

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**Stakeholders' views of Key areas for Citizenship Education
in Libya post-Gaddafi**

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the views of stakeholders on citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. It is the first study on this topic in the Libyan context.

Under Gaddafi, citizenship education was substituted with what was variously called El-Waei El-Seiasy or El-Mogtema Al-Jamaheiry and El-Faker Al-Jamaheiry, consisting of Gaddafi's thoughts. Such education aimed to reinforce tribalism across the country by strengthening the social and political role of regional tribal leaders, creating citizens who served, maintained, and bolstered Gaddafi's regime. This enhanced tribal belonging and loyalty among young people, rather than belonging and loyalty to their homeland.

This study examines, in free Libya, the selected stakeholder perceptions of citizenship education; specifically the domination of tribalism in society, the lack of national values among individuals, women's rights and their stereotyped role in society, and the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority.

A mixed methods methodology was used. Firstly, a quantitative survey was employed collecting data from headteachers and deputies of basic and secondary schools in two cities, Derna and El-Qubba (n=420). Qualitative interviews were then conducted with the national Minister of Libyan Education and the two officials of the Department of Educational Affairs in the two cities, Derna and El-Qubba.

The findings revealed that citizenship is a polysemous concept. Tribalism exists in Libyan society post-Gaddafi, with positive responses toward belonging and loyalty to a

tribe and region. Citizenship education should reflect a nested conception fostering a greater emphasis towards a national dimension. Findings indicate women's continuing marginalization, and discrimination against the linguistic and cultural rights of the Amazigh minority. The findings showed that citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi is influenced by social, political, religious and tribal issues. Issues needing more consideration from the new Libyan government and recommendations for further research are indicated.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to the immaculate spirit of my dad , who passed away while I was preparing to start this journey, for just being my dad, the way I wanted him to be, the way anyone would have imagined , or is going to imagine how fathers should be.

I dedicate this work also to my beloved Mother, Salma ben Taher, who gives me love, encouragement, and continuous prayers to go ahead in my study. She always keeps me striving to be a good daughter.

I also dedicate this work

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Table	xvi
Chapter: 1 Introduction	1
1.1. Background of the Study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem of the Study	3
1.3. Objectives of the Study	6
1.4. Research Questions	7
1.5. Significance of the Study	8
1.6. Organisation of the Study	10
Chapter: 2 Issues in the Emergence of Education Systems in Four Middle Eastern Countries	13
2.1. Introduction	13
2.2. Arab Education during the Early Religious Stage	14
2.3. Education in Arab Countries during the Ottoman Rule	17
2.4. Education in Arab Countries during the Colonial Era	22
2.5. Education in Arab Countries during the Independence Era	26
2.6. Summary	30
Chapter: 3 Historical background of the Structure of the Tribal System and its Impacts on Social, Political, and Educational Aspects in Libyan Society	33
3.1. Introduction	33
3.2. Structure and Significance of the Tribal System	34
3.3. Libyan Population	43

3.4. Geographical Location and Distribution of Tribes	45
3.5. The Impact of Tribalism on National Values	46
3.6. The Nation and Nationalism	49
3.7. Summary.....	51
Chapter 4: Tribalism: Challenges for Libyan Society during and post-Gaddafi’s Regime	53
4.1. Introduction.....	53
4.2. Women’s Rights from the perspective of Libyan Society and their Rights in Education during Gaddafi’s Regime	54
4.3. Tamazight Language and Education during Gaddafi's Regime	61
4.4. The Major Role of Tribes in the Selection of Individuals for Appointment to Leading main Positions in Education at the Local and National Levels	65
4.5. The Challenges in Libya post-Gaddafi	69
4.5.1. Domination of Tribalism and Strength of Tribal Loyalty	70
4.5.2. Women’s Rights and their Stereotyped Role in Society	74
4.5.3. Cultural and Linguistic Rights of the Amazigh minority	75
4.5.4. Lack of Local Democratic Experience	77
4.6. Summary.....	78
Chapter: 5 Citizenship Education.....	81
5.1. Introduction	81
5.2. The Meaning of Citizenship.....	82
5.3. Citizenship and Education	90
5.4. The Evolution of Citizenship and Citizenship Education	94
5.5. Factors influencing Citizenship Education in Western Countries	100
5.5.1. Citizenship Education and Social Rights	109
5.5.2. Citizenship Education and Political Rights.....	110
5.5.3. Citizenship Education and National Sense	112
5.5.4. Citizenship Education and Cultural Diversity and Gender Equality	112
5.6. Citizenship in the Arab Countries.....	115
5.6.1. Citizenship in the Arab countries before Islam	115
5.6.2. Citizenship in Islam	116
5.6.3. Citizenship in the Modern Arab History	118
5.6.4. Citizenship after Independence and during the Modern State	120
5.7. Factors that influence Citizenship Education in the Arab Countries.....	123
5.8. Citizenship Education in Libya.....	133

5.9. Characteristics of an Effective Citizen.....	135
5.10. Summary	140
5.11. Summary of the Research Questions	142
5.12. Linkages between the Literature review and the Research Sub-Questions	145
Chapter: 6 Methodology	147
6.1 Introduction.....	147
6.2. Research Questions.....	148
6.3 Research Design	150
6.4 Questionnaire Design	156
6.5 Population of Study.....	164
6.6 Sample Design	164
6.7 Types of Sample Design	166
6.8 Validity of the Study Instrument (Questionnaire)	169
6.8.1 Face Validity	169
6.8.2 Content Validity	169
6.9 Piloting the Questionnaire	173
6.10 Reliability of the Questionnaire	177
6.11 Administration of the Questionnaire	178
6.12 Interviews	179
6.13 Design of the Semi-structured Interview Schedule.....	183
6.14 Conduct of Interviews	183
6.15 Validity and Reliability of Interviews (Trustworthiness).....	186
6.15.1. Credibility	186
6.15.2 Transferability	187
6.15.3 Dependability.....	188
6.15.4 Confirmability	188
6.16 Ethical Issues	189
6.17 The Researcher’s Positionality in the Study.....	192
6.18 Procedures for Statistical Analysis of the Quantitative Data (Questionnaire):.....	194
6.18.1. Descriptive Statistics.....	194
6.18.2. Inferential Statistics	195
6.19 Procedures for Analysis of the Qualitative Data (Interviews)	196
6.19. 1 Transcription	196
6.19.2 Translation	196

6.19.3 Coding and Categorising	197
6.19.4 Developing Interpretations	199
6.20 Summary	199
Chapter: 7 Data Analysis–Part One: Questionnaire	202
7.1 Introduction.....	202
7.2 Demographic Data of Schools	203
7.3 Data Distribution	205
7.4 Data Analysis	205
7.5 Meaning of Citizenship.....	206
7.5.1 A Legal Status	206
7.5.2 Equality.....	207
7.5.3 Individuals’ Awareness	208
7.5.4 A Sense of Belonging	209
7.5.5 Free Participation.....	211
7.5.6 Respect for Law.....	212
7.6 Characteristics of an Effective Citizen.....	212
7.6.1 Faith in God	213
7.6.2 Loyalty	213
7.6.3 Fulfilling of Responsibilities	214
7.6.4 Protecting State Institutions.....	214
7.6.5 Participation.....	215
7.6.6 Critical Thinking.....	216
7.6.7 Effective Participation in Social Life.....	217
7.6.8 Open-mindedness.....	217
7.6.9 Sacrifice for Country	219
7.7 Aims of Citizenship Education.....	219
7.8 The Main Reasons behind the Growth in Significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi	222
7.8.1 Reasons Related to Absence of Democracy.....	222
7.8.2 Reasons Related to the Sort of Society	222
7.8.3 Reasons Related to the Aspects of National Unity.....	223
7.8.4 Reasons Related to the Aspects of Tribalism	223
7.8.5 Reasons Related to Citizenship Values.....	225
7.8.6 Reasons Related to Discrimination.....	226
7.8.7 Reasons Related to National Cohesion	226
7.9. Citizenship Education and Students’ Awareness of their Rights and Responsibilities	227

7.10 Potential of Citizenship Education to Help to Foster Democratic Values.....	228
7.10.1 Possibility of Providing Required Knowledge and Skills	228
7.10.2 Possibility to Reinforce Capability of Participation	230
7.10.3 Possibility of Fostering some Notions	232
7.10.4 Understanding the Voting Process	233
7.10.5 Joining the Local Community	234
7.11 Potential of Citizenship Education to Help to Reinforce a National Sense.....	235
7.11.1 Understanding some Meanings	235
7.11.2 Possibility of Enhancing National Cohesion among Tribes	236
7.11.3 Possibility of Providing Information	236
7.12 Potential of Citizenship Education to Help to Support Women’s Rights	237
7.12. 1 Women’s Struggle.....	237
7.12.2 Relationship of Women’s Rights and Traditional Culture and Religion.....	238
7.12.3 Enhance Gender Equality	239
7.12.4 Possibility of Addressing Stereotyping of Women's Role	240
7.12.5 Women’s Rights and Role in Society	241
7.12.6 Support Women’s Participation	242
7.13 Citizenship Education and Discrimination against the Amazigh (Berber) Minority in Libyan Society	243
7.14 Issues Influencing Citizenship Education in Libyan Society post-Gaddafi.....	247
7.14.1 One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)	249
7.15 Summary	250

Chapter 8: Data Analysis-Part Two: Semi-structured Interviews 255

8.1 Introduction.....	255
8.2. Theme (MC) Meaning of Citizenship	261
8.2.1. A Legal Status.....	261
8.2.2. A Sense of Belonging and Loyalty.....	262
8.2.3. Determination of Rights and Responsibilities	263
8.2.4. Awareness of Rights and Responsibilities	263
8.2.5. Free Participation.....	264
8.2.6. Equality.....	264
8.2.7. Patriotism.....	265
8.2.8. Respect of Law	265
8.3 Theme (CEC) Characteristics of an Effective Citizen.....	266
8.3.1. Faith in God.....	266

8.3.2. Loyalty to a Country.....	267
8.3.3. Patriotism.....	267
8.3.4. Sacrificing for Country.....	267
8.3.5. Maintaining Government Organisations.....	268
8.3.6. Fulfilling Responsibilities and Doing Duties.....	268
8.3.7. Participating.....	269
8.3.8. Engaging in Voluntary Work.....	270
8.3.9. Thinking Critically.....	270
8.3.10. Welcoming New Ideas and Values.....	270
8.3.11. Supporting Gender Equality and Democratic Values.....	271
8.4. Theme (ACE) Aims of Citizenship Education.....	271
8.4.1. Creating Effective Citizens.....	272
8.4.2. Strengthening patriotism and National Awareness.....	272
8.4.3. Providing Knowledge, Skills and Information.....	273
8.4.4. Encouraging Participation in Social Activities.....	274
8.4.5. Encouraging Participation In Debates.....	274
8.4.6. Enhancing Social Values.....	275
8.4.7. Implanting Democratic Values.....	275
8.5. Theme (SCE) Significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.....	276
8.5.1. Awareness of Rights and Responsibilities.....	276
8.5.2. Democracy.....	277
8.5.3. Tribalism.....	277
8.5.4. Discrimination against the Amazigh Minority.....	278
8.5.5. Women's marginalization.....	279
8.5.6. National Unity and Cohesion.....	280
8.6. Theme (CED) Citizenship Education and Democratic Society.....	280
8.6.1. A Sort of Society.....	281
8.6.2. Providing Information and Skills.....	282
8.6.2.1. The Voting process.....	282
8.6.2.2. Free Expression.....	282
8.6.2.3. Charity, Voluntary Work and Join Social Clubs.....	283
8.6.2.4. Participation.....	283
8.6.2.5. Human Rights.....	284
8.6.3. Enhancing Democratic Values.....	284
8.7 Theme (KACE) Key Areas of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi.....	285
8.7.1. Rights and Responsibilities.....	286
8.7.2. A Sense of Belonging and Loyalty.....	287

8.7.3. National Awareness	287
8.7.4. Democratic Values	288
8.8 Theme (SWR) the Potential of Citizenship Education to Support Women’s Rights in Society	288
8.8.1. Women’s Rights and Social Culture	289
8.8.2. Women’s Rights and Islam	289
8.8.3. Promote Justice and Gender Equality	290
8.8.4. Encourage Participation in debates about Women’s Issues.....	290
8.8.5. Support women’s Struggle for Their Rights	291
8.8.6. Support Women’s participation	291
8.9 Theme (RDAM) The Potential of Citizenship Education to Reduce Discrimination Against the Amazigh Minority.....	292
8.9.1. The Amazigh Cultural and Linguistic rights in Libya post-Gaddafi.....	292
8.9.2. Providing Information about the Amazigh Community	293
8.9.3. Cultural Diversity, Respect Others’ rights and Cultural Exchange	294
8.9.4. The Official Language in Libya post-Gaddafi	294
8.10 Theme (IICE) Issues That Influence Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi ..	295
8.10.1. Political Aspects	296
8.10.2. Social and Tribal Aspects	296
8.10.3. Religious Aspects	297
8.11. Summary	298
Chapter 9: Discussion of the Findings	302
9.1 Introduction.....	302
9.2. Reasons behind the Growth in the Significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi	302
9.3 The Meaning of Citizenship in Libyan Society	308
9.3.1. A Legal Status	309
9.3.2 A Sense of Belonging	312
9.3.3. Free Participation in Political and Social life	316
9.3.4. Equality of Political and Social Rights	317
9.3.5. Patriotism	318
9. 3.6. Respect of Law	319
9.4. Characteristics of an Effective Citizen.....	320
9.4.1. Faith in God.....	320
9.4.2. Loyalty to a Country and Tribe	321
9.4.3. Fulfilling Responsibilities, Protecting State Institutions, and Sacrificing for Country	322

9.4.4. Participation in Voluntary Work, in Politics and Social Life	323
9.4.5. Thinking Critically, Broad-Mindedness and Familiarity with Knowledge and Ability to Quickly Adapt to Changes	325
9.4.6. Supporting Women’s Rights	327
9.5. Aims of Citizenship Education	329
9.5.1. Provide Students with Information	329
9.5.2. Strengthening Patriotism and Loyalty to a Country	331
9.5.3. Enhancing Democratic and Virtuous Social Values and developing political literacy	332
9.5.4. Encouraging Participation and Critical Thinking	334
9.6. Issues that might influence Citizenship Education in Libyan society post-Gaddafi	336
9.7. Potential of Citizenship Education to Reinforce Citizenship Values	339
9.7.1. Students’ awareness of their Rights and Responsibilities.....	339
9.7. 2. Democratic Values among Students	340
9.7.3. National Awareness among Students	343
9.7.4. Women’s Rights and their Role in Society	344
9.7.5. The Rights of the Amazigh Minority	347
9.8. Summary.....	350
Chapter 10: Conclusion.....	353
10.1. Introduction.....	353
10.2 Contribution of the Study	356
10.2.1 Theoretical Contribution	356
10.2.2 Practical Contribution	360
10.2.3 Methodological Contribution	361
10.3. Reflections	362
10.4 Recommendations	363
10.4.1-Promote a Nested Understanding of Citizenship	366
10.4.2-Encouraging Voluntary Work	366
10.4.3-Support a Characteristic of Broad-mindedness and Familiarity with Knowledge among Students.....	367
10.4.4-Support a Characteristic of Ability to Adapt Quickly to the Changes.....	367
10.4.5-Promote Critical Thinking about Issues in Other Communities.	368
10.4.6-Ongoing support for Women’s rights and Role in the Society	368
10.4.7-Give Special Attention to the Tamazight Language	369
10.5. Suggestions for Further Research.....	369

References.....	372
Appendices	404
Appendix 1: Approval Letter from the Ethics Committee in Faculty of Education at the University of Hull	404
Appendix 2: Approval Letter from the Researchers' Supervisor to Libyan Embassy- Cultural Attaché in London	405
Appendix 3: The Permission Letter from Libyan Embassy- Cultural Attaché in London	406
Appendix 4: Permission Letter from the Ministry of Education at the National Level...	407
Appendix 5: Permission Letter from the Official of the Department of Educational Affairs in Derna	408
Appendix 6: The Permission Letter from the Official of the Department of Educational Affairs in El-Qubba	409
Appendix 7: Cover Letter of the Questionnaire: English Version.....	410
Appendix 8: Last Version of Questionnaire (after pilot study): English version	411
Appendix 9: Cover Letter of the Questionnaire: Arabic Version.....	421
Appendix10: Questionnaire: Arabic version	422
Appendix 11: Interview Schedule	432
Appendix 12: Interviews Introduction: English Version	433
Appendix 13: Interviews Guide: English Version	434
Appendix 14: Interviews Introduction: Arabic Version	435
Appendix 15: Interviews Guide: Arabic Version	436
Appendix No.16: The Summary of the main Themes obtained from the Semi-Structured Interviews	437

List of Table

Table: 1. 1: Relation between the Revolutionary aims to Research Questions.....	6
Table 5. 1: Clarifying link bwtween Literature Review, which identified the Key Issues in Libya post-Gaddafi (Tribalism, Women’s rights, Cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority, and a lack of local democratic experience) and the Research Questions.....	146
Table 6 1-Meaning of Citizenship:	159
Table 6.2: Sampling Frame of Head teachers and Deputies According to the Type of School and Educational Regions.....	168
Table 6.3: Pilot Study Sample.....	174
Table 6. 4: procedure of data analysis part-two: semi- structured interviews.....	198
Table 7.1: Responses from Derna and El-Qubba.....	203
Table 7.2: School Type *Derna and El-Qubba Cross tabulationTab.....	204
Table 7.3: Distribution of head teachers and Deputies by School Type	205
Table 7.4: A Legal Status that Determines Rights of Individuals in Society	206
Table 7.5: Equality of Political Rights	208
Table 7.6: Individuals’ Awareness of their Rights	209
Table 7.7: A Sense of Belonging to a Specific Tribe.....	209
Table 7.8: Free Participation in Political Life	211
Table 7.9: Respect for Law.....	212
Table 7.10: Loyalty to a Tribe.....	213
Table 7.11: Fulfilling of Responsibilities.....	214
Table.7.12: Protecting State Institutions	214
Table 7.13: Participation in Voluntary Work at the Local Level	215
Table 7.14: Thinking Critically about Issues in Other Communities.....	216
Table.7.15: Effective Participation in Social Life.....	217

Table 7.16: Broad-Mindedness and Familiarity with Knowledge.....	218
Table 7.17: Rejecting Stereotypical Views of Women in Society.....	219
Table 7.18: Need to Diminish Tribal Loyalty.....	224
Table 7.19: Need to Reduce the Political Role of Tribes in Society.....	225
Table 7.20: Discrimination against the Amazigh Minority as Regards Their Cultural Rights.....	226
Table 7.21: Need to Strengthen National Cohesion.....	227
Table 7.22: Help to Understand the Meaning of Rights.....	228
Table 7.23: Can Provide Students with Knowledge and Skills Required for Democratic Practice.....	229
Table 7.24: Can Help to Reinforce Students' Capability of Participation in Debates on Social Issues at the Local Level.....	230
Table 7.25: Can Help to Foster Notion of Equality of Rights among Students.....	232
Table 7.26: Can Help Students to Understand the Voting Process.....	233
Table 7.27: Can Help to Encourage Students to Engage in Charity Work in the Local Community.....	234
Table 7.28: Can Help Students to Understand the Meaning of Belonging to their Country.....	235
Table 7.29: Can Provide Students with Information about Some National Symbols such as the National Flag and the National Anthem.....	236
Table 7.30: Can Provide a Clear Picture of Women's Struggle for Their Rights.....	237
Table 7.31: Can Help to Explain the Relationship between Traditional Culture and Women's Rights in Society.....	238
Table 7.32: Can Help to Enhance the Accepted Values Religiously and Socially among Students, such as Gender Equality.....	239
Table 7.33: Can Teach Students how to Address Stereotyping of Women's Role in Society.....	240
Table 7.34: Can Help to Increase Students' ability to Defend Women's Rights in Society.....	241
Table 7.35: Can Help to Increase Students' ability to Support Women's participation into Political Life.....	242

Table 7.36: Can Help Students to Recognize the Amazigh Community	244
Table 7.37: Can Identify the Libyan Cities in which They Live.....	245
Table 7.38: Can Provide Students with Information about the Tamazight Language.....	246
Table 7.39: Can Teach Students how to Respect Cultural Diversity in Their Society	247
Table 7.40: Ranking of Mean and Standard Deviation Scores for Issues Influencing Citizenship Education in Libyan Society	248
Table 7.41: ANOVA Results for the Influence of the Four Issues on Citizenship Education “between the Two Cities”	249
Table 7.42: ANOVA Result for the Influence of the Four Issues on Citizenship Education “between the Two Types of Schools”	250
Table 8.1: Categories, Subcategories and Codes.....	257
Table10. 1: Recommendations and Supporting Empirical Evidence obtained from Data Analysis	364

List of Figure

Figure 9. 1: levels of Libyan citizenship (Nested Citizensip).....	351
Figure10. 1 Suggestions for Further Research	371

.....Chapter:1 Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

In general, educational systems in the developed and developing countries seek to achieve specific educational goals, which are determined according to political visions and the dominant social and cultural ideology in each country. Additionally, education is considered a main avenue to bring about considerable social, political, and economic changes commensurate with the demands of the new millennium in both developed and developing countries. Therefore, education systems have witnessed reform processes in several countries, such as the USA, and the UK, and other Western countries according to their philosophy. One means of doing this has been by introducing Citizenship Education within their curriculum, which might help them to achieve their desired aims, such as the development of citizens with an awareness of their rights and responsibilities and who participate effectively in political and social life in their society, reinforcing democracy in their societies, enhancing cultural diversity, supporting gender equality and social justice among students, strengthening political literacy, and fostering a national sense among young people. In this sense, Davies and Fülöp (2010:28) argued that “the goal has been to increase social and moral responsibility, active participation in local communities, and the improvement of political culture”.

Furthermore, in some developed countries, citizenship education has been used to tackle political crises. For example, in the UK, citizenship education sought to enhance democracy by addressing the problem of “a sharp fall in electoral turnout, membership of

political parties, and levels of public trust in the political class through promoting of active citizenship” (Kisby and Sloam, 2010:1).

In line with this trend, citizenship has acquired new significance in Libya post-Gaddafi and after the Revolution of 17th February, which was intended to achieve several goals and aspirations of the Libyan people. The Revolution began in the city of Benghazi, which located in the eastern part of Libya and then spread into the other cities. Its goals were expressed by the Libyan citizens through their cheers and slogans. According to Guider (2012) the first goal was to remove the tyrant Muammar Gaddafi and abolish his tyrannical regime, which means a clear rejection of any manifestation of tyranny, in any form against the Libyan men and women. The unity of Libyan soil was the second goal, which was expressed during all marches, demonstrations, and sit-ins from the beginning of the revolution. The third goal was democracy; it was affirmed that the Libyan people will not accept anything other than democratic governance that achieves a free choice in the selection of their representatives in the legislative instruments of government and the executive, and the peaceful transfer of power, which is not to be dominated by anyone for any reason. Freedom of opinion and expression was the fourth goal, while the fifth goal was justice and equality, which means all Libyan men and women are equal before the law, and Libya is to be a state of institutions regulated by law restricted by a constitution, which applies to all Libyans. Equal opportunities and an end to the marginalization of regions, communities or individuals, was the sixth goal of the Revolution. The seventh goal was rejection of discrimination and racism against social minorities living in Libya, and giving them freedom to practise their culture in terms of language, and social customs, although the religion of every Libyan social group is Islam. The eighth goal was focused on the trial of Gaddafi, his family, and his cronies for the killing and torture, deprivation, violation of the sanctities, theft of money, and crimes against the ethics of Islam and the Libyan social

traditions. Decentralization was the ninth goal, which stemmed from citizens' belief and their demand, since the first days of the Revolution, that it was necessary to end the abhorrent central control and for people to have the right to determine their needs within their respective regions, irrespective of their political names, such as territory or province.

In this respect in Libya post-Gaddafi, two central issues face the new Libyan government, the influence of tribalism and the need to develop citizenship education to reflect the main aims of the Revolutionary demands. The long-established nature of the Libyan tribes therefore presents an important issue for the new government in how it develops citizenship education in order to meet the third demand of the Revolution which was to introduce democracy in the country. Furthermore, the new Libyan government has attempted to develop citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities, and who belong and are loyal to their country rather than their tribes or regions, to establish a democratic society; to enhance democratic values in society, such as gender equality, equal opportunities and an end the marginalisation of regions, communities or individuals and to reduce discrimination against social minorities. These aims all reflect the central demands (4-7) of the February 17th Revolution. This raises an important question as to what sort of citizenship education. Central to a vision for citizenship education is the Revolutionary demands in order to enhance a national sense and democratic values among young people in Libyan society to achieve the goals of the 17th of February Revolution. These concerns provide the impetus for this study to explore stakeholders' perspectives of three key areas for citizenship education, namely the role of women, the rights of the Amazigh and dealing with tribalism in Libya post-Gaddafi.

1.2. Statement of the Problem of the Study

Modern education is considered a main means for creation of modern societies worldwide, by infusing new lifestyles, ideas, values, and behaviours in the new generations, as Tobi argued:

One of the most effective means of transforming a conservative into a modern society is the establishment of an educational system aimed at instilling in the younger generation new values and modes of behaviour, which by the nature of things will be somehow contrary to tradition.
(Tobi, 1999:164)

With this aim, most developed countries, such as the UK and the USA, have sought to develop new citizens through their educational systems, by applying an approach of citizenship education, in order to produce citizens who are aware of their duties and rights. Therefore, education in these countries became a comprehensive process, not only to teach young people but also to prepare them to become aware of their responsibilities as citizens (Kerr, 1999:2).

In the Middle East, modern education started relatively recently, after the countries concerned gained independence. Hence, each country founded its own government, and began constructing formal systems such as modern educational systems, in order to enhance social modernization in the country at large. Similar to Western countries, the Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Oman also attempted to introduce citizenship education within their curriculum according to their dominant ideology and the political vision in each country. Nevertheless, modern education has faced several political, social, economic and religious challenges in Middle Eastern countries.

In the Libyan context, education during the monarchy era and also under Gaddafi's regime, was unable to bring about the desired social modernisation that was a desire strongly expressed in the nine principal demands of the February 17th Revolution. (See above section 1.1). Therefore, Libya is still considered a traditional society. This traditional society is mainly based on one social unit, the tribe. Thus, tribal culture has shaped the

socio-cultural framework of Libyan society. Indeed, successive Libyan governments relied on the role of tribal leaders (Sheikh Qabila), particularly during Gaddafi's regime, when the tribal role was strengthened socially and politically. This led to widespread tribalism in the whole society, which influenced the progress of the country. As Anderson claimed, the "weakness and failure of the state effort for building Libya in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries was due to the impacts of tribalism" (Anderson 1986; cited in Khoury and Kostiner, 1991:211). Additionally, the Amazigh minority faced discrimination in regard to their cultural rights and the ban on use of their language in Libyan society. Furthermore, throughout the last four decades, education was utilized to support Gaddafi's regime and distribute his thoughts by introducing what was called "*El-mogtama Aljamaheiry*", or "*El-Faker Al-jamaheiry*", within the Libyan curriculum as a main subject, instead of citizenship education. This subject aimed to create citizens who supported Gaddafi's regime and would contribute to sustaining its stability as long as possible. The strengthening of tribalism among young people was one of the strategies used for this purpose. In Libya post-Gaddafi, therefore, citizenship education is considered a new topic.

The conditions prevailing under Gaddafi negatively affected national values in society, such as reducing national loyalty and belonging. Instead, they enhanced tribal belonging and loyalty among individuals, fostered tribal culture, reinforced marginalisation of women's rights and their stereotyped role in society and finally, increased perceptions of discrimination among the Amazigh minority in Libyan society. Given this situation, the problem which the present study investigates is: **"The Selected Stakeholders' views of Key areas for Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi"**.

To achieve this, triangulation of methods, a survey by questionnaire and semi-structured interviews, was utilized. The questionnaire was distributed first, to collect data from head

teachers of basic and secondary schools in two cities, Derna and El-Qubba. Then, the Minister of Libyan Education at the national level and the two officials of the Department of Education at the local level in Derna and El-Qubba were interviewed in order to obtain in-depth information about key areas of citizenship education.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The major aim of the present study is to investigate selected stakeholders' views of key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. It is important to understand that the values which are considered to lie behind citizenship education in this study are derived from those expressed in the revolutionary demands. Table 1.1 shows how these revolutionary aims are related to the particular research questions.

