 76).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

PROTOCOL 1

Human Rights Conflict Resolution and Tolerance (HRCRT) policy, UNRWA 2012.

Unit of analysis:

- Embedding the HRCRT policy in existing UNRWA and global strategies and policy frameworks (p. 5-6).
- The key elements of the HRCRT policy (pp. 6-9) and annex 1- Guiding principles of the HRCRT policy (p.19).
- Teaching and learning (pp. 9-11).

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1. Embedding the HRCRT policy in existing UNRWA and global strategies and policy frameworks
- How is the HRCRT policy embedded in the broad/specific, local/international policies and frameworks?

- What is the role UNRWA in designing the HRE curriculum for Gaza?

- What aspects of the host countries' education systems and frameworks are mentioned? How do they inform the HRCRT policy?

2. The key elements of the HRCRT policy and the HRE curriculum as reflected in the document
- How is Human Rights Education (HRE) defined?
- What are the guiding principles of the HRCRT approach?
- Who are the authors/collaborators in this vision and approach?
- What is the HRCRT rights-based approach?
- What is needed for the HRE curriculum to realise the HRCRT approach?

3. Teaching and learning
- What are the learners' competencies of the HRCRT approach?
- What are the discursive aspects of the teaching and learning practices?
- How does the curriculum design promote the development of the learners' competencies and teaching practices?

4. Palestinian cultural aspects and geo-political context
- What aspects of culture/social geography arise in the document?
- Are there any references to identity/collective memory and the context of the conflict?
- Does the HRE curriculum reflect the local culture of rights?

5. Aspects and strategies of the discourse of HRCRT
- How is tolerance defined in the document in relation to human rights and conflict resolution?
- What types of tolerance are referred to?
- What are the discursive strategies in function in the discourse of HRCRT?

6. Miscellaneous/Other aspects

APPENDIX 2

PROTOCOL 2

Lower Secondary Level Textbooks, Human Rights, UNRWA 2014.

Unit of analysis:

Lessons (1,4)- 2nd term- Grade eight and lessons (7,12)- 2nd term- Grade nine.

1. **The structure of the textbook**
   - How many units and lessons in the textbook?
   - What topics do the lessons discuss?
   - What are the objectives and main concepts of the lessons under study?

2. **The lessons/Texts (visual/written)**
   - What do the texts focus on? Do they serve the objectives of the lessons?
   - Do the images serve the topics? Symbolize something? What for? Who's involved?

3. **Activities**
   - What tasks are the learners asked to do?
   - How do the images serve the activities?
   - Which skills are involved? What kind of "actions" can the learners take?
   - Are these skills transferable to the learners' lived experiences, culture and socio-political context?

4. **The discourse**
   - What are the strategies that serve the discourse? What functions do these strategies have?
   - What topics serve this discourse?
   - How are the themes and topics formed/framed?
   - How are the learners and teachers talked about?
   - Does the rights-based approach serve this discourse? How? How not?

5. **Palestinian cultural aspects**
   - What cultural aspects can be found in the lessons under study?
   - How are they discussed?
   - Any assumptions/stereotypes? If yes, then how do they serve the discourse?
   - How are the learners expected to express themselves/experiences?
   - Any margins for teachers' input?

6. **Miscellaneous/Other aspects**
   - Connections to some aspects of the policy document.

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introduction

As reiterated in the UNRWA Education Reform Strategy 2011-2015[1], UNRWA is the main provider of basic education to Palestine refugees. All Palestine refugee children are eligible to avail themselves of the Agency's nine to ten years of free basic education provided in the five Fields of operation and also to secondary schooling in Lebanon.

The education programme is the largest of the UNRWA programmes, both in terms of staff engaged and the budgetary allocation. UNRWA education staff comprises more than 70% of the total Agency staff and education expenditure accounts for 59% of the total regular budget. In terms of a single agency managed system, UNRWA operates one of the largest school systems in the Middle East, covering five countries.

This human rights, conflict resolution, and tolerance (HRCRT) policy builds upon the efforts undertaken by UNRWA through its existing HRCRT programme. UNRWA's HRCRT programme has its origins in a pilot project conducted in 1999 in Gaza and the West Bank. This sought to develop students' abilities to manage and resolve conflicts in effective, non-violent and non-adversarial manners. The success of that project prompted the development of the HRCRT programme involving all schools in all five Fields of operation, with the following objectives[2]:

- Promotion of awareness and knowledge of fundamental rights of persons and of children;
- Facilitation of student participation in decision-making in schools and the promotion of leadership skills amongst students;
- Creation of violence-free school environments that facilitate teaching and learning.

The scale of the UNRWA HRCRT programme has increased over the years with its conceptual framework and development logic remaining grounded in the objectives outlined above. However, in spite of these achievements, evaluative and scoping work conducted in 2011[3] highlighted the need to strengthen the UNRWA HRCRT approach and programme through the development of a comprehensive and coherent HRCRT policy. The strategic aims of such a policy would be to:

- Bring more coherence to the HRCRT programme, which has progressively developed in the five fields;
- Enhance the delivery of the HRCRT curriculum;
- Ensure harmony of the HRCRT programme with on-going UNRWA reforms.

In order to be effective, policies need a coherent and practicable implementation strategy – including the identification of priorities and the setting-up of coordination mechanisms – which will subsequently ensure coherence, accountability, and allocation of resources. Such a strategy should take into account the multiplicity of stakeholders at both the national level (e.g. local government, the Ministry of Education, teacher training institutions, research bodies, non-governmental organisations) and UNRWA level (e.g. headquarters [HQ], field education departments, head teachers and their staff, parents, and students), and involve them in putting the strategy and broader policy in place.

Reflecting the need to build on current practices and engage stakeholders in its development, the UNRWA HRCRT policy is based on a review of existing policies and practices in UNRWA and consultation with students, teachers, parents, education specialists, education development centres, field staff, the department of legal affairs, and other HQ and external stakeholders during the period May-October 2011.[4] It also draws on international best practices and standards in human rights education.

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[1] UNRWA Education Reform Strategy 2011-2015, 2011, p.1.
[2] UNRWA briefing note: "Human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance programming within UNRWA", 2011, p. 2.
[3] OIG and HREA with the UNRWA education department.
[4] This process included a scoping mission and report from Human Rights Education Associates: "UNRWA Human Rights, Conflict Resolution, and Tolerance (HRCRT) Education Programme Scoping Study Report."

1. embedding the HRCRT policy in existing UNRWA and global strategies and policy frameworks

The HRCRT policy should not be perceived as an independent document detached from the education programme as a whole, but rather as embedded in existing UNRWA strategies and policy frameworks which themselves are aligned with global, regional, and national frameworks. In this section, this alignment is made more explicit regarding the following levels: the international human rights system; UNRWA's broader strategic frameworks; the UNRWA education reform strategy; and the host country education systems.

1.1 UNRWA and the international human rights system

Established on the basis of the United Nations Charter, UNRWA is part of the United Nations and a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly. As a United Nations Agency, UNRWA is bound to adhere to the United Nations' purposes and principles set out in the UN Charter. One of those purposes is "to achieve international co-operation [...] in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion" (UN Charter, Art. 1(3)).

As the parent organ of UNRWA, the General Assembly establishes UNRWA's mandate and, more generally, informs the Agency's standards and operations. The General Assembly has emphasised the Agency's "essential role in providing vital services for the well-being, human development and protection of Palestine refugees". The General Assembly has also encouraged the Agency, "in close cooperation with other relevant United Nations entities, to continue making progress in addressing the needs and rights of children [...] in its operations in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child".[5] The "other relevant United Nations agencies" include, among others: UNESCO (with which UNRWA has had a partnership since its beginning), OHCHR, and UNICEF. The Convention on the Rights of the Child sets out important elements regarding the provision of education to children. Notably, education shall be directed towards the following:

- "The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations" (Art. 29(1)(b));
- "The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own" (Art. 29(1)(c));
- "The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin" (Art. 29(1)(d).

The following human rights instruments and standards have been adopted by the General Assembly and therefore explicitly inform UNRWA's approach towards human rights education:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948);
- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006);
- The World Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-ongoing), and related Plans of Action (I and II);
- The Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training (adopted in December 2011).[6]

The importance of strategically aligning UNRWA's work within the international human rights system has been further reinforced by UNRWA's *Framework for Effective Engagement with the International Human Rights System* (September 2011). As stated in the framework, it forms "an integral part of UNRWA's protection of Palestine refugees, both in and through programming (internal aspect) and monitoring, reporting and interventions (external aspect). It guides UNRWA's interaction with the structural component of the international human rights

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[5] UN General Assembly Resolution 66/74 of 12 January 2012, operative para. 12.
[6] See GA resolution 66/137 of 19 December 2011.

system (IHRS), notably: the High Commissioner for Human Rights and her office; human rights treaty bodies; the Human Rights Council and associated mechanisms such as UN special rapporteurs, the universal periodic review and fact-finding missions; and several New York-based mechanisms."[7]

Reflecting alignment with the international human rights system, the UNRWA HRCRT policy is based on core elements identified in the World Programme for Human Rights Education[8]. These elements are themselves based on a common understanding of human rights education, principles of teaching and learning, teacher preparation and professional development, the learning environment, and a strategy for monitoring and evaluation of human rights education.

1.2 human rights education and UNRWA's broader strategic frameworks

Human rights education is also closely aligned with existing UNRWA strategic frameworks, such as the medium term strategy 2010-2015 and the 2011-2015 education reform, and with the host country education systems. With regards to the medium term strategy, human rights education is in line with the following human development goals (HDG) and strategic objectives (SO):

- Human rights education furthers HDG 4 ("human rights enjoyed to the fullest extent possible") and SO 13 ("safeguard and advance the rights of Palestine refugees by promoting respect for human rights, international humanitarian law and international refugee law");
- Human rights education also falls under HDG 2 ("acquired knowledge and skills") and SO 5 ("enhance education quality and outcomes against set standards"). As stated above, the Convention on the Rights of the Child provides specific standards, including that education shall be "directed to the development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations";
- By promoting knowledge of and respect for human rights, including those relevant for UNRWA's provision of services (e.g. right to health and adequate standard of living), human rights education can also contribute to the achievement of other UNRWA human development goals (i.e. goals 1, "a long and healthy life", and 3, "a decent standard of living") and corresponding strategic objectives.

1.3 human rights education and the UNRWA education reform strategy

The HRCRT policy presented in this document builds upon the 2011-2015 education reform strategy that has at its core a vision of a unified and integrated UNRWA education system, in the context of the broader organisational decentralisation processes. The Strategy is underpinned by a commitment to support effective teaching and motivated teachers to enhance the quality of education in general. It seeks to promote meaningful coherence, contextualisation, collaboration, lesson-learning, and mutual working across the UNRWA education system.

The HRCRT policy also builds on other key and emerging policies and strategies developed by UNRWA:

- UNRWA Education Reform Strategy 2011-2015 and Education Reform Strategy Implementation Plan
- "Teachers for the Future: Teacher Education and Development Policy Framework" (draft December 2011);
- UNRWA Quality Framework for Curriculum Implementation (draft July 2011);
- Inclusive Education Policy for UNRWA (draft January 2012);
- UNRWA Gender Mainstreaming Strategy 2009-2015;
- UNRWA Policy on Gender Equality (2007)
- UNRWA Disability Policy (2010); and
- UNRWA Protection Policy and Strategy (draft 2012).