Table: 1. 1: Relation between the Revolutionary aims to Research Questions

Revolutionary aim	Research question
Remove Gaddafi	-
Unity of Libyan soil	RSQ2, RSQ3 RSQ6a, RSQ6b, RAQ6c, and RSQ7c
Democracy and free choice of representatives	RSQ7b
Freedom of opinion and expression	RSQ7b
Justice and Equality	RSQ2, RSQ3, RSQ6a, RSQ6b, RAQ6c and RS7c, RSQ7d
Equal opportunities, end of marginalisation of regions	RSQ2, RSQ3, RSQ6a, RSQ6b, RAQ6c and RSQ7c
End discrimination against social minorities, freedom to practice culture and language	RSQ3, RSQ6a, RSQ6b,RSQ6c and RSQ7e
Trial of Gaddafi and his cronies	-
Decentralisation	RSQ3, RSQ4,RSQ6a, RSQ6 b,RSQ6c and RSQ7b

Thus, the aim of this study is divided into the following objectives:

- (1)-To identify perceptions of the significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi;
- (2)-To explore the issues influencing citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi;
- (3)-To investigate the sense of belonging and loyalty among individuals, through understanding the meaning of citizenship, identifying the characteristics of a citizen, and investigating the aims of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi;
- (4)-To examine perceptions of the potential of citizenship education to enhance awareness of rights and responsibilities amongst individuals;
- (5)-To examine perceptions of the potential of citizenship education to enhance awareness of democratic values in society;
- (6)-To examine perceptions of the potential of citizenship education to support women's rights and role in society;
- (7)-To examine perceptions of the potential of citizenship education to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority regarding their cultural rights and the ban on using their own language.

1.4. Research Questions

To meet the above objectives, the present study sought to answer the following:

Main Research Question:

How do key stakeholders view the development of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi in the context of emerging Middle Eastern educational systems, tribalism, and understandings of Citizenship Education in an Arab/Islamic context?

Research Sub-questions:

Sub-question 1. What has been the place of citizenship education in the development of education in four emerging Middle Eastern/Arab countries?

Sub-question 2. What were the impacts of tribalism on the social, political, and educational aspects of Libyan society?

Sub-question 3. In what ways might three key revolutionary and citizenship issues relating to women, minorities and tribalism which featured during and after Gaddafi's rule be addressed?

Sub-question 4. How do western understandings of Citizenship Education compare with understandings in the Arab/Islamic countries?

Sub-question 5. What is an appropriate methodology for exploring these issues?

Sub-question 6. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the reasons behind the growth in significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

- a) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the meaning of Citizenship?
- b) What are the views of selected stakeholders on citizenship characteristics?
- c) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the aims of Citizenship Education?
- d) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the issues which might influence Citizenship Education in Libyan society post-Gaddafi?

Sub-question 7. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the following issues:

- a) Students' awareness of rights and responsibilities?
- b) Democratic values among young people?
- c) Loyalty to homeland as well as their region?
- d) Women's rights?
- e) Amazigh minority rights?

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study will make an original contribution to the citizenship education literature by exploring what this might mean in the novel context of Libya, a society where citizenship

education is arising as a new issue in the wake of political and social upheaval. In particular, it explores the tension between national and tribal concepts of citizenship and the potential role of citizenship education in reconciling this tension.

A notable feature of this study is that it took place under transitional circumstances in both political and social aspects in Libya post-Gaddafi. Installation of a new national government has increased the demand for establishment of a democratic society. Therefore, this study contributes to providing the new Libyan government and the Ministry of Education with information about citizenship in general and key areas of citizenship education in particular that may help to introduce an appropriate citizenship education, which might help to promote democratic values in society.

Throughout the period of Gaddafi's regime, education, like other aspects of social life and organisation, was governed entirely by Gaddafi's ideology and scholarship was severely constrained. There is, therefore, a serious shortage of informed debate, critique or even description of education priorities, policies and practices in the past forty years; even historical analysis of education in the pre-Gaddafi period was restricted. This study, therefore, breaks new ground by opening to discussion issues that have previously been neglected, and thereby filling a gap in Libyan education literature.

This study will not only be of interest to academics and future researchers, but will also be of value to policy-makers, by informing debate on the way forward for Libya post-Gaddafi, with the selected stakeholders' perspectives in developing the new Libyan society. It may also be of interest to policy-makers in other countries affected by the Arab Spring, who may be confronting similar issues.

1.6. Organisation of the Study

The present study sought to answer the Research Question as outlined in Section 1.4.

Following this chapter, this study is organized into the following chapters:

Chapter Two. This chapter addresses the first research sub-question - What has been the place of citizenship education in the development of education in four emerging Middle Eastern/Arab countries? It outlines the historical background of education in Egypt in the pre-Gamal Abdu El Nasser era, Saudi Arabia in the pre-Saud era, the Sultanate of Oman in the pre-Sultan Qaboos era, and Libya in the pre-Gaddafi era. This chapter focuses on the development of education in these four countries throughout four stages: the early religious stage, Ottoman rule, the colonial era, and the independence era. It shows how there was no real development in citizenship education until the independence era, and even then, this aspect received relatively little attention.

Chapter Three. This chapter addresses the second research sub-question - What were the impacts of tribalism on the social, political, and educational aspects of Libyan society?

Chapter Four. This chapter addresses the third research sub-question - In what ways might three key revolutionary and citizenship issues relating to women, minorities and tribalism which featured during and after Gaddafi's rule be addressed? It explores the challenges for education during Gaddafi's regime, in respect of tribalism and investigates the social challenges for Libyan education that emerged during and after Gaddafi's regime in relation to the role of women and minorities.

Chapter Five. This chapter addresses the fourth research sub-question - How do western understandings of Citizenship Education compare with understandings in the Arab/Islamic countries? In so doing, it provides a theoretical framework for the current research.

Chapter Six. This chapter tackles the fifth research sub-question-What is an appropriate methodology for exploring these issues? It outlines the methods employed in this study, providing the plan of data collection. The research sample, research tools a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews, and ethical considerations are fully explained.

Chapter Seven and Eight. These chapters present the empirical data that was gathered to answer research sub-questions (6 and 7) of the study:

Sub-question 6. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the reasons behind the growth in significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

- a) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the meaning of Citizenship?
- b) What are the views of selected stakeholders on citizenship characteristics?
- c) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the aims of Citizenship Education?
- d) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the issues which might influence Citizenship Education in Libyan society post-Gaddafi?

Sub-question 7. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the following issues:

- a) Students' awareness of rights and responsibilities?
- b) Democratic values among young people?
- c) Loyalty to homeland as well as their region?
- d) Women's rights?
- e) Amazigh minority rights?

Chapter 7 presents the data analysis part one: Questionnaire. This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected by the questionnaire by using the Statistical Software Package SPSS; Frequencies, cross tabulations, Chi Square test, and ANOVA are reported.

Chapter 8 presents the data analysis, part two: Semi-structured interviews. This chapter presents the data analysis obtained by the semi-structured interviews conducted with the Minister of Libyan Education at the national level, and the two officials of the Department of Education at local level in the two cities Derna and El-Qubba.

Chapter Nine. Discussion of the findings. This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the findings based on the theoretical and empirical framework of the study.

Chapter Ten. Conclusion: Contribution, Reflections, Recommendations, and Suggestions.

Chapter: 2 Issues in the Emergence of Education Systems in Four Middle Eastern Countries

2.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the first research sub-question - What has been the place of citizenship education in the development of education in four emerging Middle Eastern/Arab countries? In this chapter the researcher will narrate the historical background of the early patterns of the educational systems in four Arab countries, that is, Egypt in the pre-Gamal Abdu El Nasser era, Saudi Arabia in the pre-Saud era, the Sultanate of Oman in the pre-Sultan Qaboos era, and Libya in the pre-Gaddafi era. The chapter will also reflect the stages through which the educational systems in these Arab countries were developed from their early history. The main focus of this chapter is to identify the common issues and traits which have affected the development of their early education systems. Thus, this chapter will focus on the different patterns of early schooling in the above-mentioned Arab countries, prior to their present regimes. It will follow the development of education through four stages: the early religious stage, during the Ottoman rule, the colonial stage, and the independence stage when their governments came to power. The chapter identifies the beginnings of traditional and modern education in each country to reveal differences and similarities between the issues that were influencing early educational development in the four Arab countries during the above-mentioned stages. This approach highlights how

the development of education was influenced by the distinctive context and needs of each country. This historical overview will set the Libyan experience in context and show how far it follows patterns that are common in the region, and where it is unique.

In this chapter the countries examined alongside Libya were chosen to reflect distinctive aspects of the region's educational experience. Egypt was the earliest Arab country to experience educational development and has provided a model on which many Arab states have subsequently drawn, as well as providing many of the teachers employed in these systems. Saudi Arabia is the main religious centre, and so provides an illuminating example of religious priorities in the region, and of the relationship between religion and education. The Sultanate of Oman is an Arab country that provides an example of a rapidly modernizing system and is currently ranked first in educational achievement.

2.2. Arab Education during the Early Religious Stage

Historically, in the earliest days of Islam, a mosque was considered as a crucial organisation not only for worship, but also a main place for learning. Adults, young, and children attended mosques both to pray and for learning the principles of Islamic beliefs, memorisation and recitation of the Quran. These so-called Kutabb (Quranic schools) flourished and spread across all Arab countries as a traditional and informal learning approach. For example, in Saudi Arabia there was a huge number of Kutabb, the most famous being Sheikh Abd Elmoaty Kutabb and Sheikh Ibrahim Kutabb. There were also fourteen Kutabbs in Medina and ten in Jeddah (El-Hamd et al., 2007: 28). In the early religious era education was linked with Islam in all the Middle Eastern countries, so they established the same traditional educational process, Kutabb, mostly run in the mosques

and sometimes in private houses. A private site was prepared and supplied with the simple facilities required for Kutabb in each mosque, where students sat to learn the Arabic language grammatically and phonetically, reading, writing, syntax, recitation, memorizing portions of the Quran, Hadith (the sayings of the prophet Muhammad), the Prophet Muhammad's work 'Sunna', knowledge of the tenets of the Islamic creed, and simple arithmetic. The Kutabb system enrolled pupils at the age of five or six and the Imam was the teacher responsible for learning (El-Hamed et al., 2007:26-27; Al-Hamami, 1999; cited in Al Nabhani, 2007:28; Saqib, 1989 cited in Piquado, 1999). Sometimes, the Imam was called "Al-Sheikh", such as in Libya and Oman. His responsibilities included classifying students into groups depending on their level of achievement in reading, writing, recitation and memorizing portions of the Quran, determining what should be taught, the beginning and the end of class and ethical punishment (Abo Farwa, 1992:72-73). Kutabb became widespread across all Arab countries as the main source of education at that time, equivalent to today's primary schools and all of them applied the same teaching method.

In addition to Kutabb, there were higher religious schools which enrolled students who had successfully memorized the Quran and wished to pursue their education (Massoud, 2013). In these higher schools, students learned explanation of the Quran, Hadith, Islamic instructions, Islamic law "Figh" and Arabic language, especially grammar and syntax. In Libya these schools were called "Zawiyas", such as Zawiya Sheikh Abd El-Salam Ala-Summer (ibid:4). In Oman, Said Ibn Taymur rejected the development of education in the country throughout his regime. When his son Sultan Qaboos came to power in 1970, he sought to develop education as part of his reform programme, and higher religious schools were established in the end of twentieth century, such as El-Khoor School, El-Zawawi School, and El-Wakeel School (Al-Nabhani, 2007:28).

During this era, the main institution in Egypt was Al-Azhar, which was built in Cairo in 969 by the Fatimids. Al-Azhar became the main centre in the Islamic world for Islamic education from that period until today. Consequently, Cairo became the centre of culture and religion and many Muslims of different nationalities were educated in Al-Azhar in Cairo (Sayed, 2006:24).

Furthermore, Egypt is one of the Arab countries which has more than one religion. Hence, traditional education has been linked with both Islamic and Christian religions. Josephi (2010) indicated that schooling started in both mosques and churches, where children learned to memorize passages of the Quran or the Bible, as well as Arabic reading and writing skills.

Accordingly, Kutabb played an important role in educational development in the Middle East countries in the past and continue to do so at the present time. Kutabb provided a base for later educational development, because in the past they not only were places for memorisation and recitation of the Quran but also considered as a source of general education, teaching other subjects such as Arabic language including grammar and phonetics, reading and writing as well as maths, geography and history.

Kutabb still exist in all Arab countries alongside modern education, although they now focus on memorisation and recitation of the Quran, and Arabic language. Indeed, today Kutabb exist in non-Arab countries, where there are Islamic communities. For example, in the mosques in the UK there are places for Kutabb for memorizing portions of Quran for Muslim children who do not speak Arabic. During the early stages of education in these four countries, the focus was almost entirely on religion. The curriculum in the Kutabb did

not contain any form of direct citizenship education, partly because of the absence of any apparatus of the state, and because the purpose of education was seen as religious.

2.3. Education in Arab Countries during the Ottoman Rule

The Ottomans controlled all Arab countries from the thirteenth century to the early nineteenth century. Through Ottoman rule there was a continuous link between education and religion, so Islamic education remained in place; as El-Fatahaly et al., (1977) mentioned, the social, educational and political institutions in the country were dominated by the religious leaders. Furthermore, during this era there was a deterioration in education in Arab countries such as Libya and the peninsula (Saudi Arabia and Oman), even though there were Turkish schools. The decline was due to many reasons: firstly, weak Ottoman administration, as it was centred in Istanbul; secondly, poor financial management; thirdly, Ottomans did not pay attention to Arab education as they established a limited number of Turkish schools in order to staff the Turkish administration. Besides that, these schools utilized the Turkish language as the main teaching medium instead of Arabic. Fourthly and finally, the Ottoman government depended on Turkish administrators, rather than the Arab inhabitants, for operating all organisations, including educational organisations (El-Hamed et al., 2007:22, AboFarwa, 1992:73 and El-Suenble et al., 2008:475).

Accordingly, although the Ottomans established a limited number of Turkish formal schools in Arab countries, few Arab students enrolled in these schools. Moreover, there was a similarity in the beginning and the advantages of the Turkish formal education in Arab countries such as Libya and the Arabian Peninsula, while there was a huge difference in Egypt. In Libya, formal education began in the last stage of the Ottoman regime. A few

formal schools were established in 1908, but only in the main cities, Tripoli and Benghazi, in order to provide people with skills such as reading, writing, and accounting, to staff the Turkish administration. These schools were administered by Turkish leaders who belonged to the Ministry of Education in Istanbul. However, few Libyan students enrolled in these schools, because the main language in these schools was Turkish. These schools did not remain for long, since Libya was later exposed to Italian colonial rule (Alshaik, 1972; Ministry of Libyan Education, 1974; cited in Abo Farwa, 1992:73-74).

Similarly, the Ottomans came to the Arabian Peninsula and founded their educational system. In Saudi Arabia they established schools predominantly in the Hejaz district, which was the most favoured area, being the location of the holy cities Mecca and Medina (Shukri, 1972). Similarly, El-Hamed et al., (2007:29) mentioned that the Ottomans came first to the Western region of the country rather than other regions, and they established many Turkish schools, as they did in other Arab countries during their rule, in order to staff their government. Thus, they made the Turkish language the main medium for teaching. The Ottomans' educational system consisted of elementary school for three years, primary school for three years, and preparatory school, which was divided into two stages, the first lasting five years and the second seven years. The first Turkish school was established in Mecca in 1915. Following this period many other schools were established in various cities; for example, in Medina, nine schools were established and agricultural and vocational educations were added to the educational system. Nevertheless, many Saudi youth did not attend these schools because of difficulty with the Turkish language, so it was mainly the Ottomans' children who attended these schools (El-Hamed et al., 2007:29).

However, there was a significant difference in education in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. This difference contributed to important events in the later development of education, especially regarding Saudi Arabia, where another pattern of traditional education (religious schooling) was provided mainly by the individual efforts of people who came to Saudi Arabia from East Asia for pilgrimage, Islamic visiting or for commercial purposes, as well as foreign residents from various countries. They established educational organisations in the main cities, Mecca and Medina (Shukri, 1972). According to El-Hamed et al., (2007:30-32), many schools were sponsored by individuals, for instance Solatiah school, the first such school, which was established in 1880 in Mecca by the effort of a rich Indian woman named Saoultah. Another example was Al-Fkhria school, established in 1888.

Furthermore, in the early years of the twentieth century, a formal Arabic school so-called Al-Falah school was established in Jeddah by Hagg Mohammed Ali Zeynel in 1903, and a second Al-Falah school was founded in Mecca in 1910. These two schools still exist today (Al-Ghamdi, 1994). According to El-Hamed et al., (2007), the educational system of Al-Falah schools consisted of three stages with a duration of study of about nine years, three years for each stage respectively: pre-elementary, primary, and preparatory. Shukri (1972) indicated that Al-Falah schools taught the students Quran recitation and explanation, Islamic instructions and principles, Hadith and the rules of Arabic language, grammar, syntax and rhetoric, as well as some modern subjects which were added later, such as maths, history and geography. Also, Shukri added that in the following years the number of schools funded by individuals' efforts increased in Mecca and Medina in order to carry on the traditional education. Similarly, El-Hamed et al., (2007) stated that there were many funded schools established in Mecca such as El-Shefai school which was provided with seats for students and a blackboard to facilitate the teaching process. Also, Dar El-Hadith in

Mecca was established in 1923 by the effort of Sheikh Abdu-Al-Sammh (Al-Ghamdi, 1994). Many other schools were founded by the wealthy citizens in the early twentieth century in the Eastern region of the peninsula, such as Hey-Kuwait School and Hey-El Rifah School (El-Hamed et al., 2007:32).

El-Hamed et al., (2007) argue that the establishment of Al-Falah schools was the most crucial event in the history of education in Saudi, as these schools were responsible for the graduation of several scholars who played an important role in the development of the country at the beginning of the twentieth century. Shukri (1972:42) and El-Hamed et al., (2007:23) argued that there were no remarkable changes in the Saudi educational domain during Ottoman rule, for many reasons. Firstly, they had inadequate control in both Mecca and Medina. Secondly, Saudi society was mainly tribal and nomadic groups moved from one area to another for survival. They were mainly distributed in the centre of the country, and sometimes engaged in civil wars, while a few of population lived in the coastal regions, which led to loss of Ottoman control. Thirdly, the geographical nature of Saudi Arabia which is mostly desert and consists of distinct regions, posed difficulty for the education system. Lastly, there was a lack of adequate management for oversight of education.

By contrast, in Egypt there was a considerable difference in the educational situation during the Ottoman rule in contrast with other Arab countries, both because of the pre-existing conditions and because formal Turkish education begun in the 1800s, earlier than in other Arab countries. This is for many reasons. Firstly, education had existed in Egyptian life for about five thousand years and has played an important role in Egypt in the past since Ancient Egyptian people completely depended on the Nile, as they built their life around the bank of the Nile where they operated agriculture and sold their products to the market

place. In order to survive in this environment and develop their farming and commerce, ancient Egyptian people gave considerable attention to education (Cochran, 2013). Since education was seen as an essential need in life, Egyptian people gave consideration to the continuous transmission of their knowledge and experience to younger people. Secondly, the geographic location and natural resources of Egypt encouraged the coming of many Empires to Egypt, such as the Hyksos, Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman Empires. These Empires that traded with Egypt built their own education systems that were run from the temples, where their children learned some skills and knowledge in different areas such as writing skills, administration, medicine, and accounting knowledge. This civilisation also filtered into Egyptian society because of their economic association with the above-mentioned kingdoms (ibid).

These tendencies were strengthened when the Ottomans came to Egypt in the early 1800s. Muhammad Ali Pasha established modern schooling in Egypt in order to prepare Egyptian people for providing his modern army with services (Sayed, 2006). As Cochran (2013:4) states, Muhammad Ali realised that traditional religious education was not adequate to prepare Egyptian people for the medical, pharmacy, engineering, and technical services that he required to support his modern army. Therefore, many high schools were established, for instance, an accounting school in 1826, an engineering school in 1829, and an administration school in 1834. Also, to achieve his aims, Muhammad Ali sent missions that included selected groups of young Egyptians abroad to France and England, to study law, administration, and physical sciences. Similarly, Josephi (2010) mentioned that during Muhammad Ali's era, education was expanded by establishment of many public primary and secondary schools as well as a school for girls, which was established in 1873. The first Ministry of Education was established in Egypt by Muhammad Ali in 1838 under the name

“Diwan of Schools” and he added basic and secondary schools to the system of education. For this reason, Muhammad Ali was called the father of education (Sayed, 2006:25).

During the Ottoman period it has been noted that the focus of education was still religious. There were schools which were influenced by language issues: the need to learn Turkish and to provide the means for some students to work for the Turkish administration. With these two main foci for education, mostly during the nineteenth century, there was virtually nothing which would equate to any form of citizenship education.

2.4. Education in Arab Countries during the Colonial Era

Historically, following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, all the Arab countries except Saudi Arabia were occupied by Western colonial powers. Hence, all Arab organisations, including educational organisations, were influenced by Western rule. Where modern education was founded as a consequence, there was a similarity in the purposes of educational policy applied by the Western colonial rulers in the Arab world. For example, in Libya during the Italian occupation beginning in 1911, there was a dramatic reduction in the link between education and religion. There were Italian schools which followed the Italian curriculum and were under Italian supervision, but few Libyan people enrolled in Italian schools, most still preferring to pursue their education in “Kutabb” and “Zawiyas” (Abo Farwa, 1992:73 -74). This is because the Italian schools sought to implant Italian culture and loyalty to Italy in the pupils. Also, these schools were established in the commercial cities in the country, such as Benghazi and Tripoli (Stillman, and Stillman, 1999), and were not universally accessible. Thus, religious education remained as an alternative to the Italian system.

In addition, as Sasnett and Sepmeyer (1966:36) pointed out, there were high Quranic institutions in Tripoli, for instance, Asmari or Zavia Mizran College, and Ahmad Pasha College. Also, in 1935 Islamic Studies schools started, which offered higher courses for teacher training and preparing students for other jobs such as religious duty, administration and law. Vocational education of various types was introduced. For example, a Nurses' training centre was founded in 1936 that provided a course for three years in basic aid and midwifery, an agricultural school was founded in Tripoli and vocational programmes were established to provide basic skills in woodworking, needlework, ceramics and shoemaking.

After the Italian occupation and the Second World War, Libya was temporarily administered by the British government, from 1942 until 1951. During this period, educational development was witnessed. The British government organised training courses for Libyan teachers and a programme for preparing Libyan teachers. Also, Libyan people supervised their schools for the first time (Abo Farwa, 1992). Sasnett and Sepmeyer (1966) stated that under British rule, primary schools for boys were established in 1943 which taught the curriculum in Italian and Arabic, while primary schools for girls taught basic subjects, the Quran, and handicrafts. In 1947 a complete educational system started, composed of primary and secondary schools. Teacher training centres for men and women were founded in 1948 and the College of Women's training was launched in 1950.

In the same way, Egypt came under British occupation from 1882 to 1952. There was a little progress in Egyptian education. According to Cowen et al., (2009) and Ibrahim (2010), the British attention to public education focused on meeting the demand for technical and bureaucratic skills for the British civil services. Also, the British helped in

controlling the public schools. Elementary schools were largely controlled by local councils and partially by the Ministry of Education, while secondary schools were totally controlled by the Ministry of Education. According to Sayed (2006:26), free public schooling was abolished during the British occupation. Therefore, Egyptian public education was not accessible for all Egyptian children. Meanwhile, modern language schools emerged during this era. The number of these schools increased and they became most popular among the elite Egyptian classes during the British occupation. This type of education has remained until the present day (Hartmann, 2007:3).

Compared to Libya and Egypt, the circumstances in the Arabian Peninsula were different. For example, Saudi Arabia was late in developing the educational domain, perhaps because Saudi Arabia was the only Arab country that was occupied only by the Ottoman Empire and it never came under Western rule. Bowen (2008) argued that Saudi remained far away from modern education for a long time, because Saudi was not tied to the Western culture such as British and French, like other Arab countries which inherited their formal education from Western colonial rulers. As those countries realised the advantages of education, they made developments in the educational field at an early stage. Even though Saudi Arabia was occupied by the Ottomans, there was little educational development.

In Oman, since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, economic and social development in general and education in particular had been affected by Portuguese and Persian colonialism. Omani tribes exercised control in their country, and in 1774 Ahmed bin Said was selected by the tribes to rule Oman and he united the country. He ejected the Persians and Portuguese in the nineteenth century and Oman became free. Even though Oman gained independence, however, there was no educational progress; education was limited

and offered by only a few religious schools (Al-Farsi, 2007:13). This is because Omanis rejected the doctrine that the person “responsible for leadership should be restricted to the clan of the Prophet. Instead, they believed that the head of the community should be the person best suited to this duty by virtue of his religious knowledge and military skill, regardless of his tribe or race” (Wilkinson, 1987; cited in Al-Hajri, 2003).

Furthermore, Oman had strong political relations with the British government, as the British provided military and economic aid to the Omani government. Despite this strong political and economic relationship with the British, which continued from 1913 to 1955, there was no change in Omani’s educational situation, because this political and economic relationship focused solely on military enhancement. The British had no interest in the stagnation in the country, as it suited them to keep it isolated (Ghubash, 2006:196). This situation continued during the regime of Said Ibn Taymur, which further contributed to the stagnation of education in the country. There were just a few formal schools established, in 1940, 1955 and 1959 respectively (Al-Hamami, 1999; cited in Al-Naibi, 2007:2).

During the Western occupation of Arab countries, there were moderate developments in education. Schools were established in Libya and Egypt, while in Saudi Arabia and Oman education was offered by religious schools. Despite the remarkable development of education in Libya and Egypt during the Italian and the British occupation, education was colonial: provided in the language of the colonizer and limited to meeting the needs of the colonizer. Since there was no real form of citizenship education in the UK school curricula at this time, it was unlikely that there would be any interest in providing this subject in schools under British rule and influence, namely Libya, Egypt and Oman.

2.5. Education in Arab Countries during the Independence Era

In most of the Arab countries, modern education was introduced by their governments after they gained independence, in order to meet the demands of progress. This achievement of statehood was a result of independence from colonial powers; this period marked the beginnings of expansion in education albeit working from a generally low base. In the curriculum, the key need was for modernisation to expand education beyond providing a religious foundation. Whilst this requirement brought developments in mathematics, science and other disciplines, there was no focus on citizenship education as such in these newly independent states.

According to Qubain (1979:25) the Arab governments introduced educational systems that were equivalent to the Western educational system to eliminate the general illiteracy and to face the urgent demands as well. After independence, education systems underwent a complete overhaul and this heralded the start of the modern education in all four countries. Each of the four aforementioned countries made education compulsory and a right for every child in their countries. For instance, in Egypt, which gained its independence in the early twentieth century earlier than other Arab countries, such as Libya, many efforts were exerted by the Egyptian government to apply universal education. Hartmann (2007) stated that in 1922, Arabic became the main language of learning in Egyptian governmental schools. In the following year the Egyptian government declared free and compulsory public elementary schooling, which had been abolished by the British colonial rulers, for all Egyptian children aged six to twelve years (National Centre for Educational Research and Development, 2001). Most Egyptians stopped their education at the free elementary stage

because they did not acquire adequate skills and were unable to pay the fees for the next educational level (Starrett 1998:7).

In 1948 Egypt signed the Human Rights Declaration, which implied the government's acceptance of the human rights mentioned in that declaration (National Centre for Educational Research and Development, 2001). Nevertheless, despite the efforts of the Egyptian state to encourage elementary education for all Egyptian children, Egyptian education was limited to the elite classes (Joseph, 2010:122). Primary and secondary education became free of charge for all Egyptians in 1950, when Taha Hussein, the Minister of Education declared that "Education is a right for people, as is their right for air and water" (Egypt Human Development Report (EHDR), 2000:31). Accordingly, many new primary schools were built and the number of secondary schools was increased.

In Libya, too, after it gained independence in 1951 and during the monarchy era, extensive efforts were exerted to improve Libyan education in general and basic education in particular. King Idris As-Senussi himself declared that:

My government fully realizes that education is the only factor apt to make a nation an effective force keeping abreast with the procession of dignified and modern civilization; it is the beacon which guides the people and enables them to realize their ideals and grasp the effective means of progress towards perfection.

(UNESCO, Report of the mission to Libya, 1952:14)

Even though there was difficulty in achieving this aim since the country suffered from economic problems, since oil revenue was in the initial stages at that time, formal education was made free of charge for all Libyan people (Barton and Armstrong, 2008; Metz, 2004). This formal educational system consisted of three levels: the primary level, which received children at age six and was compulsory for six years, the preparatory level, and secondary

school. In the beginning of the independence era this educational system was composed of 29 primary schools in Tripoli (the capital city of Libya) and only one in Zawia city and one teacher training centre for women in Tripoli. These schools applied the Egyptian curriculum (Ministry of Libyan Education 1974; cited in Abo Farwa, 1992). In the following years, formal schools for both genders were founded in each city and village across the country, in order to make education available for all Libyan people, as well as vocational and adult education (UNESCO Report, 1952). According to Ahmida (2009:156) Arab instructors were borrowed from Egypt, Sudan and Palestine to run the teaching process in these schools. This led to sharing of thoughts between those teachers and pupils. Meanwhile, new religious schools were established in each city and the old schools were reformed. Accordingly, the number of Libyan students in all educational stages was increased. Moreover, the first university was established in 1955, with campuses in Benghazi and Tripoli (Clark, 2004). This university, the so-called Libyan University, consisted initially of two faculties, Arts and Education, and then other faculties were established later in various years (Obeidi, 2001). Qubain (1979) added that this university was a state university, as it was sponsored and administered centrally by the Libyan government.

On the other hand, there was a slight difference in political situations that influenced the educational circumstances in the Arabian Peninsula. For example, in Oman, there had been no progress in educational circumstances due to the stagnation policy imposed in the country during the regime of Said Ibn Taymur, who reigned from 1932 to 1970, and abolished the public schools in Oman, because he feared that if he educated his people he would lose power, as suggested by his British adviser (Ghubash, 2006 and Ochs, 2000). As Ghubash (2006) reports, Oman was isolated from the world during the traditional regime of

Sayed Said Bin Taymour, who totally rejected modernization in his country and banned study abroad. As a result, education remained mainly confined to traditional education that took place in the Kuttab and other boys' religious schools. Some of these schools added limited disciplines such as Arabic language and basic maths, besides their religious curriculum, such as the Christian school for boys in Muscat. Also, in these schools, boys learned some manual skills. When they finished their learning in Kutabb or religious schools they entered into work. There was no school for girls (Whelan, 1984), who were prepared only for child care and housework. Birks and Sinclair (1980:178) indicated that before 1970, the Omani government established three boys' primary schools in Muscat, Salala, and Matra and a few secondary schools. Also, there was an elementary school that offered schooling by an American mission.

As for Saudi Arabia, it had experienced limited influence by the Ottoman Empire, and by Western cultures, such as the British and French. While most Arab countries realised the advantages of education, and made educational progress much earlier than Saudi Arabia, the latter did not place much emphasis on modern education, and continued to depend on traditional education. Even though Saudi was occupied by the Ottomans, it made little difference in this respect (Bowen, 2008). Hence, education consisted of Turkish schools and some schools established by private individuals until 1916 when a revolution was organised in Hejaz against the Ottoman regime, by the Hashemite Sharifs. Subsequently, some schools were established and learning came under new teachers borrowed from Egypt and Iraq. These schools taught the Egyptian curriculum as developed by the lower schools of Al-AZhar University (A.R.al-Sabbakh, 1962; cited in Shukri, 1972:42). Thus, traditional education remained at the same level until 1926, when King Abd El-Aziz established the

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and paid more attention to education. This was when modern education started in Saudi Arabia (El-Hamed et al., 2007:29).

In general, education in Egypt has been in existence for a long time as Egypt is considered to be one of the earliest civilisations and has played an important role both in the past and the present. Therefore, there is a consensus among most researchers that Egypt has played a crucial role in the establishment of the modern educational system across the Arab world, as the example of Saudi Arabia shows. According to Qubain (1979:197) and Loveluck (2010) Egypt is the intellectual and cultural centre of the Arab world, as it exported trained teachers and curriculum to the Arab countries and thus influenced and shaped their educational systems, as well as becoming the place of study for many Arab students.

A formal and modern education system began in the post-independence period when the curriculum was modernised and expanded beyond religious education in the aforementioned countries: citizenship education was not included.

2.6. Summary

To sum up, the four countries in question are all Muslim countries; therefore, their experiences in the educational field have been primarily the same, with relatively few differences. For instance, in all four countries, traditional education played a pivotal role in education, as knowledge was passed from generation to generation. As a result, education became an essential part and parcel of everyday life in the four countries and the inhabitants have always been able to pass their knowledge and experiences to subsequent generations. The education systems in these countries have largely been uniform due to the

fact that they teach similar if not the same subjects. Muslim children who attended the mosque-based Kutabb were taught the Arabic language, writing, reading, memorizing portions of the Quran, and the knowledge of the tenets of the Islamic creed. This traditional education remained in these countries until the advent of independence.

Also, all four Arab countries were affected to varying degrees by outside influence in the form of colonialists like the Ottoman Empire, which established Turkish schools in each country, although few Arab students attended these schools. However, Egypt witnessed greater educational development than the other Arab countries, as Mohammed Ali established modern education. In addition, the education in Arab countries was influenced by Western culture during the colonial era, except for Saudi Arabia, which was not occupied by the Western powers such as Britain or Italy; this is why Saudi Arabia came later to modern education.

After independence the Arab countries had authority to establish their own educational systems that reflected their identities, but this did not go as far as establishing what might be recognised as 'citizenship education'. Hence, Ministries of Education were established in the Arab countries. Also, there were many declarations that emphasised the importance of free education for all people in the Arab countries. However, political and economic difficulties faced education in some countries. For instance, in Oman modern education was rejected by Sayed Said Bin Taymour, and only established in 1970 when Sultan Qaboos came to power, while Libya in the independence era suffered from economic problems that reduced educational progress. Nevertheless, it must be said that all the four countries did and may still play a pivotal role in the development of the education systems in the region as a whole. Also, it is clear that Egypt, because of its long educational

tradition and leading position, played a very important role in the development of the education systems of its neighbours, as it exported teachers to these countries, thus shaping their educational systems. In the next chapter the researcher will explore how specific cultural and political factors associated with the tribal nature of the society influenced educational development in Libya.

Chapter: 3 Historical background of the Structure of the Tribal System and its Impacts on Social, Political, and Educational Aspects in Libyan Society

3.1. Introduction

In general education is a vital demand for both developed and developing countries; consequently, they exert many efforts to develop their education. Nevertheless, education in the developing countries in general and in the Arab countries in particular is affected by many factors from the past and in the present time. Likewise in Libya, education is affected by social, political and economic factors, in particular by tribalism. This chapter addresses the second research sub-question - What were the impacts of tribalism on the social, political, and educational aspects of Libyan society?

Libya is a traditional and a tribal society whose individuals are characterized by tribal rather than national loyalty. Both during and since the 17th of February Revolution, some Libyan commentators have expressed their concerns about tribalism as a source of challenges for the new Libyan government (Obeidi, 2010; Al-Tier, 2011), whilst others have asserted the valuable role of the tribe in providing leadership and political experience (Varvelli, 2013; Joffe, 2011). Therefore, it is important to discuss what is meant by the tribal system, in order to create a better understanding of this system, because of the

essential social, cultural, and political role of the tribe, which negatively or positively impacted Libyan society as a whole.

This chapter provides a general picture of the social structure of Libyan society, particularly focusing on the tribe as a key social feature that shaped the culture of Libyan society for a long time. To investigate the impact of tribalism on Libyan society, especially during Gaddafi's regime and the implications of the role of tribes in Libya post-Gaddafi, the researcher explains the structure of the Libyan population, the geographical location, and the distribution of tribes across the country. The tribal social structure in Libya, and the social and political role of tribes are also explained. Finally, the researcher highlights the impact of tribalism on national values and on the sense of belonging and loyalty among individuals in Libyan society, as well as introducing a brief definition of the nation and nationalism.

3.2. Structure and Significance of the Tribal System

Sociologically, Libya is one of the Arab traditional and tribal societies. Libya consists of about 140 tribes. The structure of Libyan society consists of a variety of collective groupings, from the extended family through the small social group or bait (clan) to the main and largest social organisation, the qabila (tribe). In Libya, each family belongs to a qabila which consists of a number of bait (clans) that include a number of families. In this regard, Losleben and Malcolm (2004:61) argued that "the tribe is the basic unit of Libya's social structure and the bayt (bait) the family within the tribe-is the social group to which they feel they belong". Taylor (2005:3) defined a tribe as a social group whose members

are connected by blood ties and have the same traditions, customs, language or dialect, religion and land (district).

Thus, there is a strong social relationship between individuals and their tribes, which depends on ties of kinship, blood and obligation. Individuals tend to respect and adhere to the tribe's values, such as honesty and respect for others. Accordingly, the tribe (qabila) in Libyan society is considered a vital and dynamic social organization. In this sense, Varvelli argues that:

The notion of tribe (qabila) in Libya should not be associated with a sort of ancient static social structure but should be explained as a sort of wide range of forms of social organizations.
(Varvelli, 2013:6)

According to tribal regulations and customs, each qabila (tribe) has a special fund into which each family pays a certain sum of money annually depending on the number of male members aged 15 years or over; this reflects that Libyan society is a male dominated society. Therefore, social differentiation of tribes depends only on the number of males who belong to the tribe; the largest is that with the largest number of males. One of the male members is selected by the members of the tribe to be the Sheikh qabila (the leader of the tribe). This selection is based on many personal characteristics. For example, the leader should be of mature age (usually around 50), have a good social reputation among his tribe and other tribes, be a good speaker and listener, wise, generous, wealthy, have good social relationships with other tribes, be respected in his community, have broad experience in tribal and social issues and be able to tackle these issues within his tribe and with other tribes. However, in some tribes this position is passed on from father to son. According to Libyan customs and traditions the Sheikh has full authority to represent his tribe in front of other tribes on social issues such as murder and honour issues. According to Tarhoni (1999;

cited in Tarhoni, 2011:24) Sheikh qabila supports his members in their social dealings; for example, he joins with the Imam in certifying marriages and he represents his members in land issues. Tribal members, therefore, consider that their tribal leader “serves as the spiritual and practical father of the group; he represents the collective to the outside world, oversees the rules of the tribe, and guides their actions” (Ayhan, and Graham 2000:11).

In fact, tribes play a significant social role of supporting individuals in their daily life. The tribe provides its members with social protection and financial support in difficult social situations, such as payment of ransoms and fines, in exchange for which members commit their loyalty to their tribe. Moreover, the role of the tribe in Libyan society does not stop at conferring identity on individuals, but it goes beyond that. In this sense Varvelli (2013:6) mentioned that in some cities, “such as Tobruk, tribal identity not only tells people who they are but also what they should do”. Accordingly, Libya is considered as a traditional society characterized by individuals’ loyalty to tribe rather than to nation. This tribal loyalty existed in Libya in the past and continues in the present day even among the young and educated people (Tarhoni, 2011).

Besides the social role of the tribe, which has shaped and influenced the socio-cultural aspects of Libyan society, tribes have a crucial role in politics as well. As Obeidi (2010:6) indicated, the tribe plays an important role not only in the formation of individuals’ identities and the socialization process, which includes instillation of social and cultural norms, but also in political situations, as tribal links are the basis of political legitimacy. Historically in Libya, tribes exerted political power through their social and economic domination of their territories. In this respect Tarhoni (2011:60) mentioned that in Libya,

“the customary law and tribal traditions play a major role in the settlement of conflicts between the different tribes, despite the modern lifestyles besetting the country”.

During the Italian colonial period, all Libyan tribes played an important role in mobilizing their members to participate in resistance movements against the Italian occupation, which continued from 1911 to 1947. For example, Omar EL-Mokhtar, who belonged to an Eastern tribe called Al-Mnifa, organised the Cyrenaican tribes’ resistance movement against Italian colonial rule (Hüsken, 2012:3).

After independence, during the monarchy and Gaddafi’s regime, despite the global changes, the tribe was considered as the unique means that supported and sustained authority (Anderson, 1986; cited in Khoury and Kostiner, 1991:211). In this regard Obeidi (2010:6) argued that “the tribe has a fanatical tendency reflecting the loyalty of the individual to his tribe in the era of the modern state”. During the monarchy tribes still influenced the political situation, notably in the important role played by tribes of Cyrenaica province (in the eastern of Libya) in supporting the Senussi movement (a religious movement to which King Idris belonged, and which was the basis of political legitimacy of the monarchy). Thus, tribes dominated the political situation under the monarchy regime, through representation on various political bodies such as the Senate (ibid). Also, two Libyan regimes, the monarchy regime and Gaddafi’s regime, sought to enhance the political role of tribal leaders in each region as intermediaries between the regime and the people, which led to enhancing a sense of belonging to a region among people. In this regard, Varvelli reported that:

In the Senussi monarchy, important Bedouin persons and tribal leaders held important positions as consultants of the king, taking on intermediate position between tribe and state, such as Sheikh (tribal leader) and Umdah (village

representative). Here they were crucial for the implementation of policies at regional and local levels. These personalities, together with the new generations assigned with political issues, were able to re-propose a new 'intermediate tribal rule' on the institutional scene. (Varvelli, 2013:6)

Similarly, during Gaddafi's regime, tribes still dominated the political sphere and they played an important role. Even though Gaddafi sought to hide the tribes' role, in reality he depended on the tribes for support and to sustain his regime. According to Martinez (2011:4), under Gaddafi "the tribes play an essential role in maintaining security and ensuring the stability of the government".

When Gaddafi came to power, in fact, the political role of the tribes increased because Gaddafi built his state on the support of his tribe, the Gaddafia, which inhabits the middle area of the country, and the two largest Libyan tribes, the Warrfalla in the west and the Magarha in the south of Libya (Benhabyles et al., 2011:8). Gaddafi depended on the Warrfalla tribe for protection; most of his army consisted of Warrfalla, while he depended on the members of the Magarha tribe for defence and to spread his thought through the formal mechanisms of the revolutionary guard and the revolutionary committees (Martinez, 2011). Tribal loyalty was clearly seen in Gaddafi's behaviours not only during his regime when he appointed members of his tribe, and others with whom he had blood ties to represent the important political and social institutions in his government, but also, at the end of his regime when he sought refuge in his hometown (Sirte) rather than other Libyan cities.

During Gaddafi's regime, elite tribes received governmental privileges, benefits and appointments to significant governmental positions, while these were limited for other tribes (Rózsa and Tüske, 2011). Nevertheless, during selection of government members,

which happened every four years, Gaddafi was keen to keep a balance between the tribes in his government, by choosing at least one tribal representative from each territory in the country, as Mokhefi (2011:2) indicated: “Gaddafi also endeavoured to preserve the balance of power between the different tribes within his own government and the various state institutions.”

Increasingly, Gaddafi himself encouraged the tribal culture during his regime, although he asserted in his Green Book that the tribe was only the social umbrella responsible for social support of its members and was not a political organization. As Gaddafi said, “The tribe is a natural umbrella of social security, which like a family provides its individuals with benefits and advantages” (Gaddafi, Green Book 1975, Section 3:25).

In fact, there is no doubt that tribes played a political role during Gaddafi’s regime but it emerged in various forms because Gaddafi realized the tribes’ power, as they could unite together against law and even against the government. Therefore, Gaddafi was forced to include the tribes in his government. Obeidi (2010) claims that during Gaddafi’s regime the tribe became a political force since 1977, when the power came into the hands of the people (the declaration of mass authority). Whilst Gaddafi claimed that the People’s authority would reduce the power of the tribe, Deeb and Deeb (1982; cited in El-Majdob, 2004:16) viewed it as a manifestation of the same principle, arguing that “Peoples' Authority is an echo of the power dispersal that characterises tribal systems”. Nonetheless, Gaddafi promoted strongly the tribal system in order to enhance his control; according to Mokhefi (2011:2) Gaddafi “relied increasingly on the tribal system to consolidate his authoritarian rule”. Also, in 1977 Gaddafi introduced organisations for tribes, the so-called tribal clubs, whose main task was to uncover any movement against his rule, since they had a clear

responsibility for maintaining the stability of the regime among tribal members in front of the tribes and the regime as well, according to an agreement between the clubs' members and Gaddafi. This agreement emphasized their responsibility for eliminating any movement against Gaddafi among tribal members and stated that if they failed to do so, punishment would be enacted on the entire tribe (John, 2011:7). As Boutaleb (2012:10) argues, Gaddafi created these clubs with the aim of "restraining narrow regional and local demands, which, by accumulating, could turn into protest movements".

In general, tribalism increased during Gaddafi's regime particularly in regard to the political role of the tribe, which clearly appeared during selection of ministry members at national level. Selection was based on tribal loyalty and blood tie with the Gaddafi tribe, as in the case of the selection of the Minister of Education who in 1986 banned foreign languages (English and French) from the curriculum at all educational levels. The ban on these foreign languages was mainly due to the political clash between Gaddafi's regime and the Western countries, and reflects Gaddafi's dictatorial position, whereby no-one could oppose his demands, as well as his intervention in educational situations. Nevertheless, tribalism was the second reason, because the Minister of Education was from Gaddafi's faction, so he ignored the complications that resulted from the ban of those languages in education. According to Suwaed (2011:23-24) this ban continued for six years and negatively impacted on Libyan education in general and on the teachers of those languages in particular. Some of them became unemployed while others were forced to teach other subjects, such as geography, history and Al-majtama Al-jamahiry (Gaddafi's thought). This ban has affected the progress of education until the present day.

Over time, the political role of tribes was increased as they took official and political positions. Gaddafi created a new organisation in each district that gathered together all the Sheihks of qabila (leaders of tribes). He called this organisation the Gaidata Shabiea (The People's Social Leadership Committees). This formalisation led to increased connection between tribal leaders and the local community and increased their role in the basic unit of the political system (the Basic People's Congress) (El-Majdob, 2004:20). In fact, Gaddafi wanted to increase his support among those tribal leaders to ensure his continuation in power as long as possible through the role of the People's Social Leadership Committees in their districts, which included monitoring and controlling the activities of young people. Boutaleb (2012:10) argues that the main purpose of establishing these committees was "observing and/or confronting opposition movements".

The role of tribes was further strengthened when tribal leadership was transformed from an informal basis to a formal basis in the Basic Congresses in the form of the People's Social Leadership Committees, because they played an important role in the selection of ministry members at the local level. In this respect, each tribe nominated its members and encouraged them in the selection process, resulting in their appointment to leading posts in the public sectors, such as education, despite their lack of experience required for such positions (Obeidi, 2010). Also, the tribal leaderships played a significant role in facilitating career advancement and jobs for their members (Mokhefi, 2011).

Furthermore, Obeidi (2010) mentioned that tribes played a role in the shaping of the links and unions of professionals and others such as the students' unions, where the candidate selection depended on tribal affiliation rather than on professional and educational qualifications. Consequently, development of social institutions including educational

institutions has been influenced by the action of tribes in the absence of effective state institutions. As Taylor (2005:4) stated, “Tribes become more actively and representative social institutions in countries, which do not have high civil institutions”. Therefore, one of the social challenges that has faced progress in education is the tribal system. Anderson claimed that the “weakness and failure of the state effort for building Libya in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries was due to the impacts of tribalism” (Anderson,1986; cited in Khoury and Kostiner, 1991:211).

Nevertheless, in the recent period, the tribes have also played a positive role in political development. In the period of the uprising against Gaddafi, tribes played a role in encouraging their members to renounce Gaddafi’s regime and also in founding the interim government in order to bridge the political vacuum (Varvelli, 2013:7).

In the post-Gaddafi era, Libyan tribes still exert an important role in society through the role of tribal leaders, who have responsibility for their members. In this sense, Joffe (2011:1) reported that one of the most significant institutions and interests in Libya post-Gaddafi era is “the tribally-based Collective Social Leadership which knitted tribal leaders into a web of collective responsibility for tribal members”. Again, in the free Libya, post-Gaddafi, the tribal leaders emerged to exert their crucial political role in society, as Varvelli argues:

Due to their skills and experience as producers of order and conflict mediators based on customary tribal law, tribal politicians have come to play a dominant role in the local transitional councils and the city based military councils.
(Varvelli, 2013:7)

In the new Libya, tribes also play a role in the establishment of democracy. For instance, the elections of July 2012 were conducted under the control of tribal and regional affiliation

and the tribal interest was one of the interests that most of the elected independents represented (ibid).

Despite these important tribal contributions, some scholars continue to maintain that extreme tribalism (which is not as yet balanced by a sense of national belonging) poses challenges for the new Libyan government which could potentially undermine the goals of the revolution. For example, Al-Tier (2011) reported that the new Libyan government is working on the establishment of a democratic political system based on political and party pluralism with a democratic peaceful transfer of power to achieve the aims of the February 17th Revolution. However, the new Libyan government faces the challenges of tribal affiliation and loyalty among individuals, which constitute obstacles to a sense of national belonging and a constitution based on democracy. These concerns will be readdressed in a later section. The following section will explain the current structure and distribution of the Libyan population.

3.3. Libyan Population

Libya has a population of around 6.8 million, the majority of whom are Arabs who represent the Libyan tribes, settled in different districts across the country. This section on the Libyan population is included to highlight the existence of those minority groups and cultures within Libya whose position and rights formed part of the demands of the February 17th Revolution. A minority are endogenous and ethnic groups of Berber tribes, who represent 5% or around 135,000, of the Libyan population (Ayhan, 2011:491). Some Berber also called Amazigh, inhabit the Sahara in the south of Libya and are known as

Tuareg (Report of the African Commission, 2005). Other Amazigh inhabit distant areas such as Al Jabal Al Gharbi (the western mountain in Libya) and Zawara city on the western border of Libya near to Tunisia. The Berber speak the Berber dialect and they have their own social traditions and habits. The term Amazigh is commonly used to refer to the endogenous people of Northern of Africa: they gave themselves this name, which means “free men”, while the term Berber is usually utilized among Amazigh people, Greeks and Romans, who gave this name to settlements of Northern Africa (ibid).

In theory, there is no discrimination between the Arabs and the Amazigh in Libya; Arabs and Berber had the same political, social and economic human rights during both the monarchy and Gaddafi’s regime. The Berber had the same education system in their districts as that in the Arab districts from the preschool level until the university level during Gaddafi’s regime. However, the Amazigh are discriminated against in the significant area of language, since Arabic is the official language across the country and the medium of instruction. The Berber feel that their language, cultural heritage, and history have been ignored in education for a long time; there is no mention of Berber (Amazigh) past or present history in Libya within the educational curriculum. Also, the Amazigh perceive that there is a complete marginalization of their language and culture within the Libyan media (Report of the African Commission, 2005:37). This neglect of the Amazigh language and culture might be due to Gaddafi’s speech in August 1997 when he declared that “The Imazighen who demand their language are the henchmen of colonialism and must be combated” (ibid:29).

3.4. Geographical Location and Distribution of Tribes

For decades, politically Libya was divided into three main provinces: Tripolitania in the west, Cyrenaica, also called Braga in the east (this is the largest province), and Fezzan in the south (Country profile Libya, 2005:2). The Arab tribes live in the western part of Libya, Tripolitania and carry the names of their cities, such as the famous tribes Warfalla, Taougir, Zentain, Misurata, and Zaliten. Libya Country of Origin Information Report (2012:14) stated that the western tribes “are geographically rooted, identified with specific neighbourhoods, towns and cities such as Zintan and Misrata rather than joined by ideology, tribal membership or ethnicity”. In contrast to the western part, in the southern part, Fezzan, the tribes’ names are derived from their ancestral names, such as the famous tribes, Magariha and Al-Hassaouna. The same is true of the eastern part, Cyrenaica, whose famous tribes include Al-Awoageer, El-Abidata, Al-Brassa and Al-Manifa. Berber tribes inhabit the western mountain such as Jebel Nafusah and in the southern part such as Ghat and oases as well as the Sahara (Ayhan, 2011).

Libyan tribes have been settled in these districts for a long time and they are so strongly tied to these districts that they are known within Libyan society by the districts in which they live. Accordingly, a sense of belonging to a region is implanted among individuals in Libyan society; Obeidi (2001:4) argued that “people in Libya have a sense of belonging to a religious grouping, a culture, a state, and a region”. Traditionally, in the past those tribes held social, cultural and political dominance in their regions, and continue to do so today. The long-established nature of Libyan tribes is an important issue for the new government to consider when developing its citizenship education to meet the third demand of the Revolution to introduce democracy in the country.

3.5. The Impact of Tribalism on National Values

“National values” refers to the ties that link citizens with their state and their motherland, such as a sense of national unity, patriotism, loyalty, and identity. These national values are affected by many factors such as social factors (family and kinship), geography (land), and political factors (state). The state represents the main factor that supports and reinforces these national values through achievement of the welfare of people in society. The modern state is a political entity which usually refers to the existence of people, land, and authority. According to Naji (2011) a state is defined as a group of people settled in a specific territory and subject to organised government.

Thus, a modern state enhances patriotism among citizens and encourages national loyalty rather than tribal or family loyalty. Depuiset and Butera (2005:74) argued that “patriotism expresses that attachment to the nation is a particular value that an individual may rank as a priority. On the other hand, patriotism also refers to involvement”. Also, the state strengthens the national affiliation of individuals and their sense of belonging to their country, of which they have nationality. Hence, nationalism can be defined as a strong sense that distinguishes a person’s loyalty to his or her country, which comes through contact with natural and social factors. Furthermore, the state promotes a national unity across a country. This national unity is based on interaction, cohesion and solidarity among all people, regardless of their ideological, cultural, sectarian, ethnic, linguistic, regional, caste or clan affiliation (Naji, 2011). National values, such as loyalty and belonging to a country should start from the early stages of growth. These national values among individuals will not be enhanced, without strengthening of culture and the idea of belonging to family, community, and then to homeland and finally to the Arab nation (Juma, 2007).

However, the Arab countries, such as Libya and Iraq, are still considered tribal and traditional societies, because these countries have built their states on tribal concepts such as blood ties, clan and kinship. In fact, even though these countries have gained independence and each of them has established a state, nevertheless, those states were established in the form of a central power, which is characterised by personal power or under the influence of tribes, kinship and clans (Addi, 1997).

Moreover, Esenova (1998) argued that those Arab states have been unable to transform citizens from local communities to modern societies, based on national concepts, such as national identity and loyalty instead of tribal ones. Therefore, these countries still face challenges in their social, political and economic development, as the development of a country is measured by the disappearance of tribal concepts. For example, Asad (2003; cited in Karoani, 2012) in her study about the dimensions and priorities of belonging in the contemporary Kuwaiti society, identified prevalent forms of social belonging in society. Her findings revealed that, 90% of participants out of a total sample of 1003 ranked their belonging respectively as follows: a belonging to religion, to a country, to a tribe, to a sect, and finally, to the Arab nation.

Furthermore, belonging to a sect is considered one of the serious challenges facing citizenship in the Arab society, as Carp (2014) suggested that there is an inverse relationship between citizenship and sectarianism, such that if either of them is increased in society, the other falls. Therefore, a belonging to a sect should be diminished in order to enhance a sense of belonging to a country. In this regard Qasim (2005) argued that:

Citizenship values, such as belonging to a country should be enhanced among citizens, and citizens of whatever sectarian affiliation must be loyal to homeland. This cannot be achieved except through the sense that the state, not the sect is a source of reward and punishment, which means reducing the dominance of the sects in people's thought and behaviour.
(Qasim, 2005:1)

Belonging to the Arab nation (Arab nationalism) is achieved by acting honestly and innocently, and rejecting all misleading calls, such as regional, factional, tribal and sectarian. At the same time, it is achieved by abolishing all forms of backwardness, delinquency and slavery (Juma, 2013). However, Arab nationalism will not be achieved unless citizenship is achieved at the national level in each Arab country.

In the Libyan context, Gaddafi failed to build a modern state as he sought to build the state based on his political ideology, which was based on tribalism, and led to the country being deeply divided into tribal regions. This political situation negatively reflected national values such as patriotism, national loyalty, and national unity among Libyan people. This is despite the fact that Gaddafi himself emphasized the negative impacts of tribalism on national loyalty as he argued that:

The nation is the individual's national political "umbrella"; it is wider than the social "umbrella" provided by the tribe to its members. Tribalism damages nationalism because tribal allegiance weakens national loyalty and flourishes at its expense.
(Gaddafi, Green book, 3rd section, 1975: 25)

Nevertheless, Gaddafi utilized the tribe as a means to support his regime. As a result, tribalism was widespread across the country, particularly when Gaddafi strengthened the political and social role of tribal leaders by giving them official social and political responsibility for their members. Therefore, tribal loyalty was increased within the Libyan society at the expense of state loyalty (Khoury and Kostiner, 1991). Hence, the tribalism in

society became one of the barriers that prevented further progress of the country during Gaddafi's regime and this situation is still evident in Libyan society after Gaddafi's death.

Although Libya has become a wealthy country due to the significant increase of oil revenues, Libyan education still faces many challenges socially, politically and even educationally, for example, the tribal system. Thus, there is a need for new educational policies to meet the needs of the new millennium and promote national values instead of tribal values, to create a modern society. Therefore, recently, there have been several calls for elimination of the political and social role of tribe in order to develop modern components, which contribute to facilitate establishment of a democratic society (Al-Tier, 2011). Al-Tier also argued that political modernization generally requires the institutions of civil society (particularly the establishment of a democratic society) to which individuals owe a degree of loyalty. As these affiliations are not primarily tribal, it can be argued that social modernization should precede political modernization to facilitate the spread of democracy (ibid).