1.4 human rights education and host country education systems

Further to long-standing arrangements with host authorities, the Agency uses the host curriculum and textbooks in all UNRWA schools in its five fields of operation. UNRWA has developed specific human rights education

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[7] See "UNRWA framework for effective engagement with the international human rights system", *UNRWA Department of Legal Affairs, International Division (2011), p.3.*
[8] See http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/education/training/programme.htm *for information pertaining to the Programme.*

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materials to be taught as an independent subject or to be integrated into other subjects. The HRCRT policy will build on existing work, materials, and expertise in human rights education among UNRWA teachers and other education staff. Through its vision (Section 2.3), it will also clarify how UNRWA will undertake human rights education as a means to fulfil its mandate in a more systematic and cohesive manner.

2. key elements of the HRCRT policy

The HRCRT policy is based on a global understanding of the meaning of human rights education, a common set of human rights principles, and a clear vision of the HRCRT programme. These key elements inform the policy as a whole.

2.1 defining human rights education

Following on from the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) and the adoption of the plan of action for the first phase (2005-ongoing) of the World Programme for Human Rights Education[9], education and training in human rights have expanded significantly, not only in formal education (schools, universities), but also in non-formal and informal education such as youth work and activities at the community level.

What makes human rights education unique from other education and training is that it references international human rights standards engrained in international law. The accompanying legal concepts may, at times, be challenging for learners to grasp, yet at the same time they form a very powerful framework in their articulation of human rights of everyone, which can be claimed and need to be respected, protected, promoted, and fulfilled by governments.

The World Programme for Human Rights Education reflects this uniqueness and defines human rights education as "education, training and information aiming at building a universal culture of human rights through the sharing of knowledge, imparting of skills and moulding of attitudes directed to:

- The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity;
- The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and minorities;
- The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free and democratic society governed by the rule of law;
- The building and maintenance of peace;
- The promotion of people-centred sustainable development and social justice".[10]

The UNRWA HRCRT policy is therefore in line with the World Programme for Human Rights Education and will focus on formal education but explore potential links to non-formal education, particularly with regard to youth, reflecting the commitments of the "Engaging youth conference" in Brussels in March 2012.

2.2 guiding principles of the HRCRT policy

The UNRWA HRCRT policy will ensure a clear, common understanding of human rights education in all fields through a common set of human rights principles that inform all HRCRT strategies, activities, and results. This common set of human rights principles derives from international human rights instruments including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The principles[11] which are particularly relevant to the context of Palestine refugees, are:

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[9] See GA resolution 59/113 of 17 February 2005.
[10] The definition of human rights education is from the plan of action for the first phase (2005-ongoing) of the World Programme for Human Rights Education (A/59/525/Rev.1).
[11] The definitions of the principles of universality, equality and non-discrimination, and participation and inclusion are taken from UNFPA, Human Rights Principles. Retrieved from:
http://www.unfpa.org/rights/principles.htm. The definition of tolerance taken from UNESCO's Declaration of principles of tolerance (1995). Retrieved from: http://www.unesco.org/webworld/peace_library/UNESCO/HRIGHTS/124-129.HTM. See the Annex for definitions of these principles.

- Human dignity
- Universality
- Equality and non-discrimination
- Participation and inclusion
- Tolerance

These principles must therefore be reflected across the UNRWA education system.

2.3 partnerships with other organisations

In realising its policy vision, UNRWA should collaborate with different governmental and non-governmental organisations and local communities.

Organisations such as UNESCO could contribute to curricular review, while the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights could provide guidance on good practices and standards relevant to human rights education. In fields where it is considered relevant, UNRWA could collaborate with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on the strengthening of materials on international humanitarian law. UNRWA will also engage and welcome collaborative efforts to help promote human rights education in their schools and communities by strengthening ties with local and regional non-governmental organisations.

Establishing and reinforcing links with academic institutions and non-governmental organisations, within and beyond the region, will also be important in order to benefit from the existing expertise of those with experience in human rights education teacher training. UNRWA has a unique opportunity and expertise that most of universities in the fields do not currently have as UNRWA has included the teaching of human rights in its schools for more than a decade. UNRWA is in a position to offer its support to such academic institutions in order to strengthen the academic relationships across the five fields. In time this support could be offered to the League of Arab States as it has its own plan to teach and disseminate human rights across the Arab world.

2.4 UNRWA HRCRT approach

The overall goal of the HRCRT programme is grounded in the vision of UNRWA's education reform which is to establish an education system which "develops the full potential of Palestine refugees to enable them to be confident, innovative, questioning, thoughtful, tolerant and open-minded, upholding human values and religious tolerance, proud of their Palestinian identity, and contributing positively to the development of their society and the global community".[12]

Specifically, the UNRWA HRCRT policy will support a programme which:

- Aims at fostering a culture of human rights and peace;
- Is learner-centred;
- Allows for a range of approaches to integrate human rights education within the curricula of host countries (for example, "integrated" and "stand-alone" approaches);
- Has an emphasis on human rights, with conflict resolution and tolerance as supporting skills development.

Different educational approaches can coexist, but it is critical to articulate a common understanding of the value of human rights as a starting point for all schools and other educational facilities. This common understanding of human rights education within UNRWA will help strengthen human rights across the curriculum. It will thus inform a rights-based approach to the curriculum content, materials, and teaching and learning in all five fields. Below summarises the UNRWA HRCRT approach.

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[12] UNRWA Education Reform Strategy 2011-2015, 2011, p.1.

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UNRWA HRCRT approach

vision

To provide human rights education that empowers Palestine refugee students to enjoy and exercise their rights, uphold human rights values, be proud of their Palestinian identity, and contribute positively to their society and the global community.

statement of commitment

UNRWA is committed to providing quality human rights education in its schools and educational facilities in line with its education vision, the Universal Declaration for Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the related instruments in the international human rights system, and the World Programme on Human Rights Education.

strategic objectives

The strategic objectives of the UNRWA HRCRT programme, based on the World Programme for Human Rights Education will:

- Build on the human rights principles embedded within the cultural context of Palestine refugees;
- Develop a human rights education environment in UNRWA educational facilities that is conducive to promoting a culture of human rights;
- Equip UNRWA students and youths with human rights knowledge and skills in an attempt to positively influence their attitudes and behaviour in order to contribute positively to their society and the global community.

2.5 realisation of the UNRWA HRCRT approach

Thus, for the realisation of the approach outlined in this policy, it is important that human rights education:

- Is integrated in all UNRWA education policies (such as the teacher education policy and the inclusive education policy), frameworks, and training;
- Is integrated in the development of school-based teacher development (SBTD) materials, an essential component of the educational reform strategy;
- Is based on a common set of guiding human rights principles (see Section 2.2), and be centred on the achievement of human rights education competencies and learner outcomes (see Section 3.1);
- Is taught in all grades of basic education in UNRWA schools;
- Is the responsibility of all teachers, acknowledging that some schools will have human rights-specific teachers while others may not;
- Gives equal importance to cognitive (knowledge and skills) and social/affective (values, attitudes, behaviours) learning outcomes.

It is also crucial to consider the overall curriculum framework being developed, which will guide the delivery of the education programme, and to ensure the HRCRT policy is formulated and adapted in line with it.

3. teaching and learning

Strengthening HRCRT education requires a holistic approach to teaching and learning that reflects human rights values. Starting as early as possible, the development of human rights education competencies ideally is integrated into all aspects of education. In particular, teaching practices are democratic and participatory, and curriculum and material content and objectives are rights-based.

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3.1 developing HRCRT learner competencies

The teaching and learning of HRCRT in UNRWA schools and educational facilities should reflect the guiding principles listed in Section 2.2 and be directed towards the full development of the desired learner competencies. The list of learner competencies will form a framework for determining the HRCRT curriculum approach. Existing HRCRT materials can be used, revised, and adapted, and new materials can be developed in order to achieve these competencies.

This list of HRCRT learner competencies[13] is not exhaustive and should only serve as an initial guide towards the development of an age-appropriate competencies framework upon which to build a full HRCRT programme. Development of age-appropriate competencies should be further informed by international standards such as those developed by the OHCHR.[14]

The HRCRT learner competencies are grouped under three headings: knowledge and understanding; attitudes and values; and skills. Although the competencies are presented individually, they are in the main interlinked.

KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING
The learner is aware of/knows about and understands:

- Human rights and their enjoyment by children: participation and inclusion; equality and non-discrimination; accountability; and the evolving capacities and best interest of the child;
- The history and philosophy of human rights; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and the on-going development of human rights in all regions of the world, linked to the human struggle for freedom, equality, justice and dignity;
- Arguments for the universality of human rights; the indivisibility of rights; the interdependence of rights; and common challenges to these perspectives;
- The evolving nature of the human rights framework and international human rights standards elaborated in international and regional instruments, e.g., the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which is of special relevance to the school context;
- Rights in conflict with one another and the challenge to maximise respect for all rights under these circumstances;
- The context and causes of human rights violations;
- Current or historical events in one's own country, continent or in the world that illustrate major human rights issues, violations or movements;
- Individuals and groups – past and present – who contributed and still contribute to the upholding and defence of human rights, in one's own country, continent or the world (famous as well as unsung).

ATTITUDES AND VALUES
The learner demonstrates:

- Respect for oneself and tolerance and respect for others based on the dignity of all persons and their human rights;
- The belief that one person can make a difference in the world in promoting and protecting human rights;
- A valuing of and engagement with human rights and justice/injustice themes;
- Compassion for and solidarity with those suffering human rights violations or those who are the target of attacks resulting from prejudice (especially more vulnerable groups).

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[13] *The list is adapted from Human Rights Education Guidelines for Secondary School Systems (draft December 2011, Warsaw: HREA, OSCE, and ODIHR). The competencies in these guidelines are for secondary schools and have therefore been adapted for UNRWA's context.*
[14] *See ABC - Teaching Human Rights: Practical activities for primary and secondary schools, chapter 1. New York: OHCHR. Retrieved from:* http://www.ohchr.org/EN/PublicationsResources/Pages/TrainingEducation.aspx.

SKILLS

The learner is able to:

- Use the human rights framework and principles to resolve interpersonal conflicts; apply knowledge of one's rights to be assertive in situations when others are denying his/her rights;
- Describe historical and contemporary political, legal, economic, cultural and social processes from a human rights perspective and using human rights language;
- Locate information and sources on human rights relevant to one's personal and academic needs and interests;
- Take an active part in discussions, debates and controversies related to human rights;
- Demonstrate confidence, motivation and leadership abilities, as well as skills at building and maintaining collaborative efforts in taking action for human rights in schools and communities;
- Take an active role in defending, protecting and achieving the human rights of others.

3.2 teaching practices

The realisation of the HRCRT vision set out in this policy requires teachers capable of developing the HRCRT learner competencies listed in Section 3.1. The emphasis of the UNRWA education reform on developing children's full capabilities requires that teachers should learn how to teach about HRCRT in a way that prompts critical reflection on the part of students, engages them in a participatory manner, places emphasis on strengthening knowledge of human rights principles, teaches them practical skills (such as conflict resolution and/or mediation), and helps shape their personal beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours.