Subsequent chapters will address how citizenship education may address governmental and academic concerns, namely the need to balance traditional tribal affiliations with a new sense of national belonging, the promotion of national loyalty and democratic values. Before doing so, it would be appropriate to clarify what is meant by a nation, and nationalism.

3.6. The Nation and Nationalism

Scholars have differed concerning the definition of the nation; some of them defined the nation on the basis of a social unit that consists of a group of people descended from a

distinctive ethnic group, who settle in specific area, have the same customs and traditions, and eventually founded a community without a state. For example, Alter defined the nation as:

The spirit of community that obtains in a cultural nation is founded upon seemingly objective criteria such as common heritage and language, a distinct area of settlement, religion, culture and history, and does not need to be mediated by a national state or other political form. Consciousness of unity, the sense of belonging together, develops independence of the state.
(Alter, 1989:15)

Additionally, other writers defined the nation according to people's belief regardless of their ethnicity, language, heritage, and territory, such as the Islamic nation, which is tied by Islamic belief. According to Mahmud (2010:1) the Islamic nation is defined as "a gathering created by the interaction of human beings with general principles and values, beyond the natural differentiations that discriminate people (e.g., a colour, race, language, and region)". Other researchers developed a modern definition of the nation, seeing a modern nation as a group of people who have the same language, history, culture, identity, and territory. Thus, a modern nation can be defined as:

A territorially -based community of human beings sharing a distinct variant of modern culture, bound together by a strong sentiment of unity and solidarity, marked by a clear historically-rooted consciousness of national identity and possessing, or striving to possess, a genuine political self-government.
(Symmons-Symonolewicz, 1985: cited in Lynch, 1992: 3)

On the other hand, nationalism is a political phenomenon, which is more related to Western political thought, and that emerged as a natural outcome of modern civilisation values (Gellner, 1983). In this regard, Ismail (2002) argued that nationalism is a movement of the conscience and awareness of identity that emerged after the idea of the nation and the associated feelings took root in the consciences of people. Also, Ismail added that nationalism is not only a theory, which links a citizen to a nation in which he or she was born, but also it gives a sense of the human's identity and recognition as well as all ethnic

groups equally recognized. In this respect, Fulcher and Scott (2007) argued that nationalism in the contemporary world refers to the national identity that represented a top priority for people, over their membership to any other grouping.

According to what was mentioned above, the Arab nation consists of several states; each has its own independent state, nation and territory, and they are linked together by language, history, and culture, but each of them seeks its particular interest. Nationalism transcends the borders of these separate states, and seeks to tie them in a moral link and establish a common state, which transcends any separate nationality (El-Hosairy, 2010).

3.7. Summary

To sum up, in Libya as in other countries education has been impacted by several factors such as social, political and economic factors. Despite global changes and a modern life style, Libya is considered one of the Arab traditional and tribal societies, in which tribal loyalty is the top priority. Basically, Libyan society consists of approximately 140 qabila (tribes). Arab tribes represent the majority while a minority are Berber. The qabila (tribe) is the basic unit of Libyan social structure, composed of a number of bait (clans) while the latter consists of a number of families. The tribe is built on a strong relationship among its members, based on kinship, blood ties, social and cultural elements such as language and religion. It provides its members with social aid and supports them in several social and financial issues and at the same time those members give strong loyalty to their tribe. In Libya, these tribes dominate in their areas and even social institutions, through their social and political role. Tribes were utilized as a means of security and protection to sustain the

regime, such as during Gaddafi's regime. Furthermore, national values such as national loyalty and patriotism have been damaged due to the wide spread of tribalism in society.

Throughout Libyan history, both past and present, tribes have played a remarkable political and social role that affected many aspects of social development. This effect is seen in several aspects, such as education, which was impacted negatively by tribalism at the national and local level during Gaddafi's regime in the absence of state institutions. This chapter has also highlighted one of the key issues in Libya post-Gaddafi: the impact of tribalism on national values among individuals. The next chapter will explore the challenges for Libyan society during and post-Gaddafi's regime, with a focus on tribalism, women's rights, and the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority.

Chapter 4: Tribalism: Challenges for Libyan Society during and post-Gaddafi's Regime

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the third research sub-question -In what ways might three key revolutionary and citizenship issues relating to women, minorities and tribalism which featured during and after Gaddafi's rule be addressed?

In the new millennium, and despite the social and economic development that the country witnessed due to a remarkable increase of oil revenues during Gaddafi's regime, Libya like other Arab countries remains a tribal and traditional society, whose socio-cultural framework has not changed. As a consequence, particularly in Libya, many challenges have emerged in different fields that influenced the creation of modern society.

This chapter focuses on three issues that are historically rooted in Libyan society and were strengthened during Gaddafi's regime: tribalism, women's rights, and the rights of social minorities in Libyan society. These issues are reflected in the key demands of the 17th February Revolution in particular; the sixth and seventh demands (see section 1.1 above). This chapter will address these issues in turn. Firstly, by discussing the role of women and their rights: how Libyan society sees women's role in general, how Gaddafi's regime dealt with this issue, and how the rights and role of Libyan women are seen in Libya post-Gaddafi. Secondly, by discussing the Amazigh, a Berber minority who speak their own language, Tamazight, and are calling for its official recognition alongside Arabic in Libyan

society, and its introduction into the educational syllabus. Thirdly, by discussing tribalism: the strengthening of the political role of tribes during Gaddafi's regime and the important role of tribes in selecting individuals for appointments to major positions in education at local and national levels.

The importance of examining these issues is two-fold. Firstly, this discussion will shed light on the social context inherited by the new regime. Secondly, it will provide insights into the challenges faced by the post-Gaddafi Libyan government in their efforts to establish a democratic society based on a state constitution and civil institutions. These institutions are crucial to ensuring equality and freedom for all citizens, without the discrimination or marginalisation of any citizen or group. In other words, this discussion identifies the key issues currently facing Libyan society, which are reflected in the education system, and which the new government may wish to address, for example, through citizenship education.

4.2. Women's Rights from the perspective of Libyan Society and their Rights in Education during Gaddafi's Regime

In general, the Libyan society is a male society, like the other Arab societies. Males were valued more highly than females in these societies. They see women as sensual, less self-disciplined, and in need of protection from foreign men (those who do not belong to their family and kin). As Obeidi (2001:109) argued, tribal society is a male society and the tribe considers the whole society a male; women are represented by their male relatives. In this society a woman is called Bint qabila (daughter of the tribe) and does not share with men in

tribal elections and commitments. In regard to the view of women's role in tribal societies, for instance, most Libyans consider a woman's role traditionally, as focused just on housework and childcare. Thus, Libya is still considered as a traditional, tribal, and conservative society. Hence, women suffered from discrimination in Libyan society in the past and still do even in the present day, especially in terms of their role in society.

However, Libyan society underwent several remarkable changes when Gaddafi came to power in 1969. In respect of women's rights and their status in society, Libyan women received more consideration, as they were considered as the cornerstone for development of Libyan society. Accordingly, the Libyan government issued legislation regarding women's rights (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 1994:2). Gaddafi launched legislation in order to eradicate the traditional views of women, especially in terms of their role stereotypes. Thus, to some extent there was a positive effect on women's rights in different aspects of life. As a consequence, Libyan women gained their rights in education, the workforce, and to participate in social and economic life, according to legislation that aimed to enhance women's rights and ensured equality between genders and elimination of discrimination against women (Pargeter, 2010). For example, Gaddafi asserted the equality of all citizens (male and female) in both the New Constitutional Declaration in 1969 and in the declaration of the People's Authority in 1977, as both genders were given the right to exercise the People's authority in the Basic People's Congress (the basis of the Libyan political system). Moreover, many articles guaranteed women's rights, such as Article No 21 in the Great Green Charter, which indicated, "both women and men in Libya are equal in all that is human and a differentiation of rights between men and women is a gross and unwarranted injustice". Also, Article No 20 of 1991 titled The Enhancement of Freedom asserted that "male and female citizens in Libya

are free and equal in right” (United Nations Development Programme, 2007:4). Additionally, in respect of regulation of marriage and divorce, Law No. 9 of 1993 supported women's rights, by prohibition of polygamy without the written agreement of the first wife and official permission from a court (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 2009:2).

Furthermore, in the Green Book Gaddafi expressed his view regarding discrimination against women in society, as he asserted the equality between genders. He argued that men and women are equal as human beings in their roles and duties, although they are biologically different. In this regard, Pargeter, (2010:4) criticised Gaddafi, because he contradicted himself at the end by stressing the biological differences between men and women, asserting, “man and woman cannot be equal.”

As a result of legislation under Gaddafi, Libyan women obtained high opportunities for participation in education equal to men in society; a United Nations committee noted that Libya had made progress in achieving equality between genders in the fields of education, health and social service (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 2009:2). However, women’s political and economic participation still required more efforts, as women continued to face discrimination and are greatly affected by culture and traditions in their society (Human Rights Watch, 2006).

In regard to education, Libyan women achieved their rights in education equal to men in 1969, according to the declaration of free education and right for all citizens, male and female. Thus, primary and secondary girls’ schools were established in each city and village. Also, women enrolled in university in several faculties such as Medicine and

Engineering, and also entered the military academy (The General People's Committee of Education, 2008). Furthermore, in 1990 the number of universities was increased as new universities and colleges were established across the country. Boys and girls are educated together only in universities, whereas they are educated separately in primary and secondary schools. Therefore, education became accessible for women from primary to higher educational levels. Accordingly, the ratio of female enrolment in all stages of education has been increased, and is near or equal to that of males. In this respect, Omar (2011:3) reported that in Libya, the attendance rate of males and females in primary education is equal, while attendance of females in secondary education is higher than that of males, as cited in the World Bank 2011 Data Book on Gender. In consequence, their participation in the workforce has risen from 7% in 1970s to 25% in the present century (The General People's Committee of Education, 2008:18).

There is no doubt that during Gaddafi's regime, women graduated from universities, and most of them had opportunities to pursue higher education and obtain higher certificates in various subjects. In this respect, Omar (2011:3) emphasized that Libyan women have become more qualified and educated and they have advantages in various fields, for instance, as doctors, engineers, lawyers, and university professors. For example, in Benghazi (the second city in Libya), which is considered a more conservative society than Tripoli, about 40 percent of lawyers are women.

Nevertheless, despite the above-mentioned legislation that enhanced women's rights and guaranteed their role in society, and the progress women have achieved in education, Libyan women are still marginalized from several labour positions in society, particularly in political positions and leadership, because they remain under pressure due to the

widespread influence of tribal culture in society, which promotes discrimination against women. This is because Gaddafi tended to support the tribal culture during his regime, rather than create a social strategy in order to build a modern society which accepts new values like women's rights. Therefore, Libyans still adhere to the old customs and traditions, especially those related to women's role stereotypes in society, even though Gaddafi himself in 1973 declared a cultural revolution during his speech in Zawara city, which aimed to change Libyan society socially and culturally. As Omar (2011:3) argued, Libyan women still face specific challenges; even though "they have a high education they are acutely missing from the labour market. They accounted for only 30% of the labour market across the country". Also, in this regard, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2009:5) noted that there was a shortage of Libyan governmental efforts to support women's rights and eliminate stereotypes of their role and responsibilities in the family and society. Nevertheless, Libyan women continue to challenge the traditional stereotypes regarding their role in society. Therefore, the committee recommended that the Libyan government tackle this concern by "establishment of awareness-raising campaigns among women and men and through the media to view a good picture of women" that reflects their positive role in society (ibid: 5).

On the other hand, other researchers such as Pargeter (2010:2) argued that Libyans considered governmental efforts to support women's rights to be contrary to their conservative traditions, customs and tribal culture, which refuses parity between genders. As a consequence, Libyans perceived the regime as trying to impose new values without their permission and this increased the gulf between the state and society. Consequently, this negatively reflected women's role in society, so women continue to face social challenges in Libya.

Hence, although during Gaddafi's regime, many efforts were exerted to enhance women's rights, nonetheless sex discrimination still exists because values of discrimination are rooted in the Libyan socio-culture. As the Human Rights Council (2011:22) reported, "Libyan society remains male dominated, with gender-based discrimination widespread, in addition to entrenched discriminatory norms within Libyan culture and stereotypes on women's role in family and society".

Generally, women's role is the most important issue in the Arab world in general and it has become a main issue that faces the new governments during the Arab Spring, which needs more attention by the new Arab governments. In this regard, UNESCO reported that:

Women must be the heart of discussions on the new order emerging in Arab societies today, not only because of the key role they have played in the struggle for freedom and against inequalities, but also because of their primary role in shaping a new kind of citizenship based on equal rights-the only guarantee of available and sustainable democracy.
(UNESCO, 2011:7)

In the post-Gaddafi period, despite legislation that ensures women's rights and their role in society and emphasizes equity between genders, especially in education, enabling girls to enter schools and universities, nevertheless, Libyan women continue to face a strong social culture, which encourages discrimination against women and supports the traditional role of women. This leads to a reduction of women's participation in the economic development of the country, so they represent only 25% of the country's workforce (Omar, 2011:3).

Thus, the issue of women's rights and their stereotyped role in society is a serious social and educational issue that imposes itself in the agenda of the National Transitional Council and the Libyan interim government, and also, in the agenda of the new Libyan government

in the future. It is crucial to address this issue by creating a balance between the aims of educational policy and the issued human rights legislation, and the local culture. On one hand, the former emphasizes women's rights in education and the exercise of their role in parallel with men in the economic and social development of society. On the other hand, the culture of Libyan society marginalises the rights and the role of women, which puts women under social pressure. Therefore, women's rights and their stereotyped role in Libyan society have become a controversial issue, particularly among educated Libyan women, who hope to see this issue addressed in the new governmental dialogues, in order that the country should gain the full benefit of educated women.

Libyan women participated in the Revolution of 17th February. They encouraged their sons and husbands to fight Gaddafi's regime to achieve their freedom, prepared food for revolutionaries, nursed the injured, designed and distributed the Libyan flag, went out into the squares, established charities to provide social services for families whose sons or husbands were missing or dead, as well as sending money to places caught up in the fighting. In all these ways, Libyan women played a crucial role in the 17th February Revolution alongside men.

However, despite the active role of Libyan women during the war against Gaddafi and after the victory of the 17 February Revolution, women's stereotypes are appearing again in Libyan society. In this regard, Eguiguren (2014) argues that:

Since the victory of the Libyan revolution, women who have played active roles in civil society and in political parties have increasingly voiced concerns that conventional gender relations and stereotypes are re-emerging despite the solidarity that existed between women and men during the revolution. There is concern about the implications of this in terms of the role that women will have in the political system that is being created, especially in terms of the drafting of the constitution.
(Eguiguren, 2014:3)

A key illustration of the marginalization of women's role in Libyan society is what happened during the election of the Committee No. 60 in 2013, where women obtained only 6 seats out of the total 60 seats. In this situation, women demanded to be accorded equality, and Libyan women issued a statement as follows:

That the decision "represents an obvious setback for gender equality in post-revolution Libya," predicting that the "[f]ailure to ensure the inclusivity of women and cultural minorities highlight[s] the deep and imminent threat to Libya's democratic transitional process."
(International Civil Society Action Network, 2013:10)

Therefore, nowadays Libyan women's organisations call for elimination of discrimination against women and emphasize equality between the genders in society. Thus, these organisations are responding to the demand for justice, equality and equal opportunities (see section 1.1 above) that is expressed in the fifth and sixth points of the revolution.

4.3. Tamazight Language and Education during Gaddafi's Regime

One of the main issues related to human rights and at the same time considered as a significant challenge for educational policies in some of the Middle Eastern countries is the Tamazight language issue. The Amazigh, who settled in the North of Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, and Libya) seek to achieve their linguistic right. Those countries are Arab in government, identity, constitutions, and institutions (Ndahinda, 2011:103). However, the Amazigh in these countries see themselves as indigenous because they have been settled there for many years, and they believe they should have the same rights as the Arab inhabitants. Therefore, there is a longstanding Amazigh demand for the governments of those countries to recognise their language as official, alongside Arabic, and to establish

Tamazight language institutions. Under these circumstances, recently some of these Arab countries, for instance, Algeria and Morocco, have set policies to address this issue. As Ndahinda (2011:103) indicated, there was progress in both Algeria and Morocco related to recognition of the Amazigh status, culture and language. In Algeria, the Office of the High Commissioner on Amazigh Status was created and Tamazigh Language institutions were established. In Morocco, the Amazigh language was introduced in governmental schools, and media in the Amazigh language were opened gradually. In contrast, in other countries such as Libya, there was no progress in Amazigh status regarding recognition of their language and culture during Gaddafi's regime. Despite the international calls for support for human rights and elimination of several types of racial discrimination, according to Ndahinda (2011:104) "there is no constitutional or legislative recognition of other cultural or linguistic attributes than Arab, despite signs of a loosening position by Libyan state policies".

In Libya, both Amazigh and Arabs are equal on the level of economic and social rights, yet Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights are largely limited, although Gaddafi guaranteed the rights of minorities in Libya in Article 16 of the Great Green Charter Declaration for Human Rights, which indicated:

The right to preserve their cultural identity and heritage and prohibits all infringements of their legitimate aspirations as well as all recourse to force aimed at assimilating them into or merging them with other different communities.
(Report of the African commission's working group, 2005:30)

Nevertheless, the Libyan government did not recognize Amazigh rights in terms of their language, which is banned in education. Berbers were worried about their language becoming extinct. Therefore, they appealed for their language to be used in education

alongside Arabic, in order to enhance and promote their language among their new generations.

During Gaddafi's regime, Berbers (Amazigh) were forced to use the Arabic language instead of Tamazight. At the start of the Revolution of 1969, Gaddafi asserted that Arabic is the only official language in Libya, regardless of the existence of the Berber community in the country, and he subsequently abolished the use of the Berber language, Tamazight, for official documents and within government organisations, including education organisations. Therefore, the Berbers felt discriminated against by the Libyan Government (Al-Rumi, 2009).

In addition, Gaddafi denied the existence of Berbers, not only in Libya when he declared in 1977 that all the Libyan population are Arab and changed the name of the country to Jamahiriya Arabia Libyan, but also in the whole of North Africa; as Al-Rumi (2009) reports that Gaddafi denied the existence of Berbers in North Africa during his speech to Tuareg tribal leaders in Nigeria in 2007. Furthermore, in 2007 Gaddafi enacted a law that forbade Amazigh to give Berber names to their newborns, and also banned children with Berber names from registration for school unless they changed their names. As a consequence, the feeling of marginalisation was increased among the Amazigh population, due to Gaddafi's ideology.

Furthermore, the Amazigh issue was considered by the Libyan government to be the result of plans and sedition provoked among the Amazigh population by Italian colonialism, with the aim of fragmenting the social ties of Libyan society, which represented Libyan society's power, in order to foment internal conflicts. In this regard the Minister of Libyan Education in 2005 claimed that:

There have never been any problems between Amazigh and Arabs; the Amazigh issue is an invention of Italian Orientalism, which created an evangelization institute at Zouara and wrote a book on the Amazighs. (Report of the African commission's working group, 2005:29)

Paradoxically, while the Libyan Government banned the Tamazight language in education, it recognised other languages and introduced them in education; for example, African languages are included in the languages department in Libyan universities (Garyounis and Tripoli University). Hence, the African commission's working group on indigenous populations / communities (2005:14) urged the Libyan government to give more consideration to Amazigh culture, traditions, and language. Also, it urged the Libyan government to recognize the Tamazight language as one of the national languages of the country, and to establish Tamazight language organisations.

More recently, the Libyan government has paid some attention to the Amazigh community; according to Al-Rumi (2009), for the first time, the Libyan government organized Amazigh conferences in Tripoli in 2007 and 2008, in order to address Amazigh issues, especially those related to their educational and social demands. In spite of this positive response and the agreement between the Libyan government and Amazigh to take their requirements into account, in practice, these promises have not yet been implemented.

Nowadays, the Berber language and the possibility of introducing it within education remains a national and educational issue, which needs dialogue and debate among educational policy makers and the executive authority in the new government, in order to eliminate discrimination against the Amazigh community, allow them to obtain their actual rights, and assist them to promote their language. Indeed, the Amazigh issue is one of the challenges that face the new Libyan government; therefore, there are many questions that

arise in this regard, for instance, to what extent the new government considers this problem, how it views the Berber issue, and how it handles the Amazigh issue. This is because the Berber will be unable to acquire their linguistic rights unless the new government recognizes this issue. Recently, the Amazigh refused to participate in the election of a constitutional committee and asserted that they would reject the new constitution. They justify their rejection, because the new Libyan constitution does not recognize their language. They also declared that they would establish their own parliament if the new government did not recognise their language as an official language alongside Arabic (Hasairi, 2014). This discussion shows how both the government, and the Amazigh are responding to the issue of linguistic rights, which arose from of the demands of the February 17th Revolution, especially point 7 concerning the freedom to practice culture and language (see section 1.1 above).

4.4. The Major Role of Tribes in the Selection of Individuals for Appointment to Leading main Positions in Education at the Local and National Levels

Throughout the last forty-two years, Gaddafi sought to build a political system different from the nature of other political systems. This political system consisted of government and institutions based solely on tribes and nothing else (Hatita, 2011). Also, in the early days of the Revolution of the 17th February Gaddafi's son Saif Al-Islam, in his speech to the Libyan people through the Libyan government media, emphasized that Libya is not like Egyptian and Tunisian societies from the sociological aspect, but is a complex tribal society composed of strong tribal ties among its individuals. This speech indicated the dominant

role of Libyan tribes, particularly in regard to the political situation and the reality of Gaddafi's regime, which was largely based on this role.

In fact, in the first stage of Gaddafi's revolution in 1969, Gaddafi attempted to eliminate the political role of tribes in the Libyan government, as he considered the tribal role as a feature of the old monarchy regime. Meanwhile, Gaddafi established a new organisation, the so-called Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) instead of tribal organisation. This RCC consisted of Gaddafi himself as the leader and his twelve colleagues who assisted him in the revolution of September 1969 to overthrow the Libyan monarchy. The RCC members were educated people, and they provided modern social and political values, which were tied neither to a tribal affiliation nor to the old monarchy regime (Khoury and Kostiner, 1991:297).

However, in 1970 Gaddafi changed his mind and the characteristics of tribalism emerged, since he built his government on the support of his own tribe the Gaddafa, and the Warfalla and Magarha tribes. Gaddafi promoted tribalism among the Libyan society as a whole in many ways. For example, he introduced his Green Book in educational syllabuses and it was taught at all educational levels. In this book Gaddafi celebrated the social role of the tribe as follows:

As a social school where its members are raised to absorb the high ideals which develop into a behaviour pattern for life. These become automatically rooted as the human being grows, unlike classroom education with its curricular-formally dictated and gradually lost with the growth of the individual.

(Gaddafi, 1975 Green Book, 3rd section: 24-25)

In addition, in 1977 Gaddafi declared the People's Authority, and power was put in the hands of the people. In consequence, Libyan people exercised authority through the Basic

People's Congresses at the local levels, the General People's Congress at the national level, the People's Committees, and the Revolutionary Committees. Also, Gaddafi's title was changed to Leader of the Revolution and Libya was named a Jamahiriya (State of Masses) (Libya Public Administration Profile, 2004).

Accordingly, Libya was divided into 22 Shabiat (municipalities), each Shabia headed by a member, the so-called Amine of Committee of Shabia, who was selected by all the citizens of his municipality. Also, each Shabia consisted of a number of Basic Congresses, depending on its population. These Basic Congresses represented the legislative tool (assemblies or source of decision making) in which all Libyan citizens met, in order to debate the agenda drawn up by the General People's Congress in each municipality, to select both the Amine of their Congress (the Secretary) who represented them in the General Peoples' Congress and the Amines (the Secretaries) of the Local People's Committees, which represented the executive tool and whose members were responsible for administration of all local public sectors in their municipality, such as the Secretary of the education sector.

The General People's Congress (GPC) was the national Congress of 760 seats for meetings of the Secretaries of the Basic People's Congresses and the Secretaries of all municipalities. The GPC was responsible for implementing policies that depended on decisions of the Basic People's Congresses, which were transmitted by the Amines of the Basic Congresses. Also, the GPC selected the members of the General People's Committees (the Ministers of the public sectors at the national level) who were responsible for administration of all public sectors such as education and health at the national level (executive tool at the national level) (Martinez, 2011). Finally, the Revolutionary Committees' responsibility was to encourage people to attend the Basic Congresses and to regulate these congresses.

According to what was mentioned above, power was distributed across the country, which led to increased tribal domination in their municipalities. The Libyan municipalities and public sectors were administered by individuals who were locally selected. Meanwhile, Gaddafi saw himself as an observer and monitor of the exercise of popular power in all parts of Libya. However, in fact this happened under Gaddafi's guidance and instructions, as he had the right to intervene directly to modify, cancel, remove or add without any objections by the members of the People's Congresses. For example, in the light of the strength of the political role of tribes, in 1993 new social organisations were created by Gaddafi, called Gaidata Shabiea (People's Social Leaderships Committees), in each municipality. These People's Social Leaderships consisted of Sheikh qabila (tribal leaders), who were appointed in the Libyan municipalities and were granted the political right to participate at the local and the national levels, as well as to distribution of the state's benefits (John,2011:7). The creation of this political organisation led to an increase in the political role of tribes at all levels, as Hüsken argued that:

Political cooptation strategies are not to be seen merely as a power politics one-way street, but as a form of political interaction that also increases opportunities for regional and local tribal groups.
(Hüsken, 2012:4)

In addition, Hatita (2011) argued that this political strategy led to increased rivalry among Libyan tribes at local and national levels, particularly in the selection processes. These processes were based on tribal concepts such as the tribe with the largest number of males or a famous tribal leader having an absolute right to impose its members in the process of selection for appointment in main positions, even though those members professionally lack experience for these positions. Therefore, large tribes became dominant in the administration of public sectors such as the education sector for many years.

Consequently, Obiedi (2010) mentioned that the tribes had an official role at their regional levels that negatively influenced the processes of selection for appointment to main positions in the public sectors, especially education. On the one hand, education at local level faced many problems and difficulties, which led to deterioration in the education standard in the municipalities, due to the incorrect selection of those individuals who led the educational system, since they lacked the experience, competence and high quality required in the administration of sensitive sectors, such as education. In fact, those elected characters did not have the qualifications and experience in this area, which would qualify them to take over these positions. This led to the serious deterioration of education, as they lacked the abilities to deal competently with educational issues or find solutions. For example, there was a shortage of teachers in several subjects, e.g., English and IT, a lack of teacher training programmes, and problems with school buildings, such as a lack of appropriate classrooms. Those members were unable to convey these problems to the General Education Committee, because they lacked the experience, qualifications and knowledge of legal administrative procedures to address the General People's Committee of Education. These became barriers to conveying problems and obstacles facing the education sector, and finding suitable solutions to tackle those problems and working together to develop this key sector. The next section will highlight the challenges facing the new Libyan government.

4.5. The Challenges in Libya post-Gaddafi

According to Yaqub et al., (2012) after the Arab Spring Revolution, the Arab countries are undergoing transitional political and social change. There is no doubt that the changes in standards and patterns of human behaviour are closely linked to the changes in systemic

social values. These changes are a prerequisite for the construction of a modern state, based on the values of citizenship, democracy, and human rights. These values are the foundation on which to rebuild a society that is directed towards the desired goals of freedom, justice, equality, tolerance and development. For this reason, Yaqub et al., (2012) argued that all concerned stakeholders should pay attention to the human rights principles and values that seek to achieve harmony and well-being for the world's peoples.

Consequently, after the Gaddafi period, the essential goal of the new Libyan government is to build a new society based on state institutions and laws that will achieve the aims of 17th February Revolution. In this regard Al-Teir (2011) reported that:

“The state is working to establish a democratic political system based on political and party pluralism, with the aim of peaceful and democratic transfer of power” this is the text of Article IV of the Constitutional Declaration, announced by the National Transitional Council, and as evidenced by the Council is working to establish a democratic system on the ruins of an authoritarian regime that lasted more than four decades. Thus, the new Libyan government is intended to be consolidate a new political system and to achieve the aims of the seventeenth of February Revolution. (Al-Teir, 2011:1).

However, as noted by Arab scholars and evidenced by events reported in the media, the new Libyan government faces challenges to its strategies. This section will outline these challenges, with a particular focus on equality, human rights, justice, and the peaceful and democratic transfer of power as follows:

4.5.1. Domination of Tribalism and Strength of Tribal Loyalty

During the 17th February Revolution, the Libyan people called for Libya to become one tribe, this slogan was seen on banners carried by Libyans during demonstrations or written on walls. On the streets of Libyan cities, such as Benghazi and a number of others, slogans were written, such as “No to tribalism, yes to national unity” and “Libya is one Tribe”.

Such slogans can be seen as the Libyan people's response to the ethos of Gaddafi's regime (Yassin, 2011).

Indeed, the role of the tribe in Libya has become controversial and attracted widespread comments. In this regard, Al-Teir (2011) argued that the new political system will be based on the constitution, which people agree to respect. The constitution will set out laws that are applicable to everyone without discrimination, the right to freedom of expression, and the principle of a peaceful transfer of power. This is a goal to which all Libyans aspire, but the problem lies in its implementation; the application of democratic values and practices to a society that has lived for over four decades under a totalitarian and authoritarian system is not easy. The former totalitarian regime has left deep cracks in the structure of society, which will present obstacles to achieving the desired aims of the 17th February Revolution. Al-Teir (2011) identified the domination of tribalism and increased tribal loyalty among individuals. He argued that the strength of tribal loyalty presents a substantial obstruction in the societal transition to political modernization. For example, people should be selected to fill positions in the political echelons through universal suffrage. However, during the last forty years, these selections were based on tribal values, and in the absence of criticism, dialogue and transparency (Al-Teir, 2011).

Similarly, El-Katiri (2012) emphasized that tribalism, especially the political role of tribe is one of the key challenges facing the new Libyan government. The tribe still plays a political role in post-Revolutionary society like the role it played in Gaddafi's regime and the democratic process is influenced by tribal affiliation. Nevertheless, the importance of the tribe is such that it remains a crucially sensitive factor in Libyan society Yassin (2011). Since the tribal role influences all aspects of life, it cannot be ignored, or simply ended by a

government decision, rather it should be managed wisely and with awareness. As Yassin (2011) argues, tribalism and tribal affiliation are not only a matter of belonging, but also of behaviour, which should be addressed through educational plans and awareness campaigns. Therefore, to make Libya “one tribe”, in which the current tribes will be families, Yassin suggests many measures that may help to achieve this ambitious national goal. He argues that the state constitution of a free Libya should emphasise freedoms and the right to citizenship. The constitution should specify the legal rights accorded to each citizen in respect of the law and the duties or obligations of each Libyan citizen towards the state, regardless of their tribal or regional or ethnic affiliation. For example, the constitution should ensure equal participation for all, grant equal opportunities for all citizens, and eliminate marginalisation and discrimination against any citizen. The mention of ethnic and tribal affiliation in official documents and personal greetings cards or passports should be prohibited, along with political parties, sport clubs, newspapers or other institutions and organisations established on an ethnic or tribal basis. (Yassin 2011) In the event of a crime, the law must be applied even if the concerned tribes have reconciled.

In the same way, Rajab (2011) argued that:

For decades the tribe was a key player and a substitute for those parties and institutions in the Libyan political system, which opens the door to questions about the role of the tribe in the coming stage of Libyan history after Gaddafi, and the extent of its support or obstruction of the pursuit of the revolution to the consecration of democracy and national unity in the country. (Rajab, 2011:1).

Al-Riqieai (2011) has suggested reducing tribalism in Libyan society, which he saw as one of the main obstacles to democracy, by fostering a sense of belonging and loyalty to the homeland among young people and the new generation. This shift can be achieved through instilling other loyalties, such as loyalty to a city. The ultimate loyalty would be loyalty to

homeland based on a national sense, not on tribal ties. He acknowledges that these changes require concerted efforts, for example, holding seminars and cultural courses to facilitate direct contact with the audience, publishing articles in newspapers, programmes to raise awareness on radio and television, sermons in mosques and scheduled lessons on citizenship education and civic culture in schools. Al-Riqieai (2011) calls on the media and cultural institutions to take up the mission of spreading the spirit of civility and citizenship.

In agreement with Yessin (2011), Obeidi (2012) argued that tribal loyalty cannot be eliminated by a decision, but it is possible to raise awareness among stakeholders about this polarization of responsibility and encourage their return to the national scene instead of hunkering down in the tribal trenches. According to Obeidi (2012) tribalism can be eliminated by developing a culture of belonging to the homeland, by defending citizenship rights, by building state institutions, and by applying the rule of law to combat corruption. These measures should include disseminating knowledge and raising awareness about the surrounding environment, and material and moral support for civil society institutions. He argued that the state should make concerted efforts to convince the ordinary citizen, who is the mainstay of the state. Obeidi (2012) also highlighted the potential role of the media in contributing to raising public awareness about the meaning of national affiliation.

Similarly, Maeoff (2012) suggested that a sense of belonging to one nation can be strengthened in individuals by enhancing the following values:

Citizenship rights, special and public rights, such as security, safety and health, education, employment and basic public services and freedom of movement, expression and political participation, duties, such as respect for public order, preserving the public property and the defence of the homeland and the solidarity and unity with other citizens and promoting political participation in the decision-making process, and participation in debates on issues that face society.
(Maeoff, 2012:1).

4.5.2. Women's Rights and their Stereotyped Role in Society

According to De Silva De Alwis (2013; cited in Global Women's Leadership Initiative "GWLI",2013) drafting the state constitution is considered the first important step towards democracy because major debates on citizens rights and legislation on human rights, including women rights, can take place through this process. Concerning the right of women to participate in drafting the constitution, De Silva de Alwis reported that:

Women's participation in drafting the constitution is as important as the constitutional guarantees of women's rights. Women must engage fully and equally in constitution-making in terms of both substance and process.
(De Silva de Alwis, 2013; cited in GWLI, 2013:7).

The new Libyan government seeks to establish a democratic society and to ensure equality of political and social rights for all citizens without discrimination and marginalization. Bugaighis (2013 cited in GWLI, 2013) reported that the commitment to human rights was assured in a Constitutional Declaration issued by the NTC (National Transitional Council) during the first days of the 17th February Revolution. Article 6 of the Declaration ensured the equality of political and social rights for all citizens without discrimination:

All Libyans are equal in terms of 'civil and political rights' and that there will be no 'distinction based on religion, sect, language, wealth, gender, lineage, political opinions, social status.'
(Bugaighis, 2013; cited in GWLI, 2013:19).

Article 7 of the Declaration ensured Human Rights protections in the following statement "the Libyan state will protect Human Rights and seek to join international covenants and treaties that promote and protect Human Rights" (Bugaighis,2013; cited in GWLI,2013:19).

There were considerable challenges for women's participation in drafting the new Libyan constitution. In 2012 women made up only 10 % of membership in the drafting committee, less than the 30% quota they are entitled to as a minimum, according to the international

conventions on women's rights (Bugaghis, 2013; cited in GWLI,2013). This low level of representation is due to the Libyan government failing to follow or implement any other programmes or activities to support women's rights in society (Bugaghis, 2013; cited in GWLI, 2013). She added that:

Participation in politics and decision making should not be viewed as just another problem, but it should be viewed as a part of the solution; in other words, a necessary component of the collaboration to solve the problems that Libya is facing today
(Bugaghis, 2013; cited in GWLI, 2013:19).

The views expressed by Bugaghis (cited in GWLI, 2013) reflect the concern expressed by a significant segment of Libyan society. As a result, the Libyan Civil Alliance demanded the constitutionalizing of Libyan women's rights and called fair representation on the committee charged with drafting the new Act. They argued that it is unfair to Libyan women, to deliberately exclude them from participating in the drafting of the Libyan Constitution and to exclude them from the Committee on the Constitution. A draft law disclosed by the General National Congress (the interim parliament) stipulates women should constitute 10 per cent of the committee's 60 members, while women's organizations are calling for a minimum 30 percent (Middle East Online, 2013). Therefore, Libyan women have called on the new Libyan government to ensure their rights in the Libyan constitution. Dozens of Libyan women organised a protest in the capital Tripoli, to demand increased representation (Middle East Online, 2013).

4.5.3. Cultural and Linguistic Rights of the Amazigh minority

Equal respect for citizens, regardless of their ethnicity, religion and culture is a crucial step in establishing of a democratic society and is considered a major challenge. As Kania (2011) argued:

The challenge of creating a pluralistic democracy that recognizes and respects the rights of all religious, ethnic, and cultural groups is substantial in countries with a long history of having systematically abused those rights. (Kania, 2011:1).

The Amazigh, who were deprived of their cultural and linguistic rights for more than four decades during Gaddafi's regime are a case in point. After the 17th February Revolution, which aimed to reduce all discrimination and sustain the unity of the Libyan soul, the new government promised to support and protect human rights and ensure equality among all Libyan people. As previously noted, in Article 6 the NTC (National Transitional Council) asserted the equality of all Libyans in terms of 'civil and political rights' and promised the elimination of various kinds of discrimination, including language (Bugaighis, 2013; cited in GWLI, 2013). The NCT released a statement in August 2011 confirming that the new Libyan state will ensure the "linguistic and cultural rights" of all Libyans (Kania, 2011:1). This prompted the Amazigh minority to call for recognition in the new Libya. Kania (2011) reported that the cultural and linguistic rights of the Berber or Amazigh minority have recently been an issue in Libya.

Similarly, Al-Honi (2011) noted how the new Libyan government was seeking to establish a democratic society based on equal rights and responsibilities among all citizens. He reports on how the Amazigh staged a demonstration in front of the new Libyan Prime Minister's office, to demand increased representation in the Libyan state apparatus, and recognition of their cultural and linguistic rights. Al-Honi also argued:

Cheers in the Libyan street are clear and evident: "Lift your head up, you are a free Libyan," How can we then ignore the marginalization, strip the identity and culture and language processes in the right of Libyan citizen? We all know that Gaddafi and his former regime played a role in the series of depriving Libyans of their rights and he did not exclude anyone from this suffering. Therefore, the attention of the new Libyan government for this file is considered a necessary matter, which is advised to be addressed and dealt with seriously and transparently in order to preserve the unity of the soil of the homeland and avoid exposure of the social cohesion to disintegration. (Al-Honi, 2011:1).

Additionally, Al-Honi suggested that identifying a concept of equal citizenship in Libya for all Libyan citizens of different ethnicity, Arab and Amazigh would meet this demand as “citizenship has several dimensions including: political, social, legal, administrative, economic, and cultural” (Al-Honi,2011:1). He also argued that:

Thus, the granting of equal rights for all Libyans is a legitimate, popular and moral demand. As Libyans are one people and they are equal in rights and duties and brothers bound together by faith and living together in one nation, as brought together by bonds of descent, and intermarriage, and the neighbourhood, we cannot accept these sacred ties being squandered, dismantled and dismembered.
(Al-Honi, 2011:1).

Recently, the conflict regarding the Amazigh’s cultural and linguistic rights has been made manifest in drafting the new constitution in Libya post-Gaddafi. The Constituent Assembly claimed that one of the main challenges is the boycott of the Amazigh, who still refuse to participate in the process of drafting the Libyan constitution (El-Jarh, 2014). As Hasairi (2014) mentioned earlier, the Amazigh justify their boycott on grounds of linguistic discrimination because the new Libyan constitution does not recognize their language.

4.5.4. Lack of Local Democratic Experience

Local Libyan society suffers from a lack of the knowledge and experience that is required to peacefully transition Libyan society to democracy. As Abdul Latif (2012) has argued that Libyan society suffers from a political vacuum and the absence of a democratic culture.as Gaddafi succeeded in eliminating all the state institutions and apparatus of modern democracy. He created a culture of submission to tyranny and authoritarian prejudices by cementing tribal and regional affiliations. This absence of a democratic culture and lack of respect for the law among broad sections of the Libyan people is one of

the biggest challenges faced by the political system that is emerging from the February 17th Revolution.

El-Katiri (2012, viii) agreed that “since political parties and civil society institutions were absent from Libya for more than four decades” this deficit in democratic culture is one of the main challenges facing the new Libyan government.

4.6. Summary

The strengthening of tribal affiliations during Gaddafi’s regime led to the dominance of tribalism, which has shaped the socio-cultural framework of Libyan society. This chapter highlighted the challenges in Libyan society during Gaddafi’s regime: firstly, by discussing women’s rights and their stereotyped role in society. Several laws have been issued to enhance women’s rights, support their role in the society and eliminate discrimination. As a result, Libyan women have been given their educational rights. However, Libyan womenes still face social challenges, which encourage discrimination in the absence of governmental and social efforts to eliminate stereotypical views of women’s role in society. Consequently, they represent only about 25% of the Libyan workforce.

Secondly, by discussing the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority. There is no discrimination in the social and economic rights of Arabs and Amazigh within Libyan society, but the Amazgh cultural rights and their language “Tamazigh” were banned by the previous government, not only in education but also in all Libyan organisations. Arabic was declared as the only official language, a governmental action that the Amazigh considered as a discrimination against their community.

Finally, this chapter discussed the political role of tribes in the selection of Education Ministers. Recently, People's Social Leaderships were established in Libyan municipalities thereby strengthening the tribal role by granting political rights to tribal leaders, which enable them to play a central role in the selection of Education Ministers at a local and national level. That selection process which is largely an outcome of tribal concepts and affiliations has increased the problems with education because most candidates were not qualified to administer this sector. Following the collapse of the Gaddafi's regime, these issues have been identified as the main obstacles facing the new Libyan government in its attempts to achieve the aims of the 17th February Revolution (Obiedi 2010, Hatita 2011). There is widespread concern about the domination of tribalism, notably the role of tribe and its impact on the sense of national unity among individuals, which emerged in Libya post-Revolution (El-Katiri (2012), Al-Riqieai (2011), Rajab (2011), and Al-Tier (2011).

Concerning women's rights in post-Gaddafi Libya, women have called on the new Libyan government to ensure their rights in the Libyan constitution (Bugaihis, 2013; cited in GWLI, 2013) and (Middle East Online, 2013). Concerning the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority, the Amazigh have called on the new Libyan government to recognize their cultural and linguistic rights and introduce their language, Tamazight in education alongside Arabic. However, this latter issue remains unresolved (Al-Honi (2011) and Kania (2011).

Concerning the democratic deficit in Libyan society, the knowledge and experience that is required to make a peaceful transition to democracy is lacking (Abdul Latif (2012) and El-Katiri (2012). Scholars including Al-Riqieai (2011) and Yassin (2011) have called for

consciousness raising programs, as one measure amongst others to address the key challenges identified for Libyan society. This raises the possibility of a role for citizenship education in promoting the democratic values espoused by the new government and in line with many of the demands of the February 17th Revolution.

The next chapter will review the literature on citizenship education, in order to provide a theoretical framework for the current research. Following an exploration of what citizenship education means in the literature, it will consider what such education might mean for Libya.

Chapter: 5 Citizenship Education

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the issues relating to the fourth research sub-question: How do western understandings of Citizenship Education compare with understandings in the Arab/Islamic countries? As such, it deals with theoretical aspects of the current study, especially in regard to citizenship education, its potential role in eliminating the negative impacts of tribalism in the Libyan society, such as neglect of women's rights and gender equality, decline of national sense, and minority rights. These are closely related to the citizenship domains of moral responsibilities and rights, community involvement and political literacy. Hence, this chapter highlights the following: firstly, it underlines the possible meanings of citizenship and citizenship education, and sheds light on the relationship between citizenship and education. Secondly, it explores the evolution of citizenship and citizenship education. Thirdly, the chapter reviews factors influencing citizenship education in Western and Arab countries, showing how its purposes, form and outcomes are influenced by cultural, political and social ideological factors. Fourthly, this chapter sheds light on the history of citizenship in the pre-Islamic Arab countries, the Islamic Arab countries and in modern Arab history: after independence in the modern nation state. This chapter discusses the factors that influence citizenship education in Arab countries, to reveal how the purposes, form and outcomes of citizenship are influenced by context-specific factors such as politics and culture. Fifthly, this chapter discusses citizenship education in Libya during Gaddafi's regime and the characteristics of an

effective citizen. The chapter concludes with a summary of the research questions and explains the link between the literature review, the theoretical framework of this study and the research questions.

Worldwide, education has become an essential demand to bring about social, economic, and political changes in societies, because education can help to create active citizens, who are able to cope with these changes. Therefore, developed countries have realised that education is one of the major means of modernisation of societies.

Citizenship education is a part of education, which can create informed, active citizens by providing them with skills, behaviours and knowledge that reflect the social and cultural dimensions of society, in order to fulfil government purposes, such as enabling them to participate in the social and economic development in their country. Citizenship education aims to provide students with the skills and behaviours needed to perform their duties and responsibilities towards their society. In some states it has been introduced as a means of creating a sense of national identity, which may be assimilationist or more exclusive, depending on historical factors as highlighted by Bottery (2003). Thus, for a variety of reasons, many countries have paid great attention to reforming their educational systems and have introduced citizenship education into the educational curriculum according to their political, social, cultural circumstances and local requirements. Therefore, citizenship education is introduced within curricula by various methods across the world.

5.2. The Meaning of Citizenship

Basically, the word citizenship is derived from the word citizen, which is defined “as a native or naturalized member of a state or nation who owes allegiance to its government and is entitled to its protection (distinguished from alien)” (Dustin, 1999:2). Furthermore, citizen is defined by Block (2008:6) “as one who is willing to be accountable for and committed to the well-being of the whole”. Block added that the whole refers to a place in which a citizen lives which could be a city, a society, a nation, or the land, and a citizen is one who does not stand, or dream for the future, but who builds the future. Additionally, William and Humphrys (2003:4) reported that a citizen “has a legal status bestowed by the nation state to which he or she belongs”. However, citizenship has had varied meanings across history, depending on the nature and intentions of the polity concerned.

Historically, the concept of citizenship emerged for the first time in the Greek city-states as a result of their political system, which was built at the expense of a slave class. Then it emerged legally under the leader of Athens called Solon, when he divided the society into four classes, of which the slave class was the lowest (Pattie et al., 2004:5). Then, through the ages, the concept of citizenship changed from a political concept, to a legal, and then to a social concept. For example, Greek citizenship indicated the political status of citizens, which was granted to free males only. In contrast, Roman citizenship indicated a legal status that ensured legal rights for citizens, which no one could steal, even by force (ibid). This state of flux remained as human societies and thoughts are in continuous change; hence Lee and Fouts argued that:

The concept of citizenship is not a static concept but is dependent on individual and societal situations as it exists inside a society and develops within a social and psychological arena. Also, integral to the concept of citizenship are values and beliefs about the nature of humankind and the nature and purpose of the state.
(Lee and Fouts, 2005:21)

On the other hand, Dustin (1999:1) argued that even though the concept of citizenship fundamentally emerged with the establishment of a city-state in Athens, nevertheless, it is considered a Western concept. In a similar way, Mitra (2013:153) stated that the concept of citizenship is mostly linked to the Western nations. In the Western context, citizenship could be considered also as a result of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, which brought modernization (Dustin 1999:1), whilst the French Revolution brought the invention of the modern institution and ideology of national citizenship as follows:

The formal delimitation of the citizenry; the establishment of the civil equality, entailing shared and shared obligations; the institutionalization of political rights; the legal rationalization and ideological accentuation of the distinction between citizens and foreigner the Revolution brought these developments together on a national level for the first time.
(Brubaker, 1989:30).

Thus, Dustin (1999) argued that there are two types of citizenship, the first one which started from Greek times and lasted until the French Revolution and the second which emerged since the French Revolution and still continues to the present time. In this regard, Lee and Fouts (2005:24) argued that the first type of citizenship was privileged, exclusive and discriminatory, as only free men participated in governing, while women and slaves were excluded. However, the second type of citizenship is liberalised, with equality of rights for both men and women.

However, “there is a problem with the term citizenship itself and many ways in which the term citizenship has been interpreted” (Ofsted Report, 2006:20). Therefore, there are numerous arguments among many scholars around the meaning and concept of citizenship; these depend on the various philosophical, social, cultural and political aspects of societies in which citizenship is exercised. In this respect, Shamsul Haque (2008) stated that the term citizenship connotes a considerable diversity of meanings that depend on the nature of the

political and social context. Equally, Lee and Fouts (2005) argued it is difficult to determine an exact meaning of citizenship due to a variety of factors, cultural and historical, that act individually or collectively.

In addition, Dwyer (2000:2) commented that “the word citizenship is used in a multitude of contexts and in so many different ways that a universal definition is virtually impossible”. Therefore, there is no static meaning of the term citizenship. For instance, citizenship is defined as a “status that denotes membership of a nation-state and which carries with it certain rights and duties associated with that membership” (Faulks, 1998:2). Additionally, Pattie et al., (2004:56) argued, “people’s awareness of their rights and duties is one feature of a good citizenship”. In the same sense, William and Macedo (2005:198) who, argued that individuals become citizens not only by clarifying their rights and responsibilities, but also by offering them “self-awareness and self- information in nature of exercising these rights”. Also, citizenship is defined as a legal status that determines the rights and duties of individuals, as well as the relationship between them and their state. In this regard, Oers et al., (2010) argued that the concept of citizenship indicates three meanings; firstly, citizenship as legal status, which refers to the linkage between individual and state that includes rights and duties. Secondly, citizenship as activity indicates individuals’ attitude and exercise of social virtues, which includes social, economic, and political contributions. Thirdly, citizenship as identity, which refers to the social position of individuals, so it concentrates on issues related to belonging, allegiance, and obligation to the cultural and traditional framework of society. Similarly, Al-Saweidi defined citizenship as:

A status of an individual who enjoys rights and abides by duties imposed by his belonging to a particular community in a specific place. It’s a sense of individual love for his community and his country, pride in belonging to it, his willingness to sacrifice for it, and participate in voluntary activities in his community.

(Al-Saweidi, 2001; cited in Abdul Karim & Al-Nassar, 2010:22)

Furthermore, Juma (2007) argued, citizenship without belonging has no value; it will be seen only to determine individuals' rights and duties based on the relationship between them and their state, and will serve as a "passport", no more. Hence, citizenship refers to a sense of belonging to a specific nation, for instance citizenship is defined as a sense of belonging to the Arab nation (Global Arabic Encyclopedia, 1996).

To some extent, citizenship consists of two aspects: the social and political. The political aspect explains the relationship between citizen and state, while the social aspect determines relations among citizens themselves (Chiodo and Martin, 2005:24).

Politically, citizenship describes the relationship between citizens and state in terms of their rights and duties. As Scott and Lawson (2002) argued, the term citizenship refers to individuals' legal rights that they enjoy as citizens belonging to a particular state and also their duties and responsibilities toward their state. Also, citizenship has been defined from a democratic view, which expresses individuals' aspiration toward freedom and political participation in their communities. In this sense, Carr (1991:378) argued that how citizenship democratically is defined depends on the individual's view of democracy and he identifies two models, "the Moral and Market Models". The Moral Model indicates "a way of life in which individuals are able to realize their human capacities by participating in the life of their society", while the Market Model "helps to protect the freedom of individuals to pursue their private interests with minimal state interference" (ibid: 379).

The democratic concept of citizenship is linked to the notion of citizenship that emerged as a result of the French Revolution. Thus, citizenship became inclusive of all citizens, and people built their organisations based on equality of rights among all citizens (Starkey et

al., 2006). Similarly, Faulks (1998) argued that the notion of citizenship involved the concept of equality, where citizens are equal in terms of their rights and duties. Also, Kuwari (2000:9:10) argued, citizenship refers to free participation in social, political and economic rights for all individuals without any discrimination, regardless of their religion or sect, race or sex.

However, the contemporary concept has been developed to the relationship between the individual and the state according to the law that governs the state and the rights and duties it includes, as practice of citizenship needs the provision of a minimum of these rights (Kuwari, 2000). Similarly, Juma (2013) argues that citizenship refers to equality and respect of laws among people without difference between them in order to avoid actions contrary to the laws because these laws represented the basic foundation of a state.

Socially, citizenship describes firstly, the social relationship among citizens themselves during their daily life, which encompasses involvement in social life and respect for others' rights. Thus, citizenship not only refers to an official status, which determines citizens' passports and their rights and duties, but also it refers to "feeling of belonging to a community" and practice of human rights (Osler and Starkey, 2005:11). In this light, McCowan and Gomez (2012:13) argued that citizenship is a means to help citizens to be involved in others' life, so it can be said citizenship is the state of "being a good citizen". Block also viewed that "citizenship is a state of being. It a choice of activism and care" (Block, 2008:6). In the same direction, citizenship has been defined in Webster's Encyclopaedic Unabridged Dictionary of English Language as:

The state of being vested with the rights, privileges, and duties of a citizen, and the character of an individual viewed as a member of society; behaviour in term of the duties, obligations, and functions of a citizen.
(Dustin, 1999:2)

On the other hand, Marshall (1950) argues that citizenship encompasses three elements: civil, political and social. Civil indicates rights of freedom, such as freedom of faith, speech, thought and justice. Political indicates rights of participation in the practice of political life, such as appointment in governmental positions or as a member of parliament and participation in the election process. Social rights are those related to security, welfare of economic life and “the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to standards prevailing in the society” (Marshall, 1950:10, 11).

Traditionally, there are three models of citizenship: liberal/ individualistic, communitarian and civil republican. Liberal / individualistic citizenship aims to protect individual interests and support individual responsibilities. Communitarian citizenship aims to develop a relational sense of identity through connections with other members of society. Civil republican citizenship aims to develop a sense of civic identity and to build a mutually beneficial relationship between the individual and the state (Nelson and Kerrr, 2005).

Similarly, citizenship has been interpreted according to the ideology of the state and its regime into four models; “the liberal, the communitarian, the civic republican and the critical citizenship” (Hoskins et al., 2012:9). Liberal citizenship refers to a “legal status, while stressing political liberty and freedom from interference by other citizens and political authority” (Campbell et al., 2010: 23). Communitarian citizenship is defined as “participation in civil society, the voluntary sector that lies outside work and government”

(Lewin, 2009:552). By contrast, civic republican citizenship indicates “a model of rule that places the individual at the center suggesting he/she is capable of being ruled and of ruling. This view of citizenship focuses on the person as a political agent” (Campbell et al., 2010:23). Critical citizenship focuses on “a more dynamic view of democracy that is grounded in critical and engaged citizens” (Hoskins et al., 2012:11).

As can be seen from the foregoing discussion, the concept of citizenship in the modern state has evolved as a result of political, social and economic development in most countries of the world, as well as the impact of globalization and the revolution in communications and the Internet, to become a democracy. It involves people in governance and the achievement of the principles of equality and political pluralism and human rights, which are the pillars of citizenship in the contemporary and modern state (Ali, 2007 cited in Karoani, 2012).

In this context, Fishman and Pitksnen (2007: xi) have viewed citizenship as an “inalienable human right”, which remains in effect even if people migrate. Nevertheless, nation-states desire to sustain homogeneity and distribution of sovereignty to include their native members rather than foreigners and this is reflected in their allocation of rights and responsibilities among their inhabitants.

According to what was mentioned above, the concept of citizenship clarifies the legal relationship between a state and its people in regard to their belonging, duties, and social and political rights according to the criteria, legislations and privileges categorised by their state. However, others view citizenship as a comprehensive status, which not only focuses

on how individuals perform their duties, exercise rights or obey laws but also focuses on all the aspects of individuals' life and the surrounding social environment, as Reese argued:

The proper form of citizenship is not merely a matter of efficiency in public office, or in voting, or in mere obedience to law, rather, it involves all aspects of life including home, school, and community relations.
(Reese, 1998:88)

Thus, the concept of citizenship is interpreted in two main ways; firstly, a restricted or narrow interpretation of citizenship, which views citizenship in terms of the perspective of a state constitution, which grants citizenship in accordance with the laws and regulations issued by the State, taking into account the rights of the individual being a member of this state, such as the right to make a decision. Secondly, a broad interpretation of the concept of citizenship, which believes that the individual as a human being has basic rights, which include citizenship rights, such as the right to belong socially and politically to a society, the right to education, and the right of involvement in public values (Chistolini, 2010:79).

5.3. Citizenship and Education

Interestingly, there is a close connection between citizenship and education in several dimensions. Firstly, both citizenship and education are considered as among the official rights of citizens, which are mentioned in both the International Declaration of Human Rights and in national legislations of different countries. Secondly, education is considered as a means to enhance the practice and virtues of citizenship among young people (McCowan and Gomez, 2012:17). Thirdly, citizenship and education usually focus on citizens within the borders of a specific country becoming “good citizens” and functioning according to a particular political order. Therefore, this relationship is always affected by

the political situation, so much so that it is debated under political discourses. In this regard, Hodgson stated that:

The relation is overlooked by a field subsumed under the language of policy to which its work responds and according to whose discursive regimes its ways of thinking are shaped.
(Hodgson, 2008:434)

Basically, citizenship defines the rights of citizens, confers their identity, and also identifies their duties and responsibilities as determined by their state. Meanwhile, citizenship education is a means to interpret citizenship for students so that they may become effective citizens. In other words, citizenship education teaches young people how to know their rights and responsibilities and also it clarifies their duties in their society to become good citizens. Consequently, citizenship education is considered “one of the traditional approaches to values education” (Kirschenbam, 1995; cited in Hoge, 2002:103).