It is also crucial that teaching practices themselves are reflective of human rights principles: teachers should respect the dignity of each student and provide equal opportunities for them; they should adopt learner-centred methods and approaches that empower students; they should encourage cooperative learning, and a sense of solidarity, creativity, pride, and self-esteem.

In order for teaching practices to reflect these characteristics, the professional development of teachers needs to be strengthened through regular teacher training both at the pre-service and in-service stages. This is explored more in Section 4. Similarly, the overall ethos of the teaching and learning environment as one of inclusivity, respect and empowerment must be emphasised in all strands of educational structures and practices.

3.3 curricular approach

Complementing the professional development of the teachers and the overall ethos of the education programme, the curricular approach must reflect the diversity of experiences and contexts in the five fields in which UNRWA operates. While UNRWA has developed an amount of curriculum enrichment materials and independent human rights subject material in the past to help support teachers, the HRCRT policy acknowledges and builds upon this experience and materials to ensure a forward-looking approach that is versatile and adaptable within the five fields.

In order to ensure that students attain the human rights education competencies throughout the primary and lower secondary grades at UNRWA schools, the following must take place:

- Review and, if necessary, revision of existing materials used to teach human rights, whether (1) through integration in specific school subjects such as Arabic language, Islamic education and social sciences or (2) as an independent subject;
- Support teachers to more actively make use of existing materials;
- Develop additional human rights materials that will complement the existing ones; and
- Encourage more extensive use of the many available curricular resources, games and other enrichment materials on human rights (e.g. on the Internet if the ICT infrastructure allows).

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4. teacher preparation and professional development

As mentioned in Section 3.2., for the school and other educational facilities to serve as a model of human rights learning and practice, all teachers and staff need to be able to both transmit and model human rights values. Training and professional development must foster educators' knowledge about, commitment to, and motivation for human rights. Furthermore, as holders of rights themselves, educational personnel need to work and learn in a context of respect for their dignity and rights. Within the school community, opportunities for awareness-raising about human rights and for training in human rights education should not exist only for teachers, but also for head teachers and members of the school management, education specialists, administrative staff in schools and educational institutions, education officials, and planners in local and national authorities, community leaders and parents.

Reflecting the emerging teacher-related policies, a broad range of human rights issues need to be considered in all areas of professional development, including training, recruitment, promotion, and retention and the roles and job descriptions of teachers and other staff such as education specialists. In line with the reform strategy, measures taken in this area aim to achieve one of the main goals of the policy, which is to change classroom practice. A common need is teacher-training on HRCRT and the continuous professional development of teachers in strengthening their skills in teaching human rights. There is a need to provide specific training to teachers to assist them in integrating HRCRT more effectively in the subjects they teach or, in the case of specialised human rights teachers, to provide additional teacher training support. Apart from this, teacher training can reinforce teaching practices that are respectful of human rights and will further strengthen all teachers to be positive role models in the classroom.

Many teachers, including those in Gaza who are "human rights teachers" (they only teach human rights), are appreciative of the innovative and participatory teaching methods they have acquired as a results of teacher training on human rights.[15] It has renewed their energy to teach and it has reinvigorated the students in learning about human rights as well.

4.1 recruitment, pre-service and in-service professional development

In order for the HRCRT vision to become a reality, the following elements must be included in the HRCRT programme in the selection of teachers and pre-service and in-service training and professional development:

- Special consideration must be given in interviews to prospective teachers' commitment to human rights principles;
- Contracts should be signed by teachers in which they affirm that they will not resort to corporal punishment;
- All teacher-training programmes must include and reflect human rights principles and empower teachers to adopt classroom practices that respect and promote human rights;
- All newly-appointed teachers should attend a mandatory basic human rights education training course. This includes teachers of the technical and vocational education and training (TVET) and the youth programme;
- All teachers – not simply the ones who are currently using human rights enrichment materials in the integrated approach or those teaching human rights as a separate subject – should receive HRCRT in-service training in order to appreciate the value of teaching students about/for human rights, and to enhance their capacities to better teach about human rights;
- Basic teacher training on human rights education should emphasise the guiding principles (Section 2.2), the core competencies (Section 3.1), methods of effectively teaching human rights education, and skills in conflict resolution;
- The school-based teacher development (SBTD) programme should include a training unit on human rights education;
- Leadership courses (such as "Leading for the Future") should include a human rights education component;
- A comprehensive training programme that goes beyond the basic HRCRT training for all teachers needs to be developed for the specialised human rights teachers.

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[15] See "UNRWA Human Rights, Conflict Resolution, and Tolerance (HRCRT) Education Programme Scoping Study Report", p.7.

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The use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has been acknowledged in the education reform as a means to implement and strengthen the reform's impact. Building on this, ICTs can enable teachers to strengthen their knowledge and skills in human rights by the following:

- The establishment of an online community through which teachers and other stakeholders can exchange resources, good practices, and lessons learned, and a common understanding of the HRCRT programme can be fostered;
- Provide teachers with access to online resources regarding human rights, human rights education, tolerance, and conflict resolution either through a dedicated section of UNRWA's online library and resource bank or by making them more aware of existing online resources provided by Human Rights Education Associates (HREA), OHCHR, UNESCO and other information providers and online clearing-houses in human rights education;
- The development of a short, self-paced, self-directed e-learning course on human rights and how they specifically apply to children, targeting all educational personnel and interested stakeholders. The self-paced delivery mode will allow for any teacher, counsellor or parent to participate in this course at any time. Successful completion of the course could be tied to performance management policies for teaching personnel;
- The development of an instructor-led distance learning course on human rights, conflict resolution, and tolerance for new teachers. Ideally this course would be offered in collaboration with a university (and hence the course would be certified) several times a year as to allow for larger numbers of teachers to participate;
- Teachers and other education staff should have opportunities to participate in online courses through other international human rights bodies or institutes.

To ensure the above is effectively implemented and maintained, a monitoring and evaluation system should be put in place. Such a system should consider criteria for admission, the means of ensuring proper completion of the requirements, and an evaluation mechanism to measure the impact of the course on participants.

5. learning environment

Human rights education strives towards an environment where human rights are practised and realised in the daily life of the whole school community. As well as addressing cognitive learning, human rights education includes social and emotional development. This rights-based environment will facilitate respecting and promoting the human rights of all actors characterised by mutual understanding, respect, and responsibility. It also enables children to express their views freely and to participate in school life, and offers them appropriate opportunities for interacting with the wider community.

UNRWA is committed to ensuring a safe and stimulating rights-based school environment where students learn, enjoy their rights, respect rights of others, and fully participate in school life. This environment is hazard-free, violence free, healthy and accessible to all, thereby ensuring physical and mental safety. The learning environment and all education activities—both inside and outside the classrooms—should be respectful of human rights principles at all times and in all cases.

A rights-based school environment will only be realised by an integrated approach which addresses all levels – that is policy and management, teachers and students, and a safe and stimulating learning environment. It will also be important to ensure interaction between the school and wider community.

5.1 policy statements and implementation provisions for human rights in the school

School policy statements and implementation provisions should have human rights principles reflected in all management processes.

School management should plan for, support, and implement human rights at all times and in all situations. Each school should have a clear charter on students' and teachers' rights and responsibilities based on the human rights principles outlined above. In line with existing UNRWA instructions and policies, the management of the school should have a code of conduct for a learning environment free of violence, sexual abuse, harassment, bullying, and corporal punishment. This code of conduct should include:

- Commitment by all not to resort to violence, sexual abuse, harassment, bullying, and corporal punishment;
- Procedures for resolving conflicts or disputes and dealing with violence and bullying;
- Procedures for redress in case of sexual abuse, harassment and corporal punishment;
- Mechanisms for participation of students in school-related events or activities, including through the formation of democratically-elected and sustainable school parliaments;
- Non-discrimination policies protecting all members of the school community, relating to—among others— admissions, scholarships, advancement, promotion, special programmes, eligibility, and opportunities.

School management should place emphasis on the recognition and celebration of human rights achievements through festivities, awards, and prizes throughout the school year.

School management should make sure all of the above is received, read, well-understood, and applied by all school members.

5.2 teachers in a rights-based school

Teachers of a rights-based school have an explicit mandate from the school management concerning human rights education. This mandate should ensure teachers:

- Learn about human rights concepts, principles, and values and apply them when interacting with their fellow teachers and students;
- Show a sense of belonging to their school community, have an active role in ensuring that the rights-based schools concept is fully applied in all situations;
- Respect the human dignity of students and colleagues under all circumstances, including zero tolerance to violence, discrimination, and corporal punishment;
- Encourage free self-expression and exchange of ideas among students and provide participation opportunities for all students;
- Have access to forums and online resources, to exchange good practices and to network with other teachers in nearby schools, within the same field, between fields, and internationally, depending on available resources;
- Work closely with school management to reflect human rights education as an integral component of the education process.

5.3 students in a rights-based school

Students of a rights-based school enjoy freedom of expression and have chances to freely exchange ideas, communicate with others and participate in decision-making processes (suitable to their age group/level). They will:

- Show a sense of belonging to their school community, are proud of proud of their Palestinian identity, and respect and value cultural diversity;
- Apply what they learn through their curricula to their day-to-day practices in the classroom, the school, and the community;
- Be tolerant with diversities, which includes respecting the needs of all students in line with the inclusive education policy;
- Be respectful of their teachers and the education staff;
- Be protective of their schools' physical environment/property;
- Not engage in violent acts and acts of bullying.

These principles should be actively introduced to the children as early as possible at all school levels.

5.4 interactions between the school, local government, and the wider community

The value of human rights education must be linked to the lives of the students, their parents, and the communities in which they live. School management and teachers should identify opportunities to raise awareness among parents, local community, civil society and the local authorities about human rights in relation to the day-to-day lives of the children and their education.

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To achieve this, school management should:

- Put in place communication mechanisms that facilitate the exchange of ideas among the school staff, students, non-governmental organisations, and the surrounding communities in order to strengthen the human rights culture in the community at large;
- Ensure that the parent/teacher associations are well-supported and that parents are actively participating in decisions that promote a human rights culture in their communities , as for example, the participation of parents in joint human rights projects in the community;
- Encourage students to carry out extra-curricular projects in the community, particularly on human rights issues;
- Promote partnerships with non-governmental organisations, UN agencies, and other human rights organisations to enrich and support the HRCRT programme at large.

The support of the community and civil society is crucial to the success of UNRWA's efforts in reinforcing the value of human rights within its education system and indirectly introducing it to the whole community. It fosters the relationships with the different bodies active in the community and enhances the possibilities of ownership of human rights initiatives by different stakeholders. This type of support and engagement from the community and civil society will also help facilitate the overall understanding and acceptance of other UNRWA policies such as the inclusive education policy.

5.5 a safe and stimulating learning environment

Finally, a rights-based school environment should be safe, environment-friendly, stimulating, and learner/teacher-friendly. To achieve this, the:

- Environment should be obstacle-free and accessible to all students and users. Its buildings, facilities (playgrounds, library, computers labs, etc.), and services should be made available in full respect of the inclusive education policy;
- Environment should be free of violence (including gender-based violence), sexual abuse, harassment, bullying, and corporal punishment;
- Learning environment should be sufficiently-resourced and well-accommodated with furniture, computer labs, and educational tools that are comfortable and safe to use;
- Schools should be located—where feasible—away from main roads to eliminate or minimise road traffic accidents among students, and to minimise exposure to noise, fumes, and exhaust among students and school staff;
- Schools and the community provide time and space to apply curricular and extra-curricular educational activities, in line with UNRWA policies on the use of UNRWA facilities.

6. monitoring and evaluation

This section underscores the need for systematic monitoring, evaluation, and research to under-pin and support the HRCRT programme. An effective monitoring and evaluation system will not only help improve the quality of the programmes being offered, but also contribute towards the HRCRT policy's understanding and vision of how such efforts can impact on lives of children. The monitoring and evaluation system is in line with the monitoring and evaluation framework for the education reform strategy.

6.1 focus of monitoring and evaluation

Effective monitoring and evaluation of the HRCRT programme fits into the overall monitoring and evaluation framework for the education reform strategy which stipulates that a culture of human rights, conflict resolution and tolerance will be put in place.

Monitoring and evaluation encompasses the three interrelated areas highlighted in the HRCRT policy: teaching and learning, which includes learner competencies (see Section 3); teacher preparation and professional development (see Section 4); and the learning environment (see Section 5), as well as cross-cutting issues (Section 7). Some areas to be monitored and evaluated are:

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a. teaching and learning and curriculum materials

- Learning materials which are in line with HRCRT values and principles;
- Learning materials which develop HRCRT learner competencies;
- Availability of learning materials and resources for students;
- Time in the curriculum for HRCRT programming;
- Actual availability of time in the curriculum for HRCRT programming (contact time);
- Intended versus actual methodologies of instruction used by teachers;
- Achievement of student outcomes (knowledge, attitudes and values, and skills).

b. teacher preparation and professional development

- Learning materials which are in line with the principles of teaching and learning of HRCRT;
- Availability of learning materials for teachers;
- Availability of training for teachers (both pre-service and in-service);
- Actual training undertaken by teachers (contact time);
- Effectiveness of individual training programmes;
- Achievement of teacher outcomes (knowledge, attitudes and values, and skills related to implementing the HRCRT programme).

c. the learning environment

- Evidence of tolerance, equality and non-discrimination for all being encouraged and respected;
- Quality and degree of open discussions between teacher and students and among students in the classroom;
- Level of critical inquiry encouraged among students;
- Level and degree of children's participation and agency;
- Ability to peacefully resolve conflicts within the school environment;
- The learning environment is safe and non-violent (emotionally as well as physically);
- Partnerships exist between school staff and parents, local government and other organisations in the community.

d. cross-cutting issues

- Application of policies, frameworks, and strategies addressing cross-cutting issues;
- Availability of gender-sensitive HRCRT curricula and materials;
- Awareness of teachers and students about cross-cutting issues;
- Degree of cooperation with UNRWA entities addressing cross-cutting issues is enhanced;
- Non-bias and tolerance for diversity throughout.

6.2 methodologies of monitoring and evaluation

In order to effectively and reliably measure the programme implementation and results for all these dimensions, a set of shared standards and indicators should be developed.

The indicators should be carefully chosen in relation to the competencies and criteria mentioned in this Policy, and should be limited in number in order to be manageable. This process should be facilitated through the identification and development of monitoring and evaluation tools and processes which are easily understandable and realistic for practice. Monitoring and evaluation should be systematic to ensure that implementation is carried out as planned and that the outcomes observed correspond to the expected results.

Some elements of programming lend themselves readily to quantitative indicators, for example, coverage of the HRCRT programme, student participation levels, and certain forms of assessment related to content knowledge. Other elements lend themselves more easily to qualitative indicators, such as the methodologies used in the classroom, student and teacher views on the programme, and impacts related to values and skills. These qualitative indicators should be assessed through perceptional analysis, allowing to measure practices, attitudes

and values. UNRWA will develop indicators and associated tools and processes that capture both the core elements of programme implementation as well as high priority results.

In line with a human rights-based approach to monitoring and evaluation, stakeholders should be actively engaged in decisions related to the methodologies chosen and actively involved in this process in a way that encourages reflection and improvement on the parts of teachers and students.

As UNRWA develops its monitoring and evaluation system for the HRCRT programme, it should rely on emerging initiatives such as the human rights education guidelines for secondary school systems developed by Human Rights Education Associates, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.[16]

6.3 coordination of and responsibilities for data collection

In order to measure UNRWA-wide changes, the monitoring and implementation of the HRCRT programme must be a coordinated effort using shared standards and indicators deriving from the Field Implementation Plans (FIPs), the Headquarters Implementation Plan (HIP), and the Education Management Information System (EMIS) for those core elements of the programme that are shared across Fields. This requires a close link with the Monitoring and Evaluation Framework developed for the Education Reform Strategy.

The monitoring and evaluation effort should encourage and make use of relevant data collection techniques that are undertaken within the school systems. This will help to ensure that educational policy-makers, managers, and teachers are familiar with the goals of the HRCRT policy, feel a sense of ownership of the intended outcomes, and participate in the reflective learning process that evaluation can engender.

Gathering the data for monitoring and evaluation is thus a shared responsibility at all levels, from the schools to the field offices to headquarters. At the school level, mechanisms for student and teacher self-assessment can be put in place to help measure competencies of students and teachers' abilities to teach about human rights. Also at the school level, teachers are specifically responsible for human rights along with head teachers, who support the data-gathering aspects of monitoring and evaluation. Education specialists and other field staff are responsible for additional data gathering and preliminary analysis to be supported by headquarters. The majority of data gathering should be made through UNRWA staff and available resources, but it will be required to occasionally benefit from external stakeholders to provide guidance in monitoring and evaluation methods and to provide external evaluations. Coordination with other programme areas of the education programme will be key.

A range of effective data collection methods, many of which are already used by EMIS, need to be identified and validated in the fields. All types of information gathered should be referenced in relation to baseline data, and be — to the extent possible — based on existing data gathered through EMIS. There should be a concerted effort to promote the sharing of good practices between fields.

7. cross-cutting dimensions

The HRCRT policy addresses the following cross-cutting issues: gender, youth, protection, inclusive education/ disability, and educational environment. These issues are to be considered implicitly and explicitly in the four areas of the human rights policy: teaching and learning; teacher preparation and professional development; the learning environment; and monitoring and evaluation.

7.1 vulnerable groups

Education staff and teachers should consider the specific rights of vulnerable groups (such as children with disabilities, orphans, or persons having suffered human rights violations). To this end, cooperation with the UNRWA inclusive education approach will be enhanced.

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[16] Draft guidelines were developed as of December 2011 and contributed to the development of the core HRE competencies listed in Section 3.1.

7.2 inclusive education/ disability

The HRCRT policy reflects the approach of inclusive education as part of the right to learn in line with the UNRWA inclusive education policy. The policy addresses disability in line with the UNRWA disability policy based on the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. To this end, cooperation with the UNRWA inclusive education unit will be enhanced.

7.3 gender

All materials and activities developed for human rights education should be gender-sensitive and all curricula should be reviewed and analysed to tackle stereotypes and bias in line with the 2008–2009 UNRWA gender mainstreaming strategy and the UNRWA policy on gender equality. Gender is a theme that is to be addressed clearly in the HRCRT curriculum. To this end, cooperation with the UNRWA gender task-force and the UNRWA programme coordination and support unit will be enhanced.

7.4 youth

Human rights education should clearly address the needs of Palestinian youth, their right to education through a rights-based school environment that enables them to participate actively in their communities and uphold the human rights values and their Palestinian identity. Youth participation will be fostered through functional school parliaments that have real influence in decision-making and planning. To this end, cooperation with the UNRWA programme coordination and support unit will be enhanced.

7.5 protection

The HRCRT policy complies with UNRWA protection standards of the rights of Palestine refugees as well as UNRWA education technical instructions regarding violence-free schooling. To this end, cooperation with the UNRWA senior protection coordinator will be enhanced.

7.6 educational environment

Students and teachers should enjoy a safe and stimulating school based on UNRWA education technical instructions, a code of conduct, and an ethical framework. To this end, cooperation with the UNRWA governance, administration and finance unit will be enhanced.

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annex 1 - guiding principles of the HRCRT policy

human dignity

Human dignity is a principle that asserts that all human beings, by virtue of being human, deserve to be respected and treated well.

universality

Human rights are universal. All people everywhere in the world are entitled to them. The universality of human rights is encompassed in the words of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

equality and non-discrimination

All individuals are equal as human beings and by virtue of the inherent dignity of each person. No one should therefore suffer discrimination on the basis of race, colour, ethnicity, gender, age, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, social or geographical origin, disability, property, birth or other status as established by human rights standards.

With specific reference to children's rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child established non-discrimination as one of its core obligations in Article 2: "The Convention applies to all children, whatever their race, religion or abilities; whatever they think or say, whatever type of family they come from. It does not matter where children live, what language they speak, what their parents do, whether they are boys or girls, what their culture is, whether they have a disability or whether they are rich or poor. No child should be treated unfairly on any basis." Article 24 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities also makes reference to the right to education "without discrimination and on the basis of equal opportunity."

participation and inclusion

All people have the right to participate in and access information relating to the decision-making processes that affect their lives and well-being. Rights-based approaches require a high degree of participation by communities, civil society, minorities, women, children, young people, indigenous peoples, persons with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups.

With specific reference to children's rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child integrates participation as a guiding principle[17]. In particular, Article 12 of the Convention highlights the need to respect the views of children: when decisions are made that affect children, children have the right to say what they think should happen and have their opinions taken into account. This convention encourages others to listen to the opinions of children and involve them in decision-making – not give children authority over adults. Article 12 does not interfere with parents' right and responsibility to express their views on matters affecting their children. Moreover, the convention recognises that the level of a child's participation in decisions must be appropriate to the child's level of maturity. Children's ability to form and express their opinions develops with age and most adults will naturally give the views of teenagers greater weight than those of a pre-schooler, whether in family, legal, or administrative decisions.

tolerance

Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty; it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace. Tolerance is not concession, condescension or indulgence. Tolerance is, above all, an active attitude prompted by recognition of the universal human rights and fundamental freedoms of others.

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[17] See UNICEF, The Convention on the Rights of the Child – Guiding Principles: General Requirements for All Rights. Retrieved from: http://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Guiding_Principles.pdf.

Grade 8 Textbook, page (19-20) - Activity 2 (Text) - translated from Arabic

'Feelings of anger and discontent grew among the black students in South Africa against the enacted low of using the Afrikaans language at schools. The students of Soweto primary school, in Johannesburg, responded by announcing a strike by not going to school, end of April 1976, which extended to include other schools in Soweto. On the 16th June, same year, thousands of youth organised a demonstration against the Apartheid. The events of that day became one of the most important milestones of the struggle against the Apartheid regime. The demonstration was organised with a support from the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) to be absolutely peaceful, but things went out of control when fire was opened on the protestors, and resulted in the death of Hector Pieterson who was at his thirteen springs.