However, the definition of citizenship education is affected by several environmental factors in the country in which it is applied, such as historical background, geographical location, social and political framework, economic situation, and global forces, such as the significant progress in information and technologies, the effects of political and economy globalisation, which lead to political and economic changes, increased awareness of minorities’ rights, change in women’s role in society, increase of people's mobility inside and outside the national borders of states, increase in the global population, and creation of a global society (Kerr, 1999). Hence, there have been many attempts to define citizenship education. For instance, Kerr considered citizenship education as a comprehensive preparation process within schools that prepares students for their roles and responsibilities, as he argued that:

Citizenship education is construed broadly to encompass the preparation of young people for their roles and responsibilities as citizens and, in particular, the role of education (through school, teaching and learning) in that preparatory process.
(Kerr, 1999: 6)

In addition, William and Humphrys (2003) argued that citizenship comprises vital elements related to individuals, such as ensuring their rights, duties, participation, and belonging to a particular state as effective citizens; thus, citizenship education can be considered as an approach which increases individuals' understanding of those elements and their ability to become effective citizens. Also, citizenship education can be considered as a helpful tool to create citizens who become a part of the country in which they live and have a formal identification, which ensures their rights and responsibilities, consistent with shared social expectations in their country. Rayan (1993; cited in Baraka, 2003:4) defined citizenship education as "the set of values that build the individual's loyalty in serving its country to the extent to the self-sacrifice when needed". Similarly, Hoge (2002:105) defines citizenship education as "any conscious or overt effort to develop students' knowledge of government, law, and politics as those have evolved through history and presently operate in our society". Also, citizenship education is defined as:

A set of characteristics and attributes that...create in students the capacity to bear responsibility, participation, mutual collaboration between two parties, acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to solve problems in their society with object and scientific approaches, and practice of critical thinking on contemporary and controversial issues that face their society.
(Hamed, 2005; cited in Baraka, 2003:4)

However, citizenship education need not be confined to school but can be considered a lifelong learning process for all people from cradle to grave, irrespective of age, as Fishman and Pitkanen (2007:32) suggested: "Learning citizenship is a lifelong and changing process which cannot be successfully completed in childhood or early adulthood". Thus, all people anywhere, not only in schools but also in the home, and at work, can learn citizenship, to

become active citizens. This type of learning, which is called active citizenship, is considered as an essential demand in countries of cultural diversity. Therefore, it changes according to a country's circumstances and the relations between the receiver country and new residents (ibid).

According to the above definitions, despite variations, there are three common emphases: allegiance (sense of belonging to a particular in group, e.g., the nation); rights (benefits to which the citizen is entitled by virtue of belonging; and responsibilities) duties, (such as obedience, or economic and social contributions) owed by the citizen to the group. The form taken by each of these elements, and the emphases and priorities among them, however, differ from time to time and place to place. While modern Western literature views citizenship and its components in liberal democratic terms, as a positive force, in some regimes, the way citizenship is interpreted has privileged some while allowing marginalization or exclusion of others. Similarly, citizenship education can be used for progressive or regressive purposes, in different contexts. Whilst it has just been argued that there are three common emphases in citizenship education, it is illuminating to examine how the emphases are developed across different contexts, for example in the West and in Libya. In sub-sections, 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7, this issue will be examined from a western perspective in 5.5, and from an Arab perspective in 5.6 and 5.7. The purpose of these sections is to reveal the different ways in which citizenship and citizenship education has emerged in both contexts.

5.4. The Evolution of Citizenship and Citizenship Education

As the previous section indicated, citizenship and citizenship education have been subject to multiple interpretations, depending on context. This section explores in more detail how, historically, notions of citizenship have changed, giving rise to various emphases in citizenship education based on the political, social and cultural situations, and the local demands of individuals.

Historically, citizenship education developed according to the development of states and their perspective on the concept of citizenship. Citizenship education emerged in the West with the development of citizenship that started with the establishment of the Greek city state and Roman Empire, and continued to flourish throughout the history of human nations until the present day. The first stage of citizenship education was in the Greek city state where citizenship was defined politically and was considered the path to freedom. According to Heater (2004b:17), in the Greek city state, “citizenship was a political concept and status, defining the citizen’s political function” and citizenship education took place in schools and focused on military service. Also, Greek citizenship was a right of free men only, while slaves and women were excluded. Thus, citizenship education was managed by the state and confined to free men, who had rights of citizenship and prepared them for careers as soldiers, judges, jurors, and administrators (Heater, 1990:5). The Greeks determined three objectives for the practice of citizenship education: to teach young people about their responsibility to contribute to the cohesiveness of the community, how to exercise their duties as citizens, and their legal, social, and political rights (Heater, 2004a:2).

The second stage of citizenship education was in Rome. According to Heater (2004a) in the first period of the Roman republic, law was dominant and citizenship was a legal right granted to citizens, in order to ensure loyalty to Rome, whereas education was a responsibility of the family and was focused on interpretation of law and life within the law. As Kostakopoulou (2008) noted, Rome laid a positive form of citizenship that granted legal rights to people, which were not linked to the political contribution of citizens. Therefore, it included all people, which led to the expansion of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, Heater (2004b:17) stated that “Roman citizenship was more complex, flexible, and legalistic and, increasingly over time, generous”. Therefore, in the late republic and the early Empire, political citizenship emerged and then citizenship education for young people was moved from the family’s responsibility to public schools that focused on specific political education, instead of focusing on civic education such as “teaching the history of past heroes, patriotic songs, and recitation of the Twelve Table” (ibid:19). In response to the writings of many scholars such as Cicero and Livy, “the good Roman citizen, like the good Greek, must be possessed of virtue- the willingness to serve his state” (Heater, 2004b:18). Heater (2004a) added that family education was unable to create a sufficient learning environment; therefore, public education was established. In this regard, Cicero declared:

Our people have never wished to have any system of education for the freer-born which is either definitely fixed by law, or officially established, our uniform in all classes, though the Greeks have expended much vain labour on this problem.
(Cicero, 1928 (a): IV, 3:233)

Moreover, Quintilian noted that family education did not teach students the skills of oratory. Accordingly, formal education became more dominant during the empire era, when several public schools were established and the principles of oratory introduced by

Quintilian were taught, in order to encourage oratorical speech during debate on public affairs, to be more persuasive (Heater, 2004a). Such education aimed at promoting effective participation in legal, economic and social decision-making.

Following fragmentation of the Roman Empire, the medieval period saw the third stage of citizenship education. This era was characterized by a feudal system built on the relationship between lords and vassals, dominance of the church, increased commercial activities, and establishment of guilds. Politically, feudalism relied on faith, trust, adherence to law, and personal local loyalty or “fealty” to lord or to king, which was linked with birthplace. Under these circumstances, the classical political meaning of citizenship disappeared (Kostakopoulou, 2008).

During the Renaissance came a fourth stage of citizenship education. The most significant features of this period were the foundation of modern states, centralization of power, and emergence of national citizenship as it changed from the personal and local level in town or city to the national level. Furthermore, there was re-emergence of the classical meaning of citizenship, mainly brought about by a notable shift in human thought towards the Greek and Roman vision (Heater, 2004a). Citizens realized the advantages of freedom, civic virtues, and exercise of political rights as the route to best government. Furthermore, new thoughts appeared, such as the work of Machiavelli, who admired republican ideas, which led to creation of republican governments (Kostakopoulou, 2008). Citizenship was categorized by Marshall according to its historical development into three forms: civil citizenship, political, and social citizenship, and it was in the fifth stage of citizenship education, in the 18th century, that civil citizenship emerged due to the increased activities of political capitalist systems, which emphasised individual rights, protection of property,

and equality instead of law and civil liberties (Marshall and Bottomore, 1992). Hence, throughout this period citizenship education centred on civic purposes, such as history and civic virtues, and encouraged students to become aware of their duties as citizens in order to enhance civic humanism (Heater, 2004a). By the mid-nineteenth century, political citizenship arose, due to the efforts of liberal theorists who emphasized political rights of citizens as an essential demand for their freedom and also encouraged them to participate and engage in various political activities. As Marshall argued, the focus was on

The right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested in with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body.
(Marshall, 1950:11)

By the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, according to Marshall (1950), there was a lack of social rights, remarkable increases in poverty and social inequality, and citizenship excluded women. Attempts to address these issues led to progress of social citizenship. Also, growth of the welfare state brought social citizenship, which focused on universal rights and emphasized broad inclusion for all citizens from various social classes without distinction to enjoy welfare rights and state provision in their community (Dwyer, 2010). Consequently, education, health, and social security were provided extensively to all citizens.

In the 21st century, with the challenges of globalisation, the sixth stage of citizenship education began, with the emergence of global citizenship. According to McIntyre-Mills (2000) global citizenship led to a shift in the rights and responsibilities of citizens towards the global level instead of the national. As, Young and Commins (2002:1) argued, “Global citizenship is a way of thinking and behaving. It is an outlook on life, a belief that we can

make a difference”. Thus, citizenship education aims to create global citizens who can cope with the globalisation challenges. Those global citizens, who are aware of their role and responsibility as global citizens, respect cultural diversity, know about political, cultural, social and economic situations worldwide, support social justice, and participate in community locally and globally (ibid).

Recently, some critics have argued that citizenship education includes digital citizenship education, which teaches students the ethics of digital activities, not only to access and recognize available information in cyberspace and enable them to participate in digital conservation, but also to prevent problems that arise with the digital and technological lifestyle such as ‘cyber bullying’. Thus, schools have become an important element of a ‘digital health initiative’ (Ohler, 2011:26).

According to what was stated above, the concepts of citizenship and citizenship education, at least as documented in Western societies, have evolved through ancient and modern history with the development of human societies politically, socially and economically, and according to the requirements of individuals and political groups. Kerr (1999:4), for instance, argued that “the concept of citizenship is coming under increasing strain in all countries from the myriad pressures brought by people trying to live and work together in modern societies”. Furthermore, citizenship and citizenship education in societies are influenced by national regulations, laws and legislations that determine the relationship between political bodies and citizens within their borders and also interpret the meaning of citizen in regard to duties, rights and belonging. In this respect, Bottery (2003) argued that citizenship refers to a relationship between individuals and the political body, which has

actually passed through several historical changes. As a consequence, citizenship changed from

The highly participative if parochial involvement of the citizen in the Ancient Greek city state, through the development of Roman nations of civic virtue, on to the variety of claims upon the medieval citizen, and then to the secular emphasis of the Renaissance.
(Bottery, 2003:103)

It must be acknowledged, however, that this perspective on the evolution of citizenship education is very Western-oriented, and the particular allegiances, rights and responsibilities developed owe much to the specific historical, economic and social circumstances. The developed countries were not built based on a particular historical, tribal or ethnic identity, but they consisted of a group of historical, tribal and ethnic societies integrated with each other on the basis of one social ladder, one country, and common interest. Those countries did not stop at these regional borders, but also continuously worked to develop the experience and strength of national unity according to a law, which ensured freedom for all and dealt with all on the basis of unity of citizenship. As a consequence, the negative impacts of historical, tribal and ethnic discrimination were diminished by the establishment of a systemic social ladder, which creates citizens who have a psychological feeling and ability of moving towards upholding commonality with others, and respecting points of difference (Kalaa, 2014). As Heater (1999) argued, in the developed countries, citizenship extended from local to global level according to the demands of the contemporary world and for enhancing practice of democracy in the form of multiple citizenship, through “evolution of many effective regional institutions, global bodies, and the current global civil society networks” (Heater,1999:148). Multiple citizenship means multiple knowledge, allegiances, belongings, and multiple rights and responsibilities. Consequently,

Citizens are expected to be loyal to their state, to their region or town, to the civil society bodies to which they belong, to the European Union, and to the whole planet.
(ibid: 149).

Similarly, Durose et al., (2009) reported that the current citizenship in the UK reflects multiple or nested citizenship brought by globalisation, where there are three dimensions of citizenship: citizenship as status, citizenship as rights and responsibilities and citizenship as identity.

From a sociological point of view, for instance, Najam (2011) argues that formation of human societies is an essential human characteristic and universal phenomena that can only be achieved through a coherent and unified society, which consists of good components, starting from an excellent group and developing to an excellent nation, and spreads even to include the whole world.

5.5. Factors influencing Citizenship Education in Western Countries

Education potentially plays an important role in addressing several social and political problems worldwide. Therefore, education has been reformed in both developed and developing countries according to their political and social situations and individuals' demands. In this sense, according to Sears et al., (2007) education in most developed countries has been reformed by introducing citizenship education in order to face several crises that emerged due to cultural, political and social ideological changes.

Accordingly, notable attention has been paid to citizenship education in most developed countries, due to the key role played by the citizenship education in teaching young people how to exercise democratic life. So, there have been a number of efforts from many politicians and educators in the developed world that call for more consideration to be given to citizenship education, especially by focusing on the values of democracy, in order to promote political engagement of young citizens in democratic life.

Thus, in most developed countries, throughout history, citizenship education passed through several stages of development. According to Hodgson (2008) for example, in the United Kingdom, citizenship education was introduced in the nineteen sixties to provide students with information related to the British constitution, while, in the seventies it was given within political educational programmes to enhance political literacy. During the eighties, citizenship education centred on some prevalent problems such as race and nuclear weapons, and then it focused on human rights and responsibility, before application of the National Curriculum. Then in 1990, as a result of a weakness of democracy on the one hand and increase in state power on the other hand, citizenship education was introduced as a cross-curricular theme but not a mandatory subject to promote community involvement and political literacy. Finally, in 2002, citizenship education was introduced as a legal and mandatory subject within the National Curriculum in order to tackle social and cultural problems, especially those related to social and cultural diversity and increased migration and to enhance democratic life among young people (ibid). Citizenship education was introduced within the National Curriculum in order “to create greater awareness of, and participation in democratic institutions and processes in the UK, and to engender an inclusive society” (Leighton, 2004:167). Equally, according to what was mentioned in the Crick Report, citizenship education aims to:

Make secure and to increase the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy; also to enhance the awareness of rights and duties, and the sense of responsibilities needed for the development of pupils into active citizens; and in so doing to establish the value to individuals, schools and society of involvement in the local and wider community.
(Lawton, 2005: 128)

In UK schools, active citizenship was explicitly emphasized in the QCA report and effective citizenship education has focused on three main dimensions: social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy in order to reinforce citizenship education and learning of democracy. The QCA report explained its aims as follows:

To provide advice on effective education for citizenship in schools – to include the nature and practices of participation in democracy; the duties, responsibilities and rights of individuals as citizens; and the value to individuals and society of community activity.
(QCA, 1998:4)

- **Social and Moral Responsibilities**

The QCA considers social and moral responsibility as essential preconditions for citizenship, with emphasis on

Children learning from the very beginning self-confidence and socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and beyond the classroom, both towards those in authority and towards each other.
(QCA, 1998:11)

Social and moral responsibilities are a crucial precondition for citizenship because they are concerned with who individuals respect and care for others, their rights and responsibilities including recognising how their actions effect others. The aim is to foster reciprocal communication between individuals and the society in which they live (QCA, 1998). Students need to understand what it means to have rights and responsibilities and how these rights and responsibilities change with each stage of growth (QCA, 1998). Citizenship

education should teach students about their legal rights and responsibilities (political, human, social, civic and moral) and the government and civic organisations charged with protecting those rights. Students also need to recognise there may be competition and conflict over these rights and how to achieve a balance between rights and social obligations (Qualification and Curriculum Authority, 2007:29).

- **Community involvement**

Citizenship education provides students with information about the social structure of UK society to enhance national identity. The (Qualification and Curriculum Authority, 1998) report states:

A main aim for the whole community should be to found or restore a sense of common citizenship, including a national identity that is secure enough to find a place in the plurality of nations, cultures, ethnic identities and religion long found in the United Kingdom. Citizenship education creates a common ground between different ethnic and religious identities.
(QCA, 1998:17)

In this sense, citizenship education is aiming to strengthen the connection between students and their local communities through active citizenship. This approach expands citizenship education beyond school to the wider community by engaging students in many community-based activities such as “interpretation, participation and investigation” (Nelson and Kerr, 2005:7). According to Nelson and Kerr, in the UK citizenship education is applied across three contexts:

Citizenship within the curriculum/classroom (enabling the development of knowledge and understanding and relevant skills). Active citizenship within the school/ organizational culture (enabling active participation in school democratic structure as well as the development of knowledge, understanding and skills). Active citizenship through links with the wider community (enabling volunteering or active participation in a wider context as well as the development of knowledge, understanding and skills).
(Nelson and Kerr, 2005:8)

Active citizenship is designed to foster greater participation in the local community, for example, through voluntary work that helps to address social challenges. In this respect, Potter (2002) suggested that:

Active citizenship would step forward and volunteer to fill the gap between growing personal needs and the necessary limited provision of the state. In this context active citizenship became an extension of Victorian philanthropy. (Potter, 2002:19)

Through voluntary work, students in UK schools have an opportunity to acquire more information about public services, organizations by "interacting with public authorities, publicising, fundraising, recruiting members and then trying to activate them" (QCA,1998:12). Students can be involved in the local community through "intergenerational projects peer education, developing local facilities and talking to politicians, police and community leaders" (Citizenship Foundation, 2006:10). Citizenship education can also help students to understand the meaning of charity and justice (QCA, 1998). Arthur et al., (2000) and Ireland et al., (2006:52) pointed out that citizenship education offers an opportunity to participate in "fundraising and charitable organizations" through community involvement.

Furthermore, citizenship education can equip students with critical thinking and enquiry skills. Firstly, by teaching them how to explore various issues and problems and helping them to make informed judgments that reflect their opinions and views. Students may engage in discussions of typical issues and problems including citizenship issues and be encouraged to use a distancing technique to help them consider the views and perspectives of others. Secondly, students can gather information, evaluate and assess several social issues or challenges by conducting research, investigations, and case studies (Qualification and Curriculum Authority, 2007:30). Additionally, Citizenship education provides students

with information about the meaning of social justice, which helps them to understand the reasons behind poverty and social inequalities (Oxfam, 2006).

The UK has become a complex society with increased cultural diversity and the collapse of the traditional family role. The QCA (1998) has suggested that citizenship education should strengthen the sense of national citizenship by focusing on the unity of various ethnic and religious identities. This approach teaches students about social minorities, and how to understand and respect laws, codes and conventions of majority and minority groups, not only in the UK, but also in Europe and worldwide (QCA, 1998:18). Students learn about the nature and history of their own communities, how to comprehend cultural diversity, and how to respect their own rights and those of others (QCA, 1998). The aim is to equip students with the knowledge and understanding they need to live and perform effectively within culturally diverse societies (ibid).

The UK recognizes the need to address gender issues, since gender inequalities are “counter to human rights and effective participation in effective decision-making” (Claire and Holden, 2006, not paginated). Critics have noted that there is little explicit reference to gender in the National Curriculum programme. Claire and Holden (2006) agree that girls outperform boys in schools, yet this achievement is not reflected in the earning power and political role of women, due to systemic inequalities in society. Within citizenship education teachers will address gender issues with two aims in mind: understanding the status quo and working towards a better society. There may be contextual differences in how this balance is struck. The key areas of citizenship education including globalisation, the economy, human rights, political knowledge and engagement, identity and community can all be interpreted from a gender perspective. Consequently, citizenship education can

increase awareness of gender issues, for example, by including statistics about gender inequity that clearly indicate the differences between males and females. In UK schools, students may be given data about the highest and lowest paid jobs and encouraged to engage in discussions about the existing differences between males and females, the reasons behind these differences and the possibility of bringing about change, now and in the future. Schools can provide crucial opportunities for girls by facilitating their participation in school councils and the like (Claire and Holden, 2006).

- **Political Literacy**

According to the QCA (1998) the term political literacy refers not only political knowledge, but to all the knowledge, skills and values that enable students to participate effectively in public life. In this regard, the term “public life” is used in its broadest sense to encompass the knowledge and skills that students require to become active decision-makers who can contribute to resolving social and economic problems at a local, national and international level (QCA, 1998:13).

Citizenship education can teach students about democracy, including elections and voting processes, how parliament works, and the role of MPs and government. School council can offer students the opportunity to take part in decision-making. This approach aims to teach them how the democratic principles of justice, respect and freedom are understood and valued according to the different political views and social/cultural situations of individuals (Qualification and Curriculum Authority, 2007:28). Breslin, et al., (2006) argue that such an approach provides students with the information and knowledge that enhances both a sense of national cohesion among young people and the well-being of wider society.

In the UK, citizenship education aims to provide students with skills and knowledge required for democratic participation within schools and the wider community through active citizenship (Nelson and Kerr, 2005). For example, as members of a school council, students may participate in drawing up policy and practice recommendations for local schools, agencies and authorities, as well as using schools internet facilities and in house publications to communicate recommendations to the general public (Nelson and Kerr, 2005).

Additionally, the QCA (1998) recommended that citizenship education be used to encourage change and development locally, nationally and globally. Strategies for enhancing “informed participation” can prepare students for life not only in the UK, but worldwide (QCA, 1998:14). In the UK, active citizenship facilitates participation and engagement in the process of learning through discussion, negotiation and reflection (QCA, 2001a). As a basic right of citizenship, equal participation is the measure of a democracy (Hart, 1992). Consequently, the QCA report (1998) cites student participation as the core element of citizenship education (Wood, 2006), which is considered not only as a subject, but also as an activity that aims to prepare students for adult life (QCA, 1998:8).

Crick noted that “England was the last country in Europe not to have citizenship as a subject in a national curriculum” (Crick, 2002:488) According to Heater (2004a) making citizenship education a core element of the National Curriculum brought the UK up to the same level as other countries, and in advance of them in some subjects.

Similarly, in the USA, citizenship education was introduced within the curriculum and has been labelled in various ways; firstly, government education, in which students were taught

information about forms and tasks of government such as the voting process. Secondly, civic education, which concentrates on virtues of living and exercise of democratic rights, for instance participation in debate on issues that require resolution. Thirdly, citizenship education, which focuses on the responsibility of individuals for their own behaviours and for the welfare of others (Williams and Humphrys, 2003:236). Hence, in the USA citizenship education plays a vital role in the development of civic virtues that are seen as an essential demand for modern democratic life in general and also, to address democratic crises and a significant rise of certain issues such as a lack of cultural homogeneity, in particular. A statement by the National Council for Social Studies reported reduced voter turnout and civic participation, and increased cultural diversity, circumstances which led to increased calls for more attention to be paid to developing the aims of citizenship education, with a focus on promoting civic virtues (Hoge, 2002:105). Therefore, “citizenship education is considered a bulwark against such decay” (Sears et al., 2007:52). In America, national cohesion and solidarity is achieved by fostering patriotism among young people. The teaching of American history provides students with narratives about past heroic figures and encourages participation in patriotic activities, such as national celebrations, anniversary celebrations and singing the national anthem (Lin and Huang, 2001:85).

Furthermore, Print (1996) mentioned that in Australia there has been great concern about declining social trends related to civic knowledge and participation, which have negatively affected the meaning of democratic government, and this has been attributed to limited commitment to citizenship education. In the Dominican Republic, citizenship education aims to help students to effectively exercise their rights and fulfil their duties in a democracy, help students to participate in the process of decision-making in school and the

wider community, promote democratic attitudes among students and prepare them to fulfil their responsibilities toward themselves, their families and their society (Schulz et al., 2011).

In Mexico, citizenship education aims to prepare students for democratic society, to enhance democracy and develop a democratic way of life, fostering justice and gender equality, to provide students with skills required for democratic exercise, to provide students with democratic principles and procedures, to provide students with information about human rights, and to help students to act critically regarding public representatives and authorities (ibid).

Accordingly, citizenship education in the developed countries has shifted to focus on reinforcement of the main values of citizenship as follows:

5.5.1. Citizenship Education and Social Rights

Citizenship education might help young people to acquire new knowledge and skills that enable them to cope with the challenges of rapid changes in society. Thus, citizenship education can assist students to identify their rights and responsibilities as citizens within the borders of the state and might help to generate effective citizens who listen to others and understand their perspective. In this sense, Fishman and Pitkanen (2007) claimed that citizenship education teaches pupils how to respect their rights and others' rights, and educates them to become aware citizens according to the organisation of the state, which finances those schools. In the same way, the authors of the 2008 National Curriculum in the UK claimed that "citizenship education equips young people with the knowledge, skills and

understanding to play an effective role in public life” (Gearon, 2010:196). Similarly, Falata (2010) suggested that citizenship education can help to enhance students’ awareness of their rights by helping them to understand the meaning and types of rights and also provide them with information about the International Organizations of Human Rights, such as Child Rights Organizations. It can inform them of the international covenants on human rights and how to exercise such rights. The QCA reported that social and moral responsibilities are a crucial precondition for citizenship in society because they concern how individuals respect and care for themselves and others. Taking personal responsibility for actions and how they affect others fosters better communication among individuals and society in which they live (QCA, 1998).

Generally speaking, citizenship education aims to supply young people with a range of information about their citizenship, rights and duties. Also, it can help them to exercise correctly their rights and duties. Williams and Humphrys (2003) concluded that citizenship education aims to increase young people's ability to practise their citizenship properly.

5.5.2. Citizenship Education and Political Rights

Citizenship education aims to provide young people with knowledge and information about how the state is formed, how it works, and how it influences the actual life of people. Citizenship education might promote political literacy by providing young people with a range of knowledge and information related to government institutions and functions. Also, citizenship education can supply pupils with government knowledge including values which are an essential need for a democratic society such as “freedom, equality, justice, authority, truth, human rights, patriotism, participation, diversity, property, and privacy”

(Butts,1988). Thus, understanding of such values might in turn lead to the development of young people's rights and increase their participation in debates of social and political issues and encourage them to express their views.

In addition, citizenship education can assist in preparing students to be active members in their democratic society and foster their participation in democratic life. In this regard, Hoge (2002) argues that the main role of citizenship education is to teach students three core areas: democratic government, laws, and policies. Citizenship education aims to help students to engage in the election process in their schools and greater community (Homana et al., 2006). Citizenship education aims to provide students with information and skills about political activities, such as the voting process in order to encourage them to engage effectively in political activities and also it aims to encourage students to participate into voluntary work in their community (QCA, 1998). Also, Hammett and Staeheli (2009) argue that citizenship education aims to encourage students to engage in voluntary work, to help students to understand their rights and duties, to help students to understand the political structure in their country, to teach students how to participate in the election process and also to help them to understand their responsibilities toward themselves, their families and their country. Additionally, citizenship education can help to provide students with information about civil society, such as defining politics and conceptualizing civil society in order to guarantee political rights and facilitate "individuals' self-development" (Howard and Patten,2006:46).

5.5.3. Citizenship Education and National Sense

Citizenship education can promote the growth of political and national awareness among the new generation since it can help pupils to understand the meaning of identity and belonging. In most developed countries, citizenship education is intended to play a key role in enhancing patriotism and loyalty to a nation among students; Arnot and Dillabough (2000:122) mentioned that in the USA, citizenship education was considered “a means of inculcating patriotism and loyalty to the nation, of constructing a shared political identity”. In the same way, Bottery (2003:103) mentioned that education was utilized to build Italian nationalism when the Italian nationalist, D’ Azeglio, asserted “We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians” (Hobsbawm, 1992:44; cited in Bottery, 2003).

Similarly, in Canada citizenship education witnessed government interest. It was used as a means to enhance national identities and unity during the nineteen sixties and seventies, when various crises dramatically increased such as “the sense of exclusion among young people, women, cultural minorities, persons with disabilities and tensions between migrants” (Sears, 1996; cited in Sears et al., 2007:45). Furthermore, with the formation and growth of European citizenship education assisted to build European pan-nationalism.

5.5.4. Citizenship Education and Cultural Diversity and Gender Equality

Citizenship education can help to establish a common culture, especially in societies that consist of several cultures, in order to respect minorities (Hebert and Sear, 2001). Also, citizenship education aims to prepare students to become global citizens who understand and respect cultural diversity in their society (Davies, 2006). Thus, citizenship education is

considered not only an approach to prepare young people to become active citizens in their local community, but also it can prepare them to become good citizens in the national and global community. In this light, citizenship education is viewed as:

An opportunity for children and young people to reflect on local, national and global issues, on their own beliefs and values as young citizens, and on the kind of society in which they wish to live.
(Halstead and Pike, 2006:14)

Similarly, Lawton et al., (2000) claimed that citizenship education aims to provide young people with knowledge, skills, understanding, and values, which enable them to become effective citizens not only at local and national levels in their society but also at international levels. Also, Jerome and Turner (2001) argued that citizenship education aims to enable students to become aware of cultural diversity in society as well as increasing political awareness among them in order to increase their political interest.