The image of the body of Hector Pieterson spread to the world that resulted in the international community to denounce and condemn the practices of the Apartheid's government. That day ignited a revolution that spread out through South Africa and recorded hundred deaths and injuries amongst men, women and children within a short time. This uprising represented the greatest challenge to the Apartheid regime as the resultant economic and political stability was hugely influenced especially with the growing international boycott impact. The government failed to sustain stability in the 70s of the last century in the presence of the growing black residents' resistance. Despite this, the hopes of the South African citizens were not actualized until 14 years ahead when F. W. de Klerk, who became the president of South Africa later in 1990-1991, and abolished most of the Apartheid's policies. In 1994, the first elections in South Africa took place and involved all races.

The period of the Apartheid ended peacefully. The 16th June is celebrated nowadays to commemorate the young students who organised the demonstration against the Apartheid and the racial segregation policies. Hector Pieterson Memorial and museum was also build in Soweto, 2002' (The grade 8 textbook, 2012, p. 19).

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON TOLERANCE, 1995[1]

Introduction

On the initiative of UNESCO, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1995 the United Nations Year for Tolerance and designated UNESCO as lead agency for this Year. In conformity with its mandate and in order to call public attention worldwide to the urgent matter of tolerance, the General Conference of UNESCO solemnly adopted on 16 November 1995, the 50th anniversary of the signature of UNESCO's Constitution, the Declaration of the Principles of Tolerance. The Member States of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris at the twenty-eighth session of the General Conference, from 25 October to 16 November 1995.

Preamble

Bearing in mind that the United Nations Charter states "We, the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person... and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours."

Recalling that the Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO adopted on 16 November 1945, states that "peace, it it is not to fail, must be founded on the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

Recalling also that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms that "Everyone has the right to freedom of though, conscience and religion" (Article 18), "of opinion and expression" (Article 19), and that education "should promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups" (Article 26),

Noting relevant international instruments including:
the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,
the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,
the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination,
the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,
the Convention on the Rights of the Child,
the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol and regional instrumnents,
the Convention on the Elimination of Any Form of Discrimination against Women,
the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment,
the Declaration on the Elimination of Any Form of Intolerance Based on Religion or Belief
the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities,
the Declaration on measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights
the Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Summit for Social Development
the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice,
the UNESCO Convention and Recommnendation against Discrimination in Education,

Bearing in mind the objectives of the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial

Discrimination, the World Decade Human Rights Education, and the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People,

Taking into consideration the recomendations of regional conferences organized in the framework of the United Nations Year for Tolerance in accordance with UNESCO General Conference 27C/Resolution 5.14, as well as the conclusions and recommendations of other conferences and meetings organized by Member States within the programme of the United Nations Year for Tolerance,

Alarmed by the current rise in acts of intolerance, violence, terrorism, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, racism, anti-Semitism, exclusion, marginalization and discrimination directed against national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, refugees, migrant workers, immigrants and vulnerable groups within societies, as well as acts of violence and intimidation committed against individuals exercising their freedom of opinion and expression - all of which threaten the consolidation of peace and democracy both nationally and internationally and which are all obstacles to development,

Emphasising the responsibilities of Member States to develop and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, gender, language, national origin, religion or disability, and to combat intolerance,

Adopt and solemnly proclaim this Declaration of Principles on Tolerance.

Resolving to take all positive measures necessary to promote tolerance in our societies, because tolerance is not only a cherished principle, but also a necessity for peace and for the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

We declare the following:

Article 1 - Meaning of tolerance

1.1 Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty, it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace.

1.2 Tolerance is not concession, condescension or indulgence. Tolerance is, above all, an active attitude prompted by recognition of the universal human rights and fundamental freedoms of others. In no circumstance can it be used to justify infringements of these fundamental values. Tolerance is to be exercised by individuals, groups and States.

1.3 Tolerance is the responsibility that upholds human rights, pluralism (including cultural pluralism), democracy and the rule of law. It involves the rejection of dogmatism and absolutism and affirms the standards set out in international human rights instruments.

1.4 Consistent with respect for human rights, the practice of tolerance does not mean toleration of social injustice or the abandonment or weakening of one's convictions. It means that one is free to adhere to one's own convictions and accepts that others adhere to theirs. It means accepting the fact that human beings, naturally diverse in their appearance, situation, speech, behaviour and values, have the right to live in peace and to be as they are. It also means that one's views are not to be imposed on others.

Article 2 - State level

2.1 Tolerance at the State level requires just and impartial legislation, law enforcement and judicial and administrative process. It also requires that economic and social opportunities be made available to each person without any discrimination. Exclusion and marginalization can lead to frustration, hostility and fanaticism .

2.2. In order to achieve a more tolerant society, States should ratify existing international human rights conventions, and draft new legislation where necessary to ensure equality of treatment and of opportunity for all groups and individuals in society.

2.3 It is essential for international harmony that individuals, communities and nations accept and respect the multicultural character of the human family. Without tolerance there can be no peace, and without peace there can be no development or democracy.

2.4 Intolerance may take the form of marginalization of vulnerable groups and their exclusion from social and political participation, as well as violence and discrimination against them. As confirmed in the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice "All individuals and groups have the right to be different" (Article 1.2).

Article 3 - Social dimensions

3.1 In the modern world, tolerance is more essential than ever before. It is an age marked by the globalization of the economy and by rapidly increasing mobility, communication, integration and interdependence, large-scale migrations and displacement of populations, urbanization and changing social patterns. Since every part of the world is characterized by diversity, escalating intolerance and strife potentially menaces every region. It is not confined to any country, but is a global threat.

3.2 Tolerance is necessary between individuals and at the family and community levels. Tolerance promotion and the shaping of attitudes of openness, mutual listening and solidarity should take place in schools and universities, and through non-formal education, at home and in the workplace. The communication media are in a position to play a constructive role in facilitating free and open dialogue and discussion, disseminating the values of tolerance, and highlighting the dangers of indifference towards the rise in intolerant groups and ideologies.

3.3 As affirmed by the UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, measures must be taken to ensure equality in dignity and rights for individuals and groups wherever necessary. In this respect, particular attention should be paid to vulnerable groups which are socially or economically disadvantaged so as to afford them the protection of the laws and social measures in force, in particular with regard to housing, employment and health, to respect the authenticity of their culture and values, and to facilitate their social and occupational advancement and integration, especially through education.

3.4 Appropriate scientific studies and networking should be undertaken to co-ordinate the international community's response to this global challenge, including analysis by the social sciences of root causes and effective countermeasures, as well as research and monitoring in support of policy-making and standard-setting action by Member States.

Article 4 - Education

4.1 Education is the most effective means of preventing intolerance. The first step in tolerance education is to teach people what their shared rights and freedoms are, so that they may be respected, and to promote the will to protect those of others.

4.2 Education for tolerance should be considered an urgent imperative; that is why it is necessary to promote systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance - major roots of violence and exclusion. Education policies and programmes should contribute to development of understanding, solidarity and tolerance among individuals as well as among ethnic, social, cultural, religious and linguistic groups and nations.

4.3 Education for tolerance should aim at countering influences that lead to fear and exclusion of others, and should help young people to develop capacities for independent judgement, critical thinking and ethical reasoning.

4.4 We pledge to support and implement programmes of social science research and education for tolerance, human rights and non-violence. This means devoting special attention to improving teacher training, curricula, the content of textbooks and lessons, and other educational materials including new educational technologies, with a view to educating caring and responsible citizens open to other cultures, able to appreciate the value of freedom, respectful of human dignity and differences, and able to prevent conflicts or resolve them by nonviolent means.

Article 5 - Commitment to action

We commit ourselves to promoting tolerance and non-violence through programmes and institutions in the fields of education science, culture and communication.

Article 6 - International Day for Tolerance

In order to generate public awareness, emphasize the dangers of intolerance and react with renewed commitment and action in support of tolerance promotion and education, we solemnly proclaim 16 November the annual International Day for Tolerance.

Notes

1 Solemnly adopted by acclamation on 16 November 1985 at the twenty-eighth session of the UNESCO General Conference.   back

Contents

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PROTOCOL 1 DATA COLLECTION TEMPLATE (HRCRT CURRICULUM)

Human Rights Conflict Resolution and Tolerance (HRCRT) policy document, UNRWA 2012.

Unit of analysis:

- Embedding the HRCRT policy in existing UNRWA and global strategies and policy frameworks (pp. 5-6).
- The key elements of the HRCRT policy (pp. 7-9) and annex 1- Guiding principles of the HRCRT policy (p.19).
- Teaching and learning (pp. 9-11).

	Protocol Categories	Data & Protocol Questions	Analysis and Comments	Other
1.	**Embedding the HRCRT policy in existing UNRWA and global strategies and policy frameworks**	How is the HRCRT policy embedded in the broad/specific, local/international policies and frameworks?		
a	UNRWA and the international human rights system			
b	Human rights education and UNRWA's broader strategic frameworks	What is the role UNRWA in designing the HRE curriculum for Gaza?		
c	Human rights			

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		education and the UNRWA education reform strategy		
	d	Human rights education and host country education systems	What aspects of the host countries' education systems and frameworks are mentioned? How do they inform the HRCRT policy?	
2.		The key elements of the HRCRT policy and the HRE curriculum as reflected in this document.		
	a	Definition of HRE.	How is Human Rights Education (HRE) defined?	
	b	The guiding principles of the HRCRT policy.	What are the guiding principles of the HRCRT approach?	

		Who are the authors/collaborators in this vision and approach?					
c	Partnership with other organisations.						
d	UNRWA HRCRT approach.	What is the HRCRT rights-based approach?					
e	Realisation of the UNRWA HRCRT approach.	What is needed for the HRE curriculum to realise the HRCRT approach?					
3.	**Teaching and learning**						
a	The learners' competencies.	What are the learners' competencies of the HRCRT approach?					
b	Teaching practices.	What are the discursive aspects of the teaching and learning practices?					

	c	The curricular approach.	How does the curriculum design promote the development of the learners' competencies and teaching practices?	
4.		*Cultural aspects and geo-political context*		
	a	Aspects of culture/ social geography.	What aspects of culture/social geography arise in the document?	
	b	Cultural sensitivity/ local context and experiences of the learners.	Are there any references to identity/collective memory and the context of the conflict?	
	c	The "conflict" as tackled in the document.	Does the HRE curriculum reflect the local culture of rights?	

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5.	**Aspects and strategies of the discourse of HRCRT**		
	a	Definition of tolerance.	How is tolerance defined in the document in relation to human rights and conflict resolution?
	b	Types of Tolerance that are referred to in the document.	What types of tolerance are referred to?
	c	Discursive strategies	What are the discursive strategies in function in the discourse of HRCRT?
6.	**Miscellaneous/ Other aspects**		

PROTOCOL 2 DATA COLLECTION TEMPLATE (SAMPLE TEXTBOOKS)

Protocol 2: Secondary Level Textbooks, Human Rights, UNRWA 2012.

Unit of analysis:

- Lessons (.... and....) - 2nd term- Grade..., (February 2014).

	Categories	Protocol questions and data	Comments	Other
1.	Structure of the textbook	Second term textbook, February, 2014.		
a	Units and lessons in the textbook.	How many units and lessons are in the textbook?		
b	Topics of each unit.	What topics does the lessons tackle?		
c	Objectives of the lessons under study.	What are the objectives and main concepts of the lessons under study?		
2.	Lessons/texts (written and visual).			
a	Focus of the texts in relation to	What do the texts focus on? Do they serve the objectives of the lessons?		

	the lesson objectives.		
b	Images.	Do the images serve the topics? symbolize something? What for? Who's involved?	
3.	The activities.		
a	Tasks and the arrangement of the activities/images.	What tasks are the learners asked to do? How do the images serve the activities?	
b	Skills.	Which skills are involved? What kind of "actions" can the learners take? Are these skills transferable to the learners' lived experiences, culture and socio-political context?	

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4.	The discourse		
	a	Discourse/aspects/functions.	What are the strategies that serve the discourse of HRCRT? What functions do these strategies have?
	b	Framing (themes and discourse)	What topics serve this discourse? How are the themes and topics formed/framed?
	c	The right-based approach.	How are the learners and teachers talked about? Does the rights-based approach serve this discourse? How? How not?

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5.	Palestinian cultural aspects		
	a	Cultural aspects	What cultural aspects can be found in the lessons under study? How are they discussed?
			How do they serve the lessons' themes and objectives?
			Any assumptions/stereotypes? If yes, then how do these assumptions serve the discourse?
	b	Human agency	How are the learners expected to express themselves/experiences?
			Any margins for teachers' input?
6.	Miscellaneous/ Other aspects		Connections to some aspects of the policy document.

Lessons 1, 4 of Grade 8 Sample Textbook

حقوق الإنسان

Humane treatment with all

المعاملة الإنسانية مع الجميع

أفعال غاندي الإنسانية أثناء حرب البوير

Activity 1

النشاط الأول — أعمال غاندي الإنسانية في أثناء حرب البوير

اقرأ الحوار التالي:

المعلمة: كان اكتشاف الذهب والماس نقمةً على سكان "ترانسفال" في جنوب إفريقيا بدل أن يكون نعمةً وثروةً لهم.

أمل: لماذا يا معلمتي؟ فالذهب والماس من الثروات التي تُغني البلاد.

المعلمة: لأنهما تسببا في اندلاع حرب عام (١٨٩٩) م بين المستوطنين البريطانيين والهولنديين، (الذين عُرفوا باسم البويريين)، للسيطرة على الأراضي التي تحتوي على الذهب والماس.
وقد كانت حربًا شعواءَ أُريقت فيها الدماءُ ، وسقط الآلافُ من الضحايا بين قتلى وجرحى.

أمل: لماذا اندلعت الحربُ؟

المعلمة: كلتا القوتين الاستعماريتين حاربت للسيطرة على أراضي السكان الأصليين.

أمل: وكيف حصل الضحايا على المساعدة في أثناء الحرب؟

المعلمة: أنشأ "غاندي" طواقم متطوعي الإسعاف الهندية لرعاية الضحايا البريطانيين حيث ناشد الهنود المضطهدين للتطوع فيها.

أمل: وهل استجاب الهنود لمناشدة غاندي؟

المعلمة: نعم، فقد استجاب أحدَ عشرَ ألفَ هندي لهذا النداء. في أحيان كثيرة اضطروا لإخلاء الجرحى من ميدان القتال.

evacuate the injured ...

أمل: وهل ساعد الهنودُ البريطانيين فقط؟

المعلمة: لا، بل ساعدوا الجرحى من الفريقين، وهذا يعلِّمنا الاهتمام بالآخرين والشعور بمعاناتهم.

أمل: ألم يشارك الهنودُ في القتال؟

المعلمة: كلا، بل اكتفوا بإسعاف الجرحى.

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أجب عما يلي:

١) كيف شارك "غاندي" في حرب البوير؟

٢) لماذا كان عملُ "غاندي" أمرًا مثيرًا للدهشة؟

٣) ما الدرس الذي أراد "غاندي" تعليمه للبريطانيين من خلال هذا العمل؟

٤) هل هناك علاقة بين هذا الدرس وحقوق الإنسان؟ وضح رأيك.

Activity 2

النشاط الثاني   إعادة الميداليات

اقرأ النص التالي:

اندلعت حرب البوير بين سنتي (١٨٩٩) م و(١٩٠٢) م بينما كان "غاندي" في جنوب أفريقيا، والذي طلبت منه بريطانيا المشاركة في أعمال القتال.

رفض "غاندي" ودعا الهنود للتطوع لمساعدة الجرحى ومن فقدوا المأوى.

وكنتيجة لذلك منحه البريطانيون ميدالية تقديرًا لجهوده في إنقاذ الجرحى في أثناء حـرب الزولو، وميدالية أخرى أثناء حرب البوير.

ونظرًا لسياستها العنصرية، وفرضها القـوانين غيرَ العادلة مثل قـانون ترانسفير سـال ومصادرتها للأراضي قرر "غاندي" إرجاع الميداليتين للسلطات البريطانية، وقد عبَّر "غاندي" عن أسفه لإعادتها، ولكنه أوضح أنه لم يعد يحترمُ ولا يقدرُ حكومةً رفضت تعاونَه مقابل ضمان حقوق الهنود.

★ مناقشة شفويـــــة:

١) لماذا منح البريطانيون "غاندي" الميداليات؟

٢) لماذا أعاد "غاندي" هذه الميداليات إلى السلطات البريطانية؟

٣) لو كنت مكان "غاندي"، فهل كنت ستعيد تلك الميداليات؟ لماذا؟

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Activity 3.

النشاط الثالث

Peaceful resistance

اقرأ النص التالي:

استمر "غاندي" في كفاحه، وكان عَقَدَ العَزْمَ على المضي قُدُمًا في المقاومة السلمية ضد كل من يضطهدُ الهنودَ، وقال: إنَّ اتحادَ المضطهدين كانت أولى الخطى باتجاه إنهاء الظلم. حـــث "غاندي" الناسَ على الحذر من الغضب، لأنّه ينبعُ من الشرّ، ودعاهم إلى تطهير قلوبهم من الكراهية؛ لأنها تؤذي الكارهَ فقط لا المكروه، وطلب من شعبه أن يقاومَ الظالمَ، والاحتلال، وعلّمهم أنّ البريطانيين ليسوا أسمى منهم، وأنهم (الهنود) سادةُ أنفسِهِم طالما أنهم يعملون بجد، ويستمرون في الإخلاص والحب.

hatred

anger

١ ما الأسلوب الذي نستنتجه من تصرفات غاندي؟ مقاومة سلمية

٢ استعن بأسلوب المقاومة السلمية لإعداد لوحة تحمل رسالة التسامح. نشاط لبعض سلة فنية جماعية

٣ علّق اللوحة على جدران الفصل على شكل معرض ليشاهده زملاؤك.

Homework
تعسير درس اخرى

Design a poster on tolerance

Make use of the Peaceful Resistance

Having it in the Class (exibition style) for others to see.

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Soweto Uprising

انتفاضة سويتو

الحقوق اللغوية ومقاومة الطلاب لسياسات نظام الفصل العنصري التعليمية

Students resistance _language rights_

أهداف الدرس
Objectives

يتوقع من الطالب بعد مروره بالخبرات والأنشطة أن:

- يبين أن الحقوق اللغوية هي حقوق إنسان.
- يتعرف كيفية مشاركة الطلاب في المقاومة السلمية.
  How Participate in Peaceful resistance
- يوضح كيفية تأثر الرأي العام العالمي بالأحداث الفردية التي توضح الانتهاكات الممنهجة لحقوق الإنسان.
  systematic abuses. _int'l community views of_
- يستنتج أن الحركات الاجتماعية يمكن أن تستغرق سنوات طويلة لتحقيق أهدافها.
  long years to be accomplished _social change_

المفاهيم الرئيسة:
Main Concepts

- حركة الوعي للسود .
  Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)
- الحقوق اللغوية.
  language rights
- الاحتجاج.
  Demonstration
- المقاطعة الدولية.
  Boycott

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انتفاضــة ســويتو

الحقوق اللغوية ومقاومة الطلاب لسياسات نظام الفصل العنصري التعليمية.

لم يقبَل الطلبة بالنظام التعليمي القـائم على التمييز العنصري في جنوب أفريقـيا، فشاركوا في الاحتجاج السلمي غير العنيف على هذا النظام.

وتعد المسيرة الاحتجاجية الطلابية التي سُمِّيت انتفاضة (سويتو) الأكثر شهرة، حـيث أسـهمت في خلق رأي عام عالمي مناهض لحـكومة جنوب أفريقـيا العنصرية، على الرغم من نتـائجها المأساوية للعديد من مواطني جنوب أفريقيا السود.

Activity 1

النشاط الأول   اقرأ الحوار التالي :

المعلمة: أسس الطلاب حركة (الطلاب الأفارقَة) عام (١٩٦٨)م.

سها: لماذا أُسست هذه الحركة يا معلمتي؟

المعلمة: أُسست للتعبير عن الشكاوى الطلابية.
ولكن اسم هذه الحركة غُيِّر عام (١٩٧٢) م إلى حركة الطلاب الجنوب أفريقيين

سها: ما أكثر أنشطة هذه الحركة أهمية؟

national movement

المعلمة: عملت هذه الحركة على بناء حـركة وطنية تضم طلبـة المدارس الثانوية والجامعات، وعملت على تعزيز حقوق الشباب السـود، وتعاونت في ذلك مع منظمة مشابهة خاصة بالسـود، وهي حـركة اجتماعية دعمت الأنشطة المناهضة لنظام الفصل العنصري.

سها: ما أهم السياسات التعليمية التي اتبعها نظام الفصل العنصري في جنوب أفريقيا؟

المعلمة: فرضت الحكومة سياسة تعليمية جديدة تقضي بإجبار كافة مدارس السود على استخدام لغة الأفريكان واللغة الإنجليزية كلغتين رسميتين للتدريس.

الشريط الجانبي:

تتعدد العناصـر والقبـائل في جنوب أفريقـيا ويتحـدثون إحـدى عشـرة لغة رسمية منها البـانتو، الإنجليزيـة، والأفريكانيـة.

حركة الوعي الأسود في منتصف السبعينات، بـدأت حـركة الوعي للسـود والتي كان يتزعمها ستيف بيكو في تعبـئة طلبـة الجامعات والمدارس، ومن هنا أصبـح ظهور جيل من الشباب ليكونَ على رأس الكفاح ضد نـظام الفصل العنصري أمرًا حتميًا.

مها: هل قبل الطلاب هذا القانون الجديد؟

المعلمة: لا، فقد رفض جميع الشباب في مدينة سويتو أن يتعلموا بالأفريكانية لارتباطها بحكام نظام الفصل العنصري (الأبارتيد)؛ لأنها لغةُ الطغاةِ، كما اعترضت على القانــون الجديد منظمات المعلمين مثل "جمعية المعلمين الأفريقيين بجنوب أفريقيا".