Moreover, citizenship education can play a vital role during the globalisation era in the creation of citizens who support human justice and equality, refuse discrimination, and are keen to support global peace and sustainability of life in the world. Citizenship education can also increase students' awareness and their responsibility regarding existing issues in their own community and worldwide. In order to enhance their critical thinking about these issues, for example, it can provide students with information about racism, the reality of marginalisation, stereotypes and minorities in the world and the issues that they suffer. Citizenship education aims to teach students to how to think critically about issues that face them and others and help them to express their views, in order to judge and understand these issues (Cornwell and Stoddard, 2006). Citizenship education can help to encourage students to think critically about issues in their life and help them to produce possible solutions (Australian Curriculum, 2012). Citizenship education can help to create global

citizens who have an independent personality that enables them to speak up about global and local subjects such as human rights and justice. Also, it can help them to make independent choices among economic options (Young and Commins, 2002). Additionally, Arthur et al., (2008) argue that:

An important aim of citizenship education should be to help students develop global identifications. They also need to develop a deep understanding of the need to take action as citizen of the global community to help solve the world's difficult global problems, such as war, genocide, and global warming. (Arthur et al., 2008: 62)

In the UK citizenship education addresses the cultural diversity that exists amongst the four nations that constitute the UK (England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales) and from migration, including the recent influx of migrants from the European Union (EU). The aim is to encourage respect and appreciation for varied expressions of cultural identity and the dynamic interactive nature of cultures. Ajegbo, et al., (2007) used action research and a case study approaches to explore the economic, social and political reasons for diversity in the UK population. This research was intended to help students reflect on what it means to have a UK identity and values, the legacy of the slave trade, immigration and more recently, devolution. This type of research fulfils the aim of the QCA (1998) by enhancing the connections between several ethnic and religious identities to foster national citizenship (QCA, 1998:18).

Citizenship education can provide students with a deeper understanding of gender inequalities as a national and global issue. Zajda, et al., (2008:118) argued that global citizenship education aims to provide young people with information about the main subjects of “justice, equality, tolerance and peace”. As a result, recently, “there are some attempts to address gender equality and to show how female citizenship issues affect global, national and

local communities” (ibid:118). Citizenship education can alert students and encourage them to view gender inequality in all its aspects: social, political and economic. In the UK, students are shown statistics on the differences and similarities between genders and asked to think about the reasons for these inequalities and how to deal with them (Claire and Holden, 2006).

5.6. Citizenship in the Arab Countries

This section reviews the historical nature and development of citizenship in Arab countries. It will focus on citizenship in Arab countries pre-Islam, during the Islamic period, in modern Arab history: after independence and during the foundation of the modern state.

5.6.1. Citizenship in the Arab countries before Islam

Arabs lived in nomadic tribes, which were based on blood and kinship ties among members. From a tribal perspective, a homeland was a tent set up where water and pasture were available. On this old Arab model, the current political concept of homeland did not exist, as tribes moved from one place to another. Therefore, the tribe became a homeland, which changed wherever the tribe went to travel in search of food, security, or both. However, life in each tribe was governed by custom. On the one hand, according to the custom, individuals were considered “citizens” in the tribe, with rights and duties. For example, they shared water, pasture and family security. On the other hand, individuals were expected to participate in the protection of the tribe and face the necessary consequences of war and peace. Custom (often unwritten), served as a “social contract”

which made individuals into “citizens”, the tribe into a miniature model of a state, and the temporary place of encampment into a “homeland”. This custom applied to all the members of the tribe, even those who were outside the tribe for some reason, never ceased their loyalty to their tribe. They remained linked to the custom of their tribe, were committed to it and took advantage of it (Zeila, 2006). Tribal ties were based on blood and descent, and not on belief. Also, each tribe had a Sheikh, who enjoyed parental authority, which was expected to be exercised with compassion. There was also a tribal council in which the tribal sheikh met with clan leaders to consult on matters of the tribe in war and peace (Al-Samurai, 2009).

From the above view of the tribe, it can be argued that despite the absence of the current concepts of a political state and citizenship, Arabs knew a life in groups, and had a sense of individuals’ rights and duties, loyalty and belonging (Al-Malah, 2009; cited in Al-Tae, 2010).

5.6.2. Citizenship in Islam

According to the Quran, God ordered the Prophet Muhammad to consult Muslims on various affairs of life, and involve them in the decision-making. The Quran stipulates: “[O Muhammad] consult them in the matter. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah” (The Quran, chapter, ‘Āli `Imrān, Verse, 159). In the first year following the migration to Medina in 623 AD, the Prophet Muhammad in consultation with his companion issued a Constitution, the Medina Constitution, which is considered the first constitution of the first Islamic state. The Constitution, signed by the main non-Muslim

tribes that lived in Medina at that time, was a covenant between Muslims and non-Muslims (Jews and pagans who did not convert to Islam), which gave all of them their rights and duties as citizens and was binding on all residents of Medina for a long time (Ibrahim, 2014). This constitution consisted of fifty items that regulated all aspects of life, social, political, economic and religious. Some of these items related to the private matters of Muslims, and others concerned the relationship between Muslims and those of other religions (Al-Malah, 2007; cited in Al-Shaheen, 2009). It allowed adherents of other religions to live with Muslims and conduct their rituals freely, without harassment. All residents, Muslim and non-Muslim, were equal in responsibility for the defence of Medina in the event of attack. It can be argued that the Medina constitution confirmed two main points; firstly, with regard to faith, every human being had a right to religion, and in this respect, everyone was responsible before God and not a state. Secondly, regarding worldly affairs, all Medina's citizens were equal, regardless of their religious beliefs. Accordingly, from the first point was derived the concept of religious freedom, and from the second point, the principle of responsibility and equality of citizens before the government (Ibrahim, 2014). All the individuals and groups that took Medina as their homeland (Muslims, Jews and others) were citizens equal in rights and duties, regardless of religious belief (Al-Malah, 2009; cited in Al-Tae, 2010). Arguably, at that time, Islam was not considered as a condition of citizenship, and this indicates that a nation state based on Islam must be based on citizenship that ensures equality in rights and duties, regardless of religious belief. Regarding the homeland, the Prophet did not forget his tribe, the Quraish, or his hometown, Mecca. Muslims in Medina were called Ansar and immigrants. Ansar were those people of Medina who converted to Islam and greeted the Prophet in their city, while the immigrants were the Muslims of Mecca who migrated with the Prophet to Medina. On the love of homeland, the Prophet said, " Love of homeland is part of faith"

and he also said, "Oh God make our love for Medina as our love for Mecca" and he repeated this saying whenever he felt alienated. Also, he encouraged his companions to love their homeland (Zeila, 2006).

5.6.3. Citizenship in the Modern Arab History

In the ancient Arab context, it is difficult to find a historical root for the concept of citizenship or a state, although some scholars have tried to address the concept of citizenship, for instance, Abdul Hafeez (2014) reported that Ibn Khaldun discussed the concept of citizenship in the Arab world, although he belonged to Sunia, and also he supported the Islamic caliphate. Basically, Ibn Khaldun did not write to justify the Islamic caliphate, but to look at the nature of political authority (Al-molk) and its components, rather than the legitimacy of this authority. Ibn Khaldun did not depend on Islamic law "Fiqh" and the dogma asserted by religious scholars to understand the Islamic reality, but he depended on politics. He chose new areas, history and civilization (al-umaran al-bashari), from which to address the nature of political authority. His historical investigations suggested the separation of religion and state in the Muslim community, except the first prophetic message, and he argued that the nature of Arab political authority was based on tribalism or "clannishness" (Asabiyyah) as he called it. From the perspective of Ibn Khaldun, the Succession after the Prophet was not built on religious grounds or laws, but on a tribal political foundation (Abdul Hafeez, 2014).

Furthermore, the Arabs were affected by European thought during Ottoman rule. At the end of Ottoman rule, in 1860, a group of Turks, including Ismail Pasha, the son of Ibrahim Pasha, climbed to power in Egypt and called for the Ottoman Empire's laws to be reformed

on the European model. At the same time, Tunisia was affected by the French culture, when a group of reformers appeared, such as Kheir El-Deen. In Syria and Lebanon, Christians such as Shawam played an important role in the transfer of European culture to the Middle East through translation and the press (Tawfiq, 2009). Those who set up a modern press in the Arab world broadcast the calls for reform and discussed topics related to affairs of the regime, such as democracy and “Shura” in Islam (consultation and participation in decision-making) (ibid). In Egypt, another group of liberal writers emerged. For instance, in 1801-1873, Tahtawi called for reform and political development, while maintaining Islamic values and principles. Tahtawi addressed Liberal thought from theoretical and applied aspects. He described the European constitutional systems and he discussed the Declaration of Human Rights embodied in the French Revolution under the influence of the Enlightenment philosophers, and he translated the French Constitution of 1814 (Tawfiq, 2009). Tahtawi suggested that people should be trained to understand their political rights, and that the relationship between the ruler and the ruled entails mutual rights and duties. The National wealth and well-being in his view, depended on strong ethics, developed through education. He thought education should be connected to the problems of the nation, and that primary education should be compulsory for all (ibid). Also, Tahtawi indicated that in Egypt, citizenship referred to equality and justice among all citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims, while he defined patriotism as a respect for the law, sacrificing for the country and supporting national unity. Tahtawi advocated freedom of opinion and expression, the freedom of choice of ruler and the freedom to choose representatives in the parliamentary assemblies. In his view, “al watania”, citizenship, is created only through freedom. Also, he argued that the role of schooling should be focused on instilling national and moral virtues and values, such as love of country, practice of free expression, respect for parents and courage among young people (Tawfiq, 2009).

5.6.4. Citizenship after Independence and during the Modern State

After independence, the Arab countries began to set up new governmental regimes. Some established monarchies, others republics or Sultanates, according to their social and religious culture. Also, all the Arab states issued national regulations, laws, and Charters, based on their philosophies, to define and govern citizenship in their societies. Nevertheless, citizenship in the Arab countries still suffers from ambiguity. This may be because the Arab rulers could not clarify a concept of the state that indicates its nature, foundation, and shape. Therefore, Arab citizenship suffers from a failure to determine clearly the relationship between the state and citizens and between citizens and their countries (Wafsa, 2011), which has led to the absence of security for the citizens, and the presence of authoritarian governments. Arabs were affected by their struggle for freedom against both the Ottoman Empire and Western colonialism. Consequently, Arab citizens lost confidence in governmental law, and again resorted to tribal assemblies and so “collected their identity based on tribalism” (Bisharat, 2008:5). However, Arab governments issued regulations, laws and charters related to human rights and joined international human rights conventions (Korany, 2014). For example, legislation was enacted regarding the rights of women and children and the rights of minorities. Rules on political rights and many organizations were established, such as women's rights organizations. Nevertheless, Arab states do not implement this legislation, as there is no clear concept of citizenship that clarifies the rights and responsibilities of citizens (Bisharat, 2008). There are no organizations to support democratic processes in society, such as civil society institutions and trade unions to consolidate laws and legislations in practice (Korany, 2014). Therefore, conflicts have emerged in many Arab countries, for instance regarding religious minorities, such as Coptic Christians in Egypt, social minorities, such as

the Kurdish minority in Iraq and the Berber minorities of North Africa, and the issue of women's rights (Meijer, 2014).

Regarding a sense of belonging and loyalty, in modern societies, individuals are loyal to many groups. For instance, an individual may belong to a play group, a study group, a residential area, a club, a work group, and the political community, regardless of denomination, clique or party. Then, more importantly, comes loyalty to a wider national and global identity. In contrast, in Arab countries more generally, and in the Libyan context the two governments failed to extend the sense of belonging and loyalty amongst people from a local to a national level. Therefore, in Libyan society citizenship remains confined by its tribal aspects. (Al-Tier, 2011). It can be argued that the tribe is not a demonic organisation, but the problem lies in how strongly the individual feels a sense of belonging and loyalty. If there is a strong tribal affiliation these traditional loyalty ties will be inconsistent with the sense of loyalty and belonging that is characteristic of modern societies outlined above (ibid).

On the one hand, in Libyan society the tribes play a significant social role in society which cannot be ignored, such as supporting their members in their daily life. On the other hand, there are negative impacts of tribes in society, especially in regard to the lack of a national sense of belonging. However, these negative impacts can be addressed by integrating the role of the tribe with other social institutions, including educational institutions, to develop a national sense among individuals. Barakat (2013) argued that in the new Libyan society, national identity is the most important issue, and should be the main goal of all Libyan men and women until all the aims and aspirations of the Libyan people have been achieved: thereby marking the success of the 17th February Revolution. There are several factors in

Libyan society including tribal, regional, religious, and family that overlap with national identity. Consequently, citizenship education is needed to increase the sense of belonging to the nation and to successfully transform Libya from an autocracy to the beginnings of a real, active democracy (ibid).

Similarly, Al-Boury (2009) suggested that if tribalism still exists in Libyan society and its roots are deeply embedded in history then its social and economic role was constantly positive. It should be noted that the tribe played a political role largely before the birth of the modern Libyan state, especially in the period of Italian colonialism and through the stages of national anti-colonial Jihad. However, with Libyan independence and the demand for a democratic civil society and state-building, the institutions that were established should have directly or indirectly shrunk the political role of the tribe, but this did not occur. Therefore, the return to normal life in the community cannot be achieved without rethinking the role of civic institutions, which should include not only government institutions, but also the institutions represented in the People's parties and forces, the professional and trade unions and students. This approach would bring together all Libyans in consideration of programmes, issues and principles. Al-Boury (2009) calls for the building of civil society in the constitutional legal dimension, which determines and protects citizens' rights and duties, and above all preserves the values of justice and equality and the positive aspects of tribes without prejudice (ibid).

To this end, the issue of citizenship and belonging should start from the tribe and region and develop towards belonging to the homeland. Hence, this sense of belonging derives firstly from the tribe and should be gradually developed in individuals from the bottom up

to generate a sense of belonging to the homeland, through a systemic form of social integration. This is the route to developing a form of nested citizenship in Libyan society.

For this reason, it is to be expected that notions of citizenship and the expectation of citizenship education may be perceived somewhat differently in Arab states as the contextual factors may operate differently to facilitate or impede particular purposes, forms and outcomes of citizenship education. The next section will identify the relevant facilitating and constraining factors to understand how they have shaped citizenship education in Arab countries.

5.7. Factors that influence Citizenship Education in the Arab Countries

Citizenship education differs widely from one nation to another, depending on the meaning of citizenship and citizen in each one. In this regard Albala-Bertrand (1995:3) noted that “the notion of citizenship is not the same worldwide and, thus, efficient citizenship practice should be adapted accordingly”. Thus, in the Arab world, citizenship education is unlike that in the Western countries. There is no doubt that all the Arab countries have exerted efforts to improve their education systems since the establishment of formal education during the post-colonial period until the present day, in order to improve education in general and to diminish ignorance in particular.

As in Western states, the Arab states realised the key role that education plays in reinforcement of the national sense of belonging. Most Arab countries such as Egypt, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Libya since 1980 have sought to reform their education

systems. New educational plans and aims were set and curricula were reformed to achieve these aims. Among those aims is the fostering of citizenship in regard to the national sense, national belonging, national unity and patriotism among young people, as well as emphasizing equality between genders in human rights in general and in the right of education in particular (Alayan et al., 2012). Also, Abo Al-Ftoh and Mubarak (1990, cited in Al-Maliki, 2008) reported that citizenship education can help students to understand the governmental system and its relation to citizens, understand the social structure in their society, can help to enhance democratic values, and can help to foster good social trends, such as cooperation and integration among students. Ahmad (1990) argues that citizenship education can help to provide students with information about the political structure in their society, can teach students how to participate in debate on political issues, can help students to understand their rights and duties, can teach students how to respect law, can help students to know about issues facing their society, and can help to encourage students to participate in national activities on local and national levels.

Citizenship education can help to increase students' awareness of their rights and responsibilities, can provide students with information about the history of their country, can provide students with information about the government institutions and its functions, can help to foster loyalty to the country, can help to promote students' awareness about challenges that face their country, and encourage students to participate in voluntary work (The Minister of Education in Saudi Arabia, 1997; cited in Al-Maliki,2008). Citizenship education can help to motivate students to care for others and encourage them to participate in voluntary and charity work (Awda, 2000). Nevertheless, the introduction of education for citizenship within the curriculum in most if not in all Arab countries has not, so far, achieved the desired goals, especially with regard to the fostering of national loyalty and

gender equality. This is because citizenship education is influenced by the political, socio-cultural structure and religion in the Arab context. Faour and Muasher (2011:11) argued that citizenship education in the Arab countries is mostly reflected by the ideology of states and by religion especially in terms of moral, values and norms. Firstly, from the political aspect, on the one hand Arab states are traditional states that rely on social relationships such as kin and tribe rather than law, in contrast to the Western states. Therefore, tribal thoughts and beliefs are more dominant than in some other countries (Khoury and Kostiner, 1991). On the other hand, many political regimes in the Arab states are dictatorial regimes that seek to stay in power as long as possible. In this regard, Faour and Muasher (2011) argued that:

The focus of the reform was neither citizenship education nor twenty-first-century skills. Redirecting the emphasis of reform toward developing such skills will certainly be challenging, given that they promote values and behaviour that are likely to destabilize entrenched regimes.
(Faour and Muasher, 2011:7)

Therefore, such regimes seek to create citizens who are obedient and dependent on the ruling regime. This view is supported by Faour and Muasher, (2011) who argue that:

Whole generations in the Arab world were ingrained with the notion that allegiance to one's country means allegiance to the ruling political party, system, or leader, and that diversity, critical thinking, and individual differences are treacherous.
(ibid:3)

These political factors have negatively affected the reinforcement of national loyalty among Arabian youth. Hence, in the Arab world citizenship education has been affected in regard to its aims and approaches, due to the centralisation of education systems in the Arab states in terms of management and policy-making (Alayan et al., 2012).

Secondly, from a social aspect, Arab societies are traditional in nature, tribal, conservative, and masculine societies where family and tribe are the core units of social structure.

Consequently, these societies are characterised by the dominance of the tribe, which plays a key role in implanting tribal values in society as a whole, such as enhancing tribal loyalty among individuals. Therefore, implanting of a sense of belonging and allegiance should start from the early stages of growth. Citizenship among individuals will not be enhanced, without strengthening of culture and the idea of belonging to family, community, and then to homeland and finally to the Arab nation (Juma, 2007). Also, in respect of women and their stereotyped role in society, tribal structure and values promote the traditional role of women as well as valuing men more than women and rejecting gender equality. The findings of Yaqub et al., (2012), who investigated citizenship from the perspective of human rights in the curriculum of citizenship education in Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon, showed that citizenship education in these countries tends intentionally or unintentionally toward consecration of political , social and cultural patterns existing in these countries , as they removed a lot of topics that address the basic needs of society (public participation, critical thinking about issues in society). Also, the omission from the curricula of citizenship education of some topics of human rights led to the prevalence of a culture contrary to the culture of human rights. It also seemed clear that the absence or weakness of certain rights in citizenship education may contribute to rights violation, especially for those most vulnerable to abuse, such as children and women. Also, citizenship education in these countries tends to create citizens who belong and are loyal to the regime rather than citizens who are aware of their rights and duties and who participate effectively in political life. Therefore, citizenship education faces social challenges that prevent achievement of its aims of fostering a national sense and reducing discrimination against women in society.

Thirdly, from the Islamic aspect, Islam explained the fundamental principles of human rights in the Holy Quran. These include human right of freedom, right of life, women's

rights, minority rights, and equality among all humans. All these rights are clearly declared in the Holy Quran. Nevertheless, in the Arab countries these rights have been influenced by family law, religious scholars, and governments. The diversity of religious parties and Islamic doctrines for instance, bred acceptance and privileging of the class, party or group, who supported a particular doctrine, right or wrong, and criticism and marginalization of opponents. Thus, God's laws stated in the Holy Quran were interpreted by several religious scholars in the form of Sharia and Figh very differently, depending on their own perspectives. Consequently, there are two sources of Islamic law; the first is the Quran and the second is Sharia. Disagreement is not around the fundamental principles of human rights granted by Islam, but around the practice of human rights in the Arab societies, which is imposed by mankind on the pretext of religion. In this regard, Maudoodi argues that:

When we speak of human rights in Islam, we mean those rights granted by God. Rights granted by kings or legislative assemblies can be withdrawn as easily as they are conferred; but no individual and no institution has the authority to withdraw the rights conferred by God.
(Abul Ala Maudoodi, 1980:14)

In regard to equality, Islam calls for absolute equality between people regardless of their colour, race or belongings, as all people have descended from the same parents. Equality of human beings in general is cited in many parts of the Holy Quran: For example, "O mankind, we have created you from a male and female". Also, God emphasised the equality between different nations and tribes in the Quran where it is stated "And we set you as nations and tribes so that you may be able to recognize each other" (The Quran Chapter 49, Verse, (13); Zafrulla, 2008).

In addition, the Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) also emphasised the equality between genders as he declared that "all people are equal, as equal the teeth of a comb"

(Jawad, 1998:5). Under Islam all creation (without distinction between men and women) is equal in front of God and their status depends on their own work, good or wrong, in their life.

Islam granted women's rights as equal to men's in their duties and responsibilities in societies. First of all, God emphasizes equality between men and women in the five pillars of Islam, which are *Shahada* (Testify), *Salah* (Prayer), *Seyam* (Fasting), *Zakat* (Charity), and *Hajj* (Pilgrimage) so, both men and women equally owe their worship. Furthermore, equality between women and men is emphasized and repeated in many chapters of the Holy Quran. For example, it is stated that:

Who does good, whether male or female, and is a believer, shall enter Paradise and they shall not be wronged a whit.
(The Quran Chapter An-Nisa (4), Verse No. (124) (Zafrulla, 2008)

Of the believers who act righteously, whether male or female, we will surely grant such a one a pure life; and we will certainly reward them according to the measure of the best of their works".
(The Quran Chapter Al-Nahl (16), Verse No (69) (Zafrulla, 2008)

He created you from a single being; then of the same kind made its mate.
(The Quran Chapter Al-Zmr (39), Verse No (9) (Zafrulla, 2008)

In addition, Islam granted women's rights in marriage and divorce, as marriage happens with the woman's freely given consent and dowry (*Maher*) is given to her. Also, she can request divorce under the worst circumstances and she has full right to the care of and responsibility for her children. Islam also emphasises that women's right to education is equal to men's. The Quran strongly recommends all people, men and women, to exert their efforts to seek knowledge. Also, the Prophet Mohamed encouraged women and men to seek knowledge as he said, "Seeking knowledge was a matter of religious duty binding upon every Muslim man and woman" (Jawad, 1998:9). Additionally, Islam ensures women's right in inheritance. Women inherit from their parents and their husbands and

their share, whether little or much, will be theirs and this share was described clearly in the Quran (ibid).

Moreover, during the era of the Prophet Mohamed, women were not prevented from leaving the house. They were allowed to go to the mosque to pray and learn the Quran, and helped their husbands in doing some work, as well as performing their natural role as wives and taking care of children. Also, the Prophet Mohammad encouraged his companions to treat women well as a mother, sister, wife, and daughter. Furthermore, the Prophet Mohammad allowed women to participate in the invasions, where they nursed injuries and brought water for veterans.

Although Islam ensured women's rights, discrimination against women in the Islamic world in general, and in Arab countries in particular still exists. Also, discrimination against women appears in various forms in the Arab world. This is because each country adopts a specific Islamic approach, which differs from those adopted in the other countries. This picture of the diversity has been witnessed in all the Arab countries. For example, some Arab countries such as Libya and Egypt allow women to work with men in the same place and even in the same office, while this is prohibited in other countries such as Saudi Arabia. Also, women are allowed to acquire a driver's licence in Libya and Egypt, while they are not allowed to do so in many Muslim countries. In this regard, Hussain (2007:65) argued that "there is often a gap, a large discrepancy between the Quranic teachings regarding the rights of women, and what is actually happening to Muslim women". Since, the Arab societies are traditional, tribal and masculine societies, women are seen as second-class citizens and they come under pressure of traditions, customs, and the second religious source (religious interpretation), which reinforce discrimination against them in society.

For this reason, despite the apparently relatively liberal laws mentioned above, that does not mean that all women in Libya enjoy liberty. In fact, there are few women who exercise this freedom at community level. Whilst the law and rules applicable in Libya do not prohibit or criminalize women working with men, or driving a car, freedoms granted as a result of demands from international organizations for human rights and international women's organisation, nevertheless, restrictions on women's liberty are imposed as a result of customs and traditions, which communities respect and preserve. This is despite the fact that they originate from the era before Islam. Communities still consider these the norms that regulate individual behaviour and by which behaviour is judged, so disobedience or violating of these norms brings shame for individuals and family, who will be considered as pariahs and lose the respect of the tribe and community. Therefore, the few Libyan women who enjoy these liberties are individuals who are able to slough off these customs and traditions, either by living in big cities, where the operation of these norms is weaker, due to the absence of kinship and blood ties with others, and hence of social pressure, or by ignoring the customs and traditions and living in isolation from the community. There is no physical punishment, but an intangible punishment in the form of a feeling of others not tolerating them, and being subjected to ridicule and mockery, especially during community meetings and celebrations, or personal confrontations, which force those individuals to isolate themselves from the community.

From the researcher's experience, when she was single, she and her family faced social challenges regarding her study abroad in the UK alone without a male guardian *Muharram* (a man who belongs to her, such as father or brother). Although the Libyan government allowed her to study abroad, nonetheless, many people, even young people, saw this situation as a source of shame to her family.

In the researcher's view, the harshest form of discrimination is practised against girls by the family rather than the policy of the government. Girls begin with feelings of discrimination from the family, compared with their male brothers, who are given complete freedom by families and not held accountable for their mistakes and excesses. Conversely much less freedom is given to girls, a lack of confidence is shown in their actions and behaviours and their movements are constrained in a way that seems mistrustful. This is because there are other factors stronger than religion and politics, such as customs and traditions, which control the behaviours of societies and families. Under these norms, girls represent the honour and reputation of families and tribes, which gives high value to these customs. Hence, departing from these notions causes loss of position and respect in society, so the males of a family will lose the respect, appreciation and trust of other families. For example, if a person loses honour and reputation, he/she will have very few opportunities of marriage with respected families, friendship or assuming prestigious positions in the community, and will be exposed to ridicule from others.

Given the differences in these areas among Arab societies, the Arab states have implemented citizenship education, but via various approaches that reflect their political regimes and social structure. For example, the Sultanate of Oman is ranked first in terms of educational progress in the Arab Gulf. The Omani government realised the potential role of citizenship education for fostering a national sense and reducing discrimination against women, so considerable attention was given to citizenship education in order to create good citizens (Alayan et al., 2012). Hence, citizenship education was introduced within the curriculum in the area of the social sciences such as geography and history, which was considered the appropriate area for the purpose of citizenship education (Al-Gharibi, 2008).

Many efforts were exerted in this field, which included, firstly, providing textbooks that exposed the traditional role of women and their stereotyped role in society. Textbooks reflect the socio-cultural structure of Omani society, highlighting the male-dominated society and how women are valued (Alayan et al., 2012:33). Secondly, to enhance the national sense, a project of citizenship was established for training students to conduct research at local community level in order to increase their participation in their community. Thirdly, a book was provided for teacher training and they were supplied with approaches for teaching human rights (ibid:34). Despite these efforts exerted toward development of citizenship among young people, citizenship education is influenced by political and social culture. According to Al-Gharib (2008) there is a contradiction in the Omani government's perspective as it has chosen social sciences as the appropriate context in which to develop citizenship among young people, yet it ignores this subject area in the careers' context, whereas scientific studies have high status as the government aims to encourage scientific activities such as engineering and industrial technology. This gives students a disdainful attitude toward social sciences and as a result reduces their interest in citizenship education. Furthermore, due to the Omani social culture as a conservative society, the social expectation for women is to become teachers or nurses rather than enter other professions, which has a negative impact on citizenship education.

The Egyptian government has also recognized the key role of educational organisations in the reinforcement of citizenship values among Egyptian young people. Hence, education was reformed and citizenship education was introduced within the Egyptian curriculum in the area of social studies, in order to foster citizenship values such as democratic values, Arab nationalism, Egyptian identity, and recently, to explore the effects of globalisation. However, the Egyptian educational system, like the other educational systems throughout

the Arab world, is fully centralised in administration and policies-making (Baraka, 2003). Therefore, in Egypt, political factors have impacted on citizenship education. Due to centralisation and the government dominance on the setting of the curriculum, it depends on the government's vision while excluding many other nongovernmental perspectives, such as the views of experts in politics, religion, and sociology. Therefore, there is a gap in the meaning and practice of citizenship education. Sometimes citizenship education textbooks suffer from unclear meanings and concepts, or suffer from the neglect or hiding of meanings. For example, citizenship education focuses on creation of citizens who depend on government services, rather than explaining the rights of citizens and their duties toward their own community. Also, citizenship education textbooks are more focused on tourism activities rather than the values of citizenship and highlight its importance; this is because tourism activities represent the biggest provider of national income. Citizenship education also expresses the achievements of the government in many areas, while failing to provide examples of democracy in the present time or past events. Also, even though it seeks to enhance Arab nationalism, on the other hand, it neglects the issues and conflicts in the Arab region and globally. In regard to women and their stereotypes, it makes little mention of children's and women's rights (Baraka, 2003).