أجب عن الأسئلة التالية:

١- في رأيك لماذا حاول حكام حقبة نظام الفصل العنصري فرض لغتهم على السود من مواطني جنوب أفريقيا؟

٢- ما موقف الإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان من حقِّ اللغة؟

تأملوا التعريف التالي وناقشوا الأسئلة التي تليه:

الحقوق اللغوية: تشمل الحق في الحصول على الوثائق القانونية، والإدارية والقضائية، والتعليم، ووسائل الإعلام بلغة يفهمها المعنيون ويختارونها بمنتهى الحرية، وهي وسيلةٌ لمكافحة الانصهار الثقافي القهري.

ويقصد بالانصهار الثقافي: تلك العملية التي تتأقلم من خلالها مجموعة مع عادات ثقافة مسيطرة واتجاهاتها.

أما الثقافة: فهي مجموع العقائد والقيم والقواعد التي يقبلها ويمتثل لها أفراد المجتمع، كشعائرهم التعبدية، ونوع الطعام الذي يأكلون، ونوع الملابس التي يرتدون، والطريقة التي يتكلمون بها، وهكذا تتميَّزُ ثقافةُ شعبٍ ما نمطَ حياته عن أنماط الشعوب الأخرى.

★ هل تحد الحقوق اللغوية من رغبتنا في تعلم لغات أخرى؟ وضح رأيك.

النشاط الثاني   انتفاضة سويتو   العمل في مجموعات

Activity 2

تنامت مشاعر الاستياء والسخط في أوساط الطلبة السود بجنوب أفريقيا ضد قانون فرض التعليم باللغة الأفريكانية، ورد طلاب مدرسة سويتو الابتدائية بسويتو، في جو هانسبيرج، على ذلك بإعلان الإضراب رافضين الذهاب للمدرسة في أواخر أبريل (١٩٧٦)م، لتنتقل الثورة إلى مدارس أخرى بسويتو. وفي (١٦) يونيو من ذات العام، نظم آلاف الشباب احتجاجية ضد نظام الفصل العنصري لتشكل أحداث ذلك اليوم أحد أهم معالم الكفاح ضد نظام (الأبارتيد العنصري). نظمت المسيرة الاحتجاجية بدعم من حركة الوعي للسود؛ لتكون سلمية تماماً، إلا أنها خرجت عن نطاق السيطرة عندما فتحت النار على المتظاهرين، فأردت الطالب "هيكتور بيترسون" ذا الثلاثة عشرَ ربيعاً قتيلاً.

Hector

Peterson

انتشرت صورة جثمان الصبي هيكتور بيترسون في جميع أرجاء العالم، مما أسفر عن إدانة وشجب دوليين لأفعال حكومة الفصل العنصري. وقد أطلق ذلك اليوم شرارة ثورة اجتاحت جميع أرجاء جنوب أفريقيا وسجلت مئات الإصابات والوفيات بين الرجال، والنساء، والأطفال في فترة قصيرة. مثلت تلك الانتفاضة التحدي الأكبر لنظام (الأبارتيد)، حيث كان لعدم الاستقرار الاقتصادي والسياسي الذي نتج عنها أثر بالغ خاصة بعد أن عززته المقاطعة الدولية المتنامية. وقد فشلت الحكومة في الحفاظ على الاستقرار في أوائل السبعينيات من القرن المنصرم في ظل تنامي مقاومة السكان السود. ومع ذلك، فإن آمال مواطني جنوب أفريقيا السود لم تتحقق إلا بعد (١٤) عاماً، حيث قام (إف.دبليو.دي كليرك) الذي تولى فيما بعد منصب رئاسة جنوب أفريقيا في عامي (١٩٩٠) و(١٩٩١) بإلغاء معظم سياسات نظام الفصل العنصري.

وفي إبريل من عام (١٩٩٤) أُجريت أول انتخابات في جنوب أفريقيا تضم جميع الأعراق.

وبهذا انتهت حقبة نظام الفصل العنصري بسلام. ويتم الاحتفال حالياً بيوم (١٦) من يونيو، إحياءً لذكرى الطلاب الصغار الذين نظموا مسيرة ضد (الأبارتيد) وسياسات نظام الفصل العنصري. كما أقيم متحف هيكتور بيترسون في سويتو في (٢٠٠٢) م.

Apartheid

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حقـوق الإنسـان

نشاط ١:

الأمين العام السابق للأمم المتحـدة كوفي عنان يضع
باقة من الزهور على ضريح التلميذ هيكتور بيترسون

من خلال العمل في مجموعات، أجيبوا عن الأسئلة التالية:

١) كيف عبر طلاب مدينة سيوتو عن رفضهم لسياسة
فرض اللغة الأفريكانية؟

٢) ما الأساليب السلمية الأخرى التي يمكن
استخدامها للاعتراض على سياسة ما؟

to object to...

Task 2

نشاط ٢:

فارس عودة طفل فلسطيني ابن الــ ١٤
ربيعًا في مواجهة الدبابة العسكرية بحجره

أمامك صورة من واقع الشعب الفلسطيني، عبر عن
شعورك تجاه الصورة؟

Express how you feel - but
this pic from the Palestin
reality..

confronting ———> (Not a amartyre!)

تذكــــر
Remember

◄ يمكن للشباب أن ينظموا مسيرات احتجاجية سلمية للاعتراض على السياسات والقوانين التي
تنتهك حقوقهم الإنسانية.

◄ في جنوب أفريقيا وبين عامي(١٩٩٠)م و(١٩٩١)م تم إلغاء معظم سياسات نظام الفصل العنصري
ولكن ذلك استغرق سنوات من المقاومة المنظمة.

Organised Resistance

Lessons 7, 12 of Grade 9 Sample Textbook

الصف التاسع   الوحدة الأولى   حقوق الإنسان

الفصل الثاني   الدرس السابع

Lesson 7

Unit 1: Implementation of the IHL.

الوحدة الأولى: تطبيق القانون الدولي الإنساني

Refugees and their right to return.

اللاجئون وحقهم في العودة

Lesson Objectives.

أهداف الدرس

يتوقع من الطالب بعد مروره بالخبرات والأنشطة أن:

- يَتعرف التنفيذ الناجح لحق العودة في قضية البوسنة والهرسك.
- يَستنتج أنه تم تنفيذ حق العودة في البوسنة والهرسك من خلال تطبيق حكم القانون.

The main concepts

المفاهيم الرئيسة

The right to return

حق العودة.

Reinforcing legal rights

تعزيز الحقوق القانونية.

right to return   9   20

Refugees

Palestinian refugees   3

IHL 2

Int'l community   1

Conflict   2

٢٩

29

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Refugees and their right to return.

اللاجئون وحقهم في العودة

يعتبر حق العودة واحدًا من مبادئ القانون الدولي لحقوق الإنسان ، حيث يكفله الإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان، بالإضافة إلى العهد الدولي الخاص بالحقوق المدنية والسياسية، ارجع إلى الإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان والعهد الدولي الخاص بالحقوق المدنية والسياسية وحدد المواد التي تشير إلى حق العودة.

Article 13

المادة ١٣

UDHR

تنص المادة ١٣ (٢) من الإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان على:
(يحق لكل فرد أن يغادر أية بلاد بما في ذلك بلده كما يحق له العودة إليها).

Article 12

المادة ١٢

ICCPR

تنص المادة ١٢ (٤) من العهد الدولي الخاص بالحقوق المدنية والسياسية على أنه:
(لا يجوز حرمان أي فرد تعسفاً من حق دخول بلاده).

مفوضية الأمم المتحدة لشؤون اللاجئين: الحلول المطروحة للاجئين

يوجد ثلاثة حلول مفتوحة أمام اللاجئين في جميع دول العالم تسمح لهم بإعادة بناء حياتهم بكرامة وسلام: العودة لديارهم، الاندماج المحلي أو إعادة التوطين في بلد ثالث.

سنتعرف في هذا الدرس على قضية مُنحَ فيها اللاجئون حقوقهم، وذلك من خلال تطبيق حكم القانون. القضية التي سندرسها اليوم هي البوسنة والهرسك.

Activity 1

Bosnia and Herzegovina

انظر إلى خريطة البلقان وحدد موقع البوسنة والهرسك عليها.

Look at the map of Balkan and locate Bosnia and Herzegovina.

← نزوح سكان البوسنة والهرسك

Displacement of Bosnia and Herzegovina Population

تسبب النزاع في البوسنة والهرسك الذي نشب في السنوات من (١٩٩٢-١٩٩٥م) في نزوح ما يقَرب من (٢٫٣) مليون شخص وكجزء من السياسة التي ينتهجها النظام القائم وقت الحرب، تم تأسيس هياكل قانونية وإدارية لهدف معين، يتمثل في منع الجماعات العرقية التي هُجرت قسرًا من العودة لمنازلها، ومن ثم ترسيخ سياسة التطهير العرقي.

ethnic cleansing

كان حق عودة اللاجئين جزءًا من اتفاقية "دايتون" للسلام ، التي أنهت الحرب التي استمرت لمدة ٣ سنوات في البوسنة والهرسك، وكان إبطال سياسة التطهير العرقي مرهوناً بتحقيق حق اللاجئين في العودة.

٣١

ويقوم حق العودة على الاعتراف بحقوق الملكية، وتطبيقها لكل فرد في البوسنة والهرسك، بغض النظر عن الاعتبارات السياسية. ويهدف قانون الملكية إلى ضمان حماية حقوق الملكية الخاصة بالأفراد، الذين فروا من ديارهم أثناء الحرب، وبعد بذل جهود دولية موسعة، تم تأسيس إطار يعترف بحقوق الملكية كما كانت وقت بداية النزاع، وتم ترسيخ آلية يستطيع من خلالها أصحاب حقوق الملكية استرداد هذه الحقوق، واستعادة ملكية منازلهم، وبذلك استطاع أكثر من مليون لاجئ بوسني العودة إلى ممتلكاتهم واستعادة ملكيتها.

كان تنفيذ قانون الملكية واحدًا من أولويات المجتمع الدولي في ذلك الوقت، ونقطة محورية لضمان أن حق عودة اللاجئين البوسنيين أصبح حقيقة. وبمجرد أن أصبح حق العودة حقيقة كان لدى اللاجئين البوسنيين خيارات ثلاث:

١- العودة

٢- التعويض/ بيع ممتلكاتهم أوالاندماج في الدول التي هاجروا إليها.

٣- إعادة التوطين في دولة أخرى.

اتفاقية دايتون للسلام: Dayton Peace Agreement

تمنح الاتفاقية اللاجئين والأشخاص المشردين حق العودة بأمان لديارهم وحق استعادة أملاكهم المفقودة أو الحصول على تعويض عادل. بدأ تطبيق قانون الملكية منذ عام (٢٠٠٣م) حيث حصل اللاجئون البوسنيون على حقهم في العودة تدريجياً.

وبحلول عام (٢٠٠٦م) كانت معظم القضايا قد حلّت وسمح لأكثر من مليون لاجئ العودة لديارهم.

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Activity 2

🔖 **النشاط الثاني:** ناقش العبارات التالية مبدياً وجهة نظرك: ❓

أولاً: "إنها حقاً معجزة أن يعود مليون شخص من النازحين إلى ديارهم بعد ١٠ سنوات من انتهاء الحرب التي أودت بحياة ٢٥٠ ألف بوسني– أي ما يعادل واحدًا على ستة عشر من السكان".

(بادي آشدون) الممثل الأعلى للمجتمع الدولي في البوسنة والهرسك ٢٠٠٢م– ٢٠٠٥م

- ما العوامل الحاسمة التي ضمنت منح اللاجئين البوسنيين حلاً عادلاً؟

UN
Res 194, General Assembly

ثانياً: "اتخذت الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة القرار ١٩٤ والمتعلق بحق العودة للاجئين الفلسطينيين، ولكن لم يتم تطبيق هذا القرار على أرض الواقع حتى يومنا هذا."

OK

- ما العوامل التي تقف في طريق تطبيق هذا القرار على قضية اللاجئين الفلسطينيين؟
- كيف يمكن الاستفادة من التجربة البوسنية على صعيد قضية اللاجئين الفلسطينيين؟

تذكر

◆ يكفل القانون الدولي حقوق اللاجئين.

◆ يجب على كل الدول التي وقعت على الإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان والعهد الدولي الخاص بالحقوق المدنية والسياسية أن تعزز هذه الحقوق.

◆ تمكن لاجئو البلقان من الحصول على حل عادل من خلال وضع حقوق اللاجئين في مقدمة أولويات جدول الأعمال الدولي، بالإضافة إلى تطبيق حقوقهم وفقًا للقانون.

الصف التاسع
الفصل الثاني

الوحدة الثانية
الدرس الثاني عشر
Lesson 12

حقوق الإنسان

Unit 2: Justice and Post conflict memories.

الوحدة الثانية: العدالة وذكريات ما بعد انتهاء النزاع

International Court of Justice
محكمة العدل الدولية
(I C J)

صلاحية محكمة العدل الدولية ومهامها

Lesson Objectives. ← أهداف الدرس ◉

يتوقع من الطالب بعد مروره بالخبرات والأنشطة أن:

• يَتَعرف صلاحية محكمة العدل الدولية ومهامها.

• يُحدّد الطرق التي من خلالها تعكس محكمة العدل الدولية معاييرًا سامية للعدالة.

conflict   3

Post conflict 1

IHL   1

Palestinian lands 6
  occupied

Palestinian
  farmers   1
  cities   1

Intel community 1

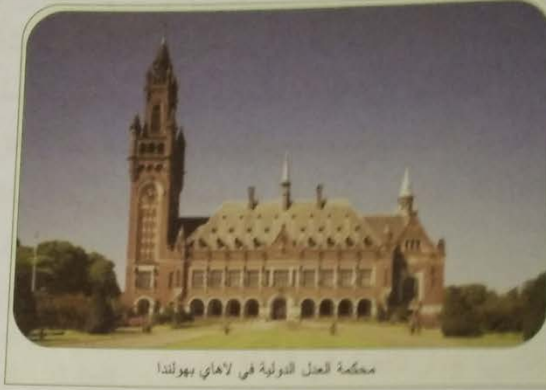Palestinian residents ②

The main concepts. ← المفاهيم الرئيسة

The (I C J)   • محكمة العدل الدولية.

Adversarial Judicial   • الإجراءات القضائية الخلافية.
Proceedings

A Binding Decision   • قرار ملزم.

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The International Court of Justice.

محكمة العدل الدولية

صلاحية محكمة العدل الدولية ومهامها.

◉ إذا اختلفت دولتان وقررتا التوجه إلى المحاكم، فأين يمكن لهما تقديم شكوى؟

محكمة العدل الدولية في لاهاي بهولندا

📖 **النشاط الأول:** Activity 1

◉ أمامك نص يتضمن بعض المعلومات المتعلقة بمحكمة العدل الدولية في لاهاي بهولندا.

① ماذا نقصد بقولنا محكمة العدل الدولية؟ What do we mean by the ICJ?

محكمة العدل الدولية هي النزاع القضائي الرئيس للأمم المتحدة، وقد أنشئت بموجب ميثاق الأمم المتحدة الموقع في 26 يونيو (1945م) بسان فرنسيسكو وبدأت العمل في (1946م) بقصر السلام بلاهاي (هولندا). واللغتان الرسميتان للمحكمة هما الإنجليزية والفرنسية.

تضطلع المحكمة، التي تتألف من 15 قاضيًا، بدور مزدوج:

الأول تسوية النزاعات القانونية التي تنشأ بين الدول، والتي تعرضها عليها هذه الدول وفقًا للقانون الدولي.

الثاني الفصل في المسائل القانونية، التي تحيلها أجهزة ووكالات الأمم المتحدة المتخصصة المأذون لها بذلك.

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الصف التاسع
الفصل الثاني

الوحدة الثانية
الدرس الثاني عشر
Lesson 12

حقوق الإنسان

٢ من يستطيع تقديم القضايا للمحكمة؟ ← Who can raise issues to this court?

الدول وحدها هي المؤهلة للمثول أمام المحكمة في القضايا الخلافية، أي الدول الأعضاء في الأمم المتحدة والبالغ عددها (١٩٢) دولة، والمحكمة غير مختصة بالتعامل مع ما يقدمه الأفراد أو المنظمات غير الحكومية أو الشركات أو الكيانات الخاصة، ولا تستطيع تقديم المشورة القانونية لمساعدتهم في التعامل مع سلطات أية دولة أيّ كانت.

ولكن تستطيع الدولة أن تقدم قضية أحد مواطنيها لمحكمة العدل العليا، وتقاضي دولة أخرى على الاعتداءات التي ادعى مواطنها أنه تعرض لها على أيدي هذه الدولة الأخيرة، وبهذا يصبح النزاع قائمًا بين دولتين.

س/ هل يستطيع الأفراد حماية حقوقهم من خلال محكمة العدل الدولية؟ وضح ذلك.

٣ ما الفرق بين محكمة العدل الدولية و المحكمة الجنائية الدولية والمحاكم الجنائية الدولية المؤقتة؟ ← What is the difference between the ICC and the ICJ?

لا تمتلك محكمة العدل الدولية الاختصاص القضائي لمحاكمة الأفراد المتهمين بارتكاب جرائم حرب، أو جرائم ضد الإنسانية. ولأنها ليست محكمة جنائية، فليس لديها مدع عام يستطيع الشروع في الإجراءات القضائية.

فهذه المهمة مسؤولية المحاكم الوطنية، والمحاكم الجنائية المؤقتة التي تنشئها الأمم المتحدة (مثل المحكمة الجنائية الدولية الخاصة بيوغسلافيا السابقة، والمحكمة الجنائية الدولية الخاصة برواندا، أو بالتعاون معها مثل المحكمة الخاصة لسيراليون)، بالإضافة إلى المحكمة الجنائية الدولية التي أنشئت وفقًا لنظام روما الأساسي.

حقوق الإنسان

الوحدة الثانية
الدرس الثاني عشر
Lesson 12

الصف التاسع
الفصل الثاني

أجب الأسئلة التالية:

"Court of the world"

١ لماذا تسمى محكمة العدل الدولية محكمة العالم؟

٢ هل من اختصاص المحكمة النظر في قضايا تتعلق بالمنظمات غير الحكومية ؟ وضح قولك.

٣ ما اسم المحكمة التي تختص بالقضايا التي يتهم فيها أفراد بارتكاب جرائم حرب؟

٤ اختارت دولة ما عدم الامتثال لقرار محكمة العدل الدولية في قضية قدمتها هذه الدولة للمحكمة للنظر فيها.

ناقش:

١ الموقف القانوني لتلك الدولة.

٢ دور محكمة العدل الدولية.

٣ دور المجتمع الدولي.

Activity 2

The Separation Wall
in the West Bank

النشاط الثاني: جدار الفصل في الضفة الغربية

طلبت الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة في ديسمبر (٢٠٠٣م) من محكمة العدل الدولية إعطاء رأي استشاري عن بناء دولة إسرائيل لجدار على أجزاء من الأراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة، فالغرض من الرأي الاستشاري ليس حل نزاع شائك ولكن الغرض يكمن في طبيعة المشورة القانونية لإرشاد الأمم المتحدة بخصوص عملها الخاص بها.

Israeli state

وأشارت محكمة العدل الدولية، كونها الجهاز القضائي الرئيس للأمم المتحدة، إلى أن بناء الجدار يجب اعتباره محل اهتمام مباشر للأمم المتحدة كونها المنظمة التي تتحمل مسؤولية دائمة تجاه مسألة فلسطين حتى تحل القضية في جميع جوانبها بطريقة مرضية بالانسجام مع الشرعية الدولية.

وكان بناء الجدار قد بدأ في يونيو (٢٠٠٢م) واستمر على مدى مراحل، ويستلزم الجدار بالإجمال بناءً على طريق طوله (٧٠٩) كيلومتر. وقد تم بناء أجزاء من الجدار في المنطقة الواقعة شرق الخط الأخضر، أي على أجزاء من الأراضي الفلسطينية المحتلة. فعند انتهاء بناء الجدار سيكون ٨٥ % منه قد أقيم على الأراضي المحتلة.

حقوق الإنسان

الوحدة الثانية
الدرس الثاني عشر
Lesson 12

الصف التاسع
الفصل الثاني

وبسبب بناء الجدار في المناطق الفلسطينية المحتلة أصبح التنقل بين الكثير من القرى والبلدات الفلسطينية أمراً أصعباً، حيث خلق الجدار مناطق معزولة مما صعب وصول الأطفال لمدارسهم ووصول الناس للعيادات الصحية والمستشفيات. وكانت نتيجة الجدار الفصل بين العديد من المزارعين الفلسطينيين وأراضيهم ومصادر المياه. وطلب من محكمة العدل الدولية فحص العواقب القانونية للجدار الذي يبنى في المناطق الفلسطينية المحتلة. وتوصلت المحكمة إلى أن بناء الجدار بما في ذلك القيود المرتبطة به في المناطق الفلسطينية يناقض القانون الدولي. Israel وأشارت أنه ينبغي على إسرائيل التوقف عن بناء الجدار ودفع تعويضات لأي أضرار لحقت بالناس والأراضي. ووجدت المحكمة أنه إذا أصبح الجدار دائماً فإن ذلك يمثل ضماً لأراضٍ فلسطينية بسياسة الأمر الواقع.

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عمل جماعي

قدمت محكمة العدل الدولية رأياً استشارياً بأن إقـــامة الجدار العازل عمل غير قـــانوني ويجب التوقف عن إقـــامته وتفكيك الأجزاء التي أقـــيمت لأن هذا العمل يتسبـــب في معاناة الســـكان الفلسطينيين في شتى مجالات الحياة السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية والتعليمية.

ناقش مع أفراد مجموعتك التأثيرات السلبية وانتهاكات حقوق الإنسان التي يعاني منها الســـكان الفلسطينيون في الضفة الغربية جراء بناء الجدار العازل في المجالات:

◆ السياسية   ◆ الاقتصادية   ◆ الاجتماعية   ◆ التعليمية   ◆ الصحية

◆ محكمة العدل الدولية هي أعلى محكمة في العالم.

◆ تعكس اللوائح، التي تم وضعها للنظر في القضايا التي تنشـــأ بـــين دولتين، معايير الأصول القانونية والعدالة التي ينبغي أن تعكسها كل معايير النظم القضائية.

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