5.8. Citizenship Education in Libya

The Libyan educational system was centralised during Gaddafi's regime. Gaddafi utilized education as a vehicle to distribute his thought across the country and also to support and sustain his regime. Therefore, citizenship education was not only influenced by political factors, but also has been taken from another perspective. Gaddafi introduced his thought represented in the three parts of his book, 'The Green book', and the so-called "Third

universal Theory” within the Libyan curriculum, as a formal and compulsory subject, under various names “*El mogtema Aljamaheiry*”, “*El Faker Al jamaheiry*”, and “*Elwaei Elseiasy*”, all of which indicated the same meaning: “Gaddafi’s thought”. Textbooks were printed and taught in all educational levels from the primary school to the university. These textbooks, from the social aspect, assert the social role of the tribe in society by emphasising the responsibility of the tribe for its individuals. This reinforced tribal culture, strengthened the political and social role of the tribe in society, and enhanced tribal loyalty rather than national loyalty among young people. In regard to minorities, these textbooks mentioned some minorities in the Arab societies such as the Kurdish people and their struggles against discrimination in Iraq. However, these textbooks did not mention the existence of the Amazigh minority in Libyan society (Report of the African Commission’s working group on indigenous populations / communities, 2005).

From the political aspect, citizenship education provided meanings and concepts related to the political structure such as the General People’s Congress “*Moatamer El Shap El Aam*”, the Basic People’s Congress “*moatamer El Shapy El Asasiey*”, the People’s Committees “*El Lijan El Shapyhia*”, and the Revolutionaries Committees “*El Lijan El Thoryhia*”.

The purposes and aims of citizenship education develop according to the political, social, and cultural features of societies, as well as the essential requirements of human wellbeing. According to Howard and Patten (2006:554), the form and purpose of citizenship education depended on the dominant ideology and political vision of the society in which it is applied. In other words, the kind of citizenship education which is introduced depends on what kind of people the political and social regimes would like to create. Thus, the next section tries to present some of characteristics of effective citizens.

5.9. Characteristics of an Effective Citizen

As detailed earlier in the development of citizenship education throughout history, the type and characteristics of citizen that citizenship education aimed to create differed from one society to another according to the political order of the society in which citizenship education functioned. For example, in the Greek city state, citizenship education aimed to create “the good Greek citizen” who served the state. Similarly, in Rome, citizenship education aimed to create the good Roman citizen, who was willing to serve his state (Heater, 1990 and Heater, 2004b).

In democratic societies, a good citizen has the knowledge about the political and legal system and ability to participate effectively in political discussion, knowledge and ability to engage in voluntary work, skills of critical thinking , an attitude of “tolerance and respect; open to change; able to adapt and to compromise and participatory skills to handle, gender and religious differences, multiculturalism”. (Fratczak-Rudnicka and Torney-Purta, 2001; cited in Veldhuis, 2005:19, 20). Haly (2010) reported that an effective citizen is one who has acquired peaceful democratic principles, such as critical thinking, and tries to apply them in daily life; is aware of the problems and values prevailing in the society and nation; and knows and cares about his community’s affairs. Gottlieb and Robinson (2002:31) reported that “good citizens understand the balance between the rights and responsibilities and are willing to accept and fulfil the responsibilities inherent in a democratic society”.

Furthermore, effective citizens understand their rights and responsibilities, have knowledge and information about political structure, participate in the local and national community, participate in voluntary work, participate effectively in social life and engage in social activities (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Report Authority (ACARA), 2012). In

the globalization era, citizenship education aims to create a global citizen who is aware of his/her role and responsibility as a global citizen, respects cultural diversity, knows about political, cultural, social and economic situations worldwide, supports social justice, and participates in community locally and globally (Young and Commins, 2002).

In the Arab countries, the first characteristic of an effective citizen is faith in God. This characteristic is a constant at any time and place and is considered the finest characteristic of an effective citizen, which includes other qualities, such as sincerity and honesty (Hakem and Hanifa, 2006). Also, the findings of their study in Saudi Arabia, confirmed that there an effective citizen is seen to be one who believes in God, fulfils his duties, to his homeland and the governors, serves his community and his nation, is committed to his responsibilities, defends everything dear and precious and will sacrifice for his country (ibid).

Generally speaking, citizenship education is a tool that can help students to understand their rights and responsibilities otherwise, it becomes a waste of time. As Bottery (1992:149) argued, “Rights and responsibilities, it might be argued, only make sense when people are able to understand and profit from them”. However, in the Arab context citizenship education is confined to abstract values without meaning and exercise. As Faour and Muasher (2011:3) argue, “Citizenship education in Arab countries is grievously outdated”. Citizenship education does not succeed in achieving its aims and will remain in this situation unless political pressures on education are removed and democratic states come into existence.

Thus, it can be argued that in the Arab countries, citizenship values are extremely affected by the political dictatorial regimes, which seek to serve their interests as far as possible. Such traditional and authoritarian regimes reflected negatively on the real exercise of citizenship values, as there is misunderstanding of individuals' rights and their responsibilities, decrease of national loyalty, and increase of discrimination against women.

Citizenship in Arab countries is interpreted according to their political and social situations, which support traditional values rather than modern values. Therefore, in the Arab societies, citizenship has not been transferred from local to national levels as happened in the Western societies, and let alone to the notion of global citizenship. Therefore, most Arab countries such as Libya and Iraq suffer from a lack of national loyalty and national unity and this can be considered the main reason for failure of the establishment of Arab nationalism.

Furthermore, there is an absence of democracy in the Arab countries, which is considered not only an essential demand for exercise of political rights, but also an important resource for enhancing citizenship values in general. Consequently, the meaning of citizenship has been lost under the absolute authoritarian regimes, domination of the traditional culture, and misinterpretations of religion. Therefore, citizenship education in the Arab states in general and in Libya in particular was not applied well under such circumstances, which hindered the development of Arab citizenship. These situations contributed in uprisings in most Arab countries such as Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria during the Arab Spring, which called for the overthrow of the old regimes and establishment of democratic regimes.

In the Libyan context, the collapse of the old regime brought both a need and an opportunity to build a civilian and democratic society that ensures equality in the exercise of political and social rights among citizens. Building a new democratic government needs an increase of individuals' involvement in their local and national community, in order to avoid fragmentation by tribalism and regionalisation, which could re-emerge without the cohesive (if coercive) central force Gaddafi provided. Meanwhile, disadvantaged groups in society (e.g., women) are increasingly demanding their rights and in the case of the Amazigh, their linguistic and cultural rights as well. Such demands also need to be addressed. These issues are considered the key citizenship values in Libya post-Gaddafi. Firstly, regarding the issue of tribalism. There is a strong debate on the role of the tribe in Libya. Rajab argued that

For decades tribe was a key player and a substitute for those parties and institutions in the Libyan political system, which opens the door to questions about the role of the tribe in the coming of the history of Libya stage after Gaddafi, and the extent of its support or obstruct the pursuit of the revolution to the consecration of democracy and national unity in the country.
(Rajab, 2011)

As previously noted, Obeidi (2012) the tribal role and influence cannot be cancelled by a decision. Also, Al-Riqieai (2011) suggested that reducing the influence of tribalism among the younger generation in Libyan society can be achieved by creating loyalty to a homeland based on national identity rather than tribal affiliations and blood links. In addition, Maeoff (2012) suggested that a sense of individuals' belonging can be strengthened through enhancing the following values:

Citizenship rights special and public rights, such as security, safety and health, education, employment and basic public services, freedom of movement, expression and political participation, duties such as respect for public order and preserving public property, defense of the homeland, solidarity and unity with other citizens, promoting political participation in the decisions-making process, and participation in debate on the issues facing society.
(Maeoff, 2012)

Secondly, regarding women's rights in Libya post-Gaddafi, dozens of Libyan women organised a protest in Tripoli to demand an increased representation in the committee drafting the new constitution of the country (Middle East Online, 2013). The protest was a response to the draft law provided by the election commission for the country's new constitution, disclosed by the General National Congress (interim parliament). The total number of Committee members was 60 with women making up only 10 percent despite women's organizations calling for not less than 35 percent (Middle East Online, 2013).

Thirdly regarding the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority, the new Libyan government seeks to establish a democratic society based on equal rights and responsibilities for all citizens Al-Honi (2011). The Amazigh held a demonstration in front of the new Libyan prime minister's office, demanding increased representation in the Libyan state apparatus, and urging the new government to recognize their cultural and linguistic rights. Al-Honi stated that the Amazigh's demand can be achieved by identifying a concept of Libyan citizenship that ensures equality without discrimination.

Citizenship education may be a means, which might help to build a democratic society. It might provide students with political and democratic skills and knowledge, foster democratic values among them and increase their ability to participate effectively in their society. Also, citizenship education could perhaps help in fostering modern values in the Libyan community at the local and national levels.

This study investigates how selected stakeholders view citizenship education in post-Gadafi Libya, with specific focus on tribalism and its impact on national identity (sense of

belonging and loyalty among individuals), the marginalisation of women's rights and their stereotyped role in society, and the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority.

5.10. Summary

In summary, education can play a key role in the global creation of good citizens who are aware of their rights, duties, responsibilities, and participate effectively in their communities. For this reason, the developed countries, such as the UK and the USA, have introduced citizenship education into their curricula to foster citizenship values, such as sense of national identity, freedom, human rights, and equality among their young people.

The concept of citizenship has multiple interpretations, and citizenship education differs from one nation to another. Citizenship is a western concept, which is Athenian in origin. However, as Oliver and Heater (1994:196) noted, "The word citizenship is used in so many different senses, with so many different explanations that it seems almost impossible at times to pin the concept down". The concept of citizenship encompasses the rights, duties and responsibilities of citizens, while citizenship education is a vehicle that can be used to teach young people about their rights and responsibilities and their duties towards others. Since its original conception in an Ancient Greek city-state throughout the Roman Empire, the medieval period and the Renaissance, citizenship has been reinterpreted according to different political, social, and cultural factors.

More recently in developed countries, citizenship education was included in the curricula to help young people cope with rapid social, political and cultural developments at the local

and global level. The aim is to foster citizenship values based on national identity, gender equality, and wider democratic values including cultural diversity. A concept of nested citizenship has evolved, whereby individuals experience belonging and loyalty at different levels: family, region, nation and beyond.

Similarly, in the Arab world the concept of citizenship and citizenship education has been influenced by politics and culture as discussed in the previous section on the evolution of citizenship from the pre-Islamic era, through Islam and the modern state, to the Independence era. As indicated, although the early Arabs had a concept of group life based on mutual rights and responsibilities, the concept of the state and the nature of the relationship between the citizen and the state remain unclear.

As a result of the different historical, political and cultural factors that have shaped the concept of citizenship in the Arab world, citizenship education has developed differently. Citizenship is an abstract concept that does not make sense to young people. The Western concept of citizenship education that is focused on democracy, equality and diversity cannot be considered to exist in the Arab context. The Western concept cannot be successful in fostering citizenship values such as a sense of nationhood among young people because there is an absence of democracy in the society as a whole. So, whilst citizenship education has been introduced in many Arab countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Sultanate of Oman it has been interpreted according to their social, political and religious contexts

In Libya there has been no citizenship education as it is known in other countries; instead, Gaddafi's thoughts were presented to serve his regime by supporting the role of tribes.

Eventually, such an education implanted a tribal culture in society, which caused many problems including the promotion of tribalism among young people, the increased marginalisation of women, and increased discrimination against the Amazigh. In this context, the current study has chosen to investigate the selected stakeholders' views on key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. Whilst the majority of the literature on citizenship and citizenship education originates in the West, some of these resources were used to inform this research because the demands of the February 17th Revolution did to a large degree reflect key citizenship issues. This is not in a comparative sense intended to imply that Libya and other countries are involved in 'catching up', but given the Revolutionary demands, there is reason to examine western ideas. The methods adopted to achieve this aim are explained and justified in the next chapter.

5.11. Summary of the Research Questions

This chapter concludes with a discussion of the research questions, which arose from the challenges facing the new Libyan government, as identified by Libyan scholars and discussed in Chapter Four. Among these challenges are, firstly, tribalism and its impacts on a sense of national belonging and loyalty (Al-Tier, 2011; Al-Riqieai 2011; El-Katiri, 2012; Rajab, 2011; Yassin, 2011; Obeidi, 2012), secondly, the marginalisation of women's rights and their stereotyped role in Libyan society (Bugaighis, 2013; Middle East Online, 2013), thirdly, the Amaghizh minority and their cultural and linguistic rights as confirmed by Al-Honi (2011), Kania (2011) and El-Jarh (2014), and finally, the lack of local democratic experience emphasized by El-Katiri (2012) and Abdul Latif (2012). These challenges are

primarily related to human rights and democratic principles, such as equality and justice.

Given these challenges, the main question of this study is:

How do key stakeholders view the development of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi in the context of emerging Middle Eastern educational systems, tribalism and understandings of Citizenship Education in an Arab/Islamic context?

Research Sub-questions:

Sub-question 1. What has been the place of citizenship education in the development of education in four emerging Middle Eastern/Arab countries?

Sub-question 2. What were the impacts of tribalism on the social, political and educational aspects of Libyan society?

Sub-question 3. In what ways might three key revolutionary and citizenship issues relating to women, minorities and tribalism which featured during and after Gaddafi's rule be addressed?

Sub-question 4. How do western understandings of Citizenship Education compare with understandings in the Arab/Islamic countries?

Sub-question 5. What is an appropriate methodology for exploring these issues?

Sub-question 6. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the reasons behind the growth in significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

- a) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the meaning of Citizenship?
- b) What are the views of selected stakeholders on citizenship characteristics?
- c) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the aims of Citizenship Education?

- d) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the issues which might influence Citizenship Education in Libyan society post-Gaddafi?

Sub-question 7. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the following issues:

- a) Students' awareness of rights and responsibilities?
- b) Democratic values among young people?
- c) Loyalty to homeland as well as their region?
- d) Women's rights?
- e) Amazigh minority rights?

This chapter has revealed that citizenship education can help to raise student's awareness of their rights and responsibilities and their obligations towards others inside and beyond school thereby becoming effective and responsible citizens (Fishman and Pitkanen, 2007; Falata, 2010; QCA, 1998). Section 5.5.3 indicated that citizenship education can help to foster a sense of national identity among students through promoting active citizenship that facilitates involvement in the community, locally and nationally. Students learn about the nature of society and are encouraged to engage in voluntary work (QCA, 1998, Citizenship Foundation, 2006).

This chapter has discussed how citizenship education has the potential to support the rights of women and social minorities by promoting active citizenship, as mentioned in section 5.5.4. For example, citizenship education teaches students about the historical struggles for women's rights and their unequal role in society. Students are given statistical data and dialogue and debate is encouraged. This approach can raise awareness of this issue as a social, national, and global problem and also can help to address gender inequality (Zajda, et al., 2008; Claire and Holden, 2006).

Regarding cultural diversity, students can be encouraged to investigate the reasons behind the increase in culturally diverse societies and why it is important to appreciate pluralism (Ajegbo, et al, 2007; QCA, 1998). This chapter has clarified why citizenship education has the potential to enhance democratic values and skills among young people by encouraging active citizenship and motivating students to participate in activities of school councils as presented in section 5.5.2 (QCA, 1998; Nelson and Kerr, 2005; Wood, 2006). This chapter has explained the traditional view of Nelson and Kerr (2005) who propose that citizenship encompasses three elements: liberal/ individualistic, communitarian and civil republican. The chapter also discusses the QCA report (1998:40) which stipulates the dimensions of citizenship education as “social and moral responsibility (an essential precondition for citizenship), community involvement, and political literacy” (discussed in Chapter Five, section 5.5). It can be argued that Nelson and Kerr and QCA’s views are pertinent to the Libyan post- Gaddafi challenges (discussed in Chapter Four, section 4.5) and that this provides the rationale for using this framework to investigate the potential of citizenship education in the Libyan context.

5.12. Linkages between the Literature review and the Research Sub-Questions

The key issues raised in the foregoing literature review, and the theoretical framework, give rise to the specific questions addressed in this research. The linkages between the literature review and these questions are shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5. 1: Clarifying link bwtween Literature Review, which identified the Key Issues in Libya post-Gaddafi (Tribalism, Women’s rights, Cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority, and a lack of local democratic experience) and the Research Questions

<i>Literature</i>	<i>Key issues</i>	<i>Research questions</i>
Chapter 3: Historical background of Structure of Tribal System and its Impacts on the Social, Political, and Educational aspects of Libyan Society.	This chapter highlights how the social and political role of the tribe was strengthened during Gaddafi’s regime. This led to: Enhancing tribalism across the country, an increased sense of belonging and loyalty to a tribe and region and a lack of national identity.	What were the impacts of tribalism on the social, political and educational aspects of Libyan society?
Chapter 4: Tribalism: Challenges for Libyan society during and post-Gaddafi’s Regime	This chapter clarifies the key issues in Libyan society: the marginalization of women’s rights and their stereotyped role in society, discrimination against the Amazigh minority, and tribalism with a focus on the political role of the tribe, and the lack of local democratic experience. These key issues are considered among the main challenges that faced the new Libyan government in its move towards achieving the aims of the 17 February Revolution.	In what ways might three key revolutionary and citizenship issues relating to women, minorities and tribalism which featured during and after Gaddafi’s rule be addressed
Chapter 5: Citizenship Education	The literature of citizenship in general and citizenship education in particular, show how the concepts of citizenship, and hence, the priorities for citizenship education are context dependent. Citizenship education can promote active citizenship, preparing students for democratic participation and understanding of key social issues. The above-mentioned key issues are considered the main citizenship values in Libyan society post-Gaddafi, which citizenship education might help to tackle.	How do western understandings of Citizenship Education compare with understandings of it in the Arab/Islamic countries?

Chapter: 6 Methodology

6.1 Introduction

Methodology refers “to a process where the design of the research and choice of particular methods, and their justification in relation to the research project, are made evident” (King and Horrocks, 2010:6). This chapter addresses the fifth research sub-question of the thesis, namely What is an appropriate methodology for exploring these issues?

Hence, this chapter aims to describe the procedures followed, in order to gather data. The chapter starts with outlining the research objectives and questions. Then, the, research design is described, including quantitative and qualitative research methods. The next section highlights the weaknesses and strengths of each method and offers a justification for using mixed methods. An explanation is given for the research tools, a questionnaire and interviews with discussion of their strengths and limitations. Then a detailed account is given of the questionnaire design, the population of the study, sample selection issues, and types of sample design. The validity (face and content validity) of the questionnaire, pilot study, the reliability of the questionnaire and administration of the questionnaire are explained. Details are provided of interview types, the design of the semi-structured interview followed by an explanation of the conduct of the interviews. The trustworthiness of qualitative research is discussed. Also, the chapter outlines the ethical issues involved in the research and the researcher’s positionality in this study. Finally, the procedures for

analysis of the quantitative data (questionnaire) and qualitative (interviews) are discussed in the last section.

6.2. Research Questions

This study aims to explore how key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi are viewed by particular stakeholders. It investigates stakeholder perceptions of whether citizenship education might help to create a democratic society and good citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities and who belong and are loyal to their country. Therefore, it investigates key areas of citizenship education in free Libya, which can foster citizenship values among young people, such as a national sense, support for women's rights and role in society, and reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority. Also, it investigates the issues influencing citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The previous chapter has shown how the literature review and theoretical framework gave rise to the specific questions addressed in this research. To recapitulate, these questions were as follows:

Main Research Question: How do key stakeholders view the development of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi in the context of emerging Middle Eastern educational systems, tribalism and understandings of Citizenship Education in an Arab/Islamic context?

Research Sub-questions

Sub-question 1. What has been the place of citizenship education in the development of education in four emerging Middle Eastern/Arab countries?

Sub-question 2. What were the impacts of tribalism on the social, political and educational aspects of Libyan society?

Sub-question 3. In what ways might three key revolutionary and citizenship issues relating to women, minorities and tribalism which featured during and after Gaddafi's rule be addressed?

Sub-question 4. How do western understandings of Citizenship Education compare with understandings in the Arab/Islamic countries?

Sub-question 5. What is an appropriate methodology for exploring these issues?

Sub-question 6. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the reasons behind the growth in significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

- a) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the meaning of Citizenship?
- b) What are the views of selected stakeholders on citizenship characteristics?
- c) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the aims of Citizenship Education?
- d) What are the views of selected stakeholders on the issues which might influence Citizenship Education in Libyan society post Gaddafi?

Sub-question 7. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the following issues:

- a) Students' awareness of rights and responsibilities?
- b) Democratic values among young people?
- c) Loyalty to homeland as well as their region?
- d) Women's rights?
- e) Amazigh minority rights?

The first four research sub-questions were dealt with in chapters 2-5. This chapter will address the methodological issues in response to the fifth sub-question. Sub-questions, 6 and 7 concern the result of the empirical data, which will be presented in the following two chapters.

6.3 Research Design

Research design highlights the procedures that the researcher follows starting from the definition of a research problem, the place in which a research is applied, the period of time it will take, the cost of the research, and the methods to be used. In this regard, Kothari argued that:

A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure.
(Kothari, 2004:31)

In the beginning, a researcher needs an advanced plan of methods to be used for gathering the required data. According to Creswell (1994) in general there are two main types of research methods, quantitative and qualitative, which are considered fundamental resources for gathering data. However, researchers have to realise the difference between the two research methods (Bell, 2005). Creswell (2003), for instance, pointed out that quantitative methods are often employed to examine or investigate theories or to define variables in order to find out the relevant variables in questions; to clarify validity and reliability by finding statistical standards and to use statistical processes for data analysis.

In contrast, the qualitative method focuses on the nature of phenomena and tries to interpret them in the form of words. In this sense, Sekaran (2003) indicated that the qualitative approach tends to study particular phenomena by focusing on their meaning rather than on measuring. In the same way, Creswell et al., (2006) mentioned that the qualitative methods attempt to develop a full explanation of the situation rather than control it. Similarly, Wiersma and Jurs (2005:14) suggested that the qualitative approach is used to describe

social situations. It employs inductive reasoning from the particular to the general and does not aim to confirm a theoretical base.

There is a strong debate among scholars about the advantages of these two methods and which research method is appropriate to social study. Nevertheless, Dawson (2002:16) suggested that “neither quantitative nor qualitative research is better, they are just different. Both have their strengths and weaknesses”. For example, qualitative methods such as interviews or focus groups are often used to investigate behaviour and attitude by contact with a small number of participants in a short time in order to obtain ‘an in–depth opinion’. In contrast, quantitative methods such as questionnaires produce statistics by contact with a large number of people in a short time (ibid:14-15). Also, in qualitative methods, many different words are used and a variety of meanings may appear during interpretation (Richardson, 1996).

In addition, quantitative research prepares a good background for giving an inference or result in general, for instance, the patterns of social life of human beings, whereas qualitative research is useful for a variety of explanations and investigations for example, of individuals’ behaviour (Salehi and Golafshani, 2010:186). In addition, Bryman suggested that:

Quantitative research is associated with the testing of theories, whilst qualitative research is associated with the generation of theories, can be viewed as a convention that has little to do with either the practices of many researchers within the two traditions or the potential of the methods of data collection themselves.
(Bryman, 1988:172)

Furthermore, Richardson (1996:27) suggested that quantitative research is a method that is used to test causal hypotheses by controlling, measuring and identifying the relationships

between certain variables. By contrast, qualitative research focuses on the significant meaning of phenomena by interpreting what happens. Generally, quantitative research clarifies human activity by numbers while qualitative research explains human activity in words (Creswell, 2003). Also, in qualitative research there is no possibility of generalization due to its small samples, while it is possible in quantitative research. As Neergaard and Ulhoi argued:

It is an inherent feature of qualitative studies that they are context dependent and not representative of large universe, neither do they allow generalization across time and space.
(Neergaard and Ulhoi, 2007:271).

Due to these weaknesses, strengths, and differentiation between the two approaches, it is crucial for researchers to choose an appropriate approach according to the research problem, aims and objectives, and research questions. In this respect, Muijs (2011) asserted that researchers could use the quantitative approach or the qualitative approach or a mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches, depending on the goals of their studies. Similarly, Robson (1993) and Kasi (2009) stated that researchers may use one, two or all of these methods for collecting data in research depending on the research problem and the information that the researcher requires.

In fact, Mason (2006) argued that neither quantitative nor qualitative approaches alone can explain social phenomena. Doing so can help to improve understanding of the complexities of the social phenomena and enhance the social explanation and generalization (ibid). Mixed methods are defined by many scholars. For instance, Johnson et al., defined mixed methods as follows:

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data

collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al., 2007:123).

The use of mixed methods is also called “triangulation”. As Richardson (1996:167) explained, ‘triangulation means the researcher uses the results of qualitative and quantitative methods to check each other because a variety of kinds of validity risk might exist’. Robson (1993:290) pointed out that triangulation is a method used to explore the situation of something by checking on it from different perspectives. Additionally, Robson (1993) argued that triangulation helps to enhance both the quality of collected information and the accuracy of outcomes.

In the light of the above arguments, in this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were utilized in order to best understand the research problem as well as to overcome the weakness of each individual approach. In this regard, Katsirikou and Skiadas (2010:18) argued that “using both approaches can bring out the best in both methods”. In addition, Creswell and Clark (2011:12) argued that “a mixed methods research provides strengths that offset the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative research”. Equally, Creswell and Garrett suggested that:

When researchers bring together both quantitative and qualitative research, the strengths of both approaches are combined, leading, it can be assumed, to a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone. (Creswell and Garrett, 2008: 322).

Hence, the rationales for using mixed methods in this study are; firstly, this approach is rarely, in the Libyan context, used in educational research as many researchers prefer to use qualitative or quantitative methods individually. Secondly, because this study focuses on exploring how key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi are viewed by stakeholders, it is useful to employ quantitative methods in order to cover a large research

sample, as well as for generalisation of the results. A questionnaire was used to collect data from head teachers and deputies of primary and secondary schools in two cities, Derna and El Qubba, which are located in the Eastern region of Libya, and these were triangulated with interviews.

A qualitative method is also considered to be useful to obtain detailed information that can complement the quantitative research. Interviews were used to explore how the Minister of Education and the officials of Educational Affairs at local levels viewed key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, to enrich and add depth to the information obtained from the questionnaires.

Hence, in this study, triangulation was utilized as follows: First, the Minister of Education at the national level was met, in order to get approval to administer the questionnaire and conduct interviews in the two selected cities. Also, a further appointment with him was arranged for an interview. Then the questionnaire was distributed to head teachers and deputies in basic and secondary schools in the two mentioned cities. After collection of the quantitative data, the researcher started to collect qualitative data in order to supplement the quantitative data. This process involved interviewing an official in the Department of Educational Affairs in each city, in order to get deeper information about the topic being researched. Then, as a final step, the Minister of Education at the national level was met for the second time to conduct the last interview, in order to get a clear picture of key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

In regard to the quantitative methods, a questionnaire was used as the main approach to collecting data. A questionnaire is defined by the American Heritage Dictionary of the

English Language as “a form containing a set of questions, especially one addressed to a statistically significant number of subjects as a way of gathering information from a survey” (Connaway and Powell, 2010:146). Questionnaires are considered one of the most popular tools for gathering data in educational research; this is because questionnaires have many advantages, for instance a high flexibility, so a questionnaire can be used to collect data from a large population, in various conditions, and for several purposes. Also, a questionnaire can be administered in many ways, face- to -face, by phone, and via email (McNabb, 2010). Questionnaires are used in order to identify ideas, plans, perspectives, and attitudes of people about a particular subject or situation. To some extent, using a questionnaire enables researchers to code and tabulate collected data, which helps to reduce both time and cost (ibid:110).

Despite the above-mentioned advantages, a questionnaire, however, has disadvantages as well. According to Baraceros (2000:97), questionnaires have the following disadvantages: Firstly, there is typically a low return rate, which decreases the size of the sample and is reflected in the final result. Secondly, questionnaires may include some questions that suffer from ambiguity, which can lead to misinterpretation and, hence, invalid responses. Thirdly, the information provided by a questionnaire depends completely on the respondents’ ability and willingness, which cannot be controlled or guaranteed by researchers. This could lead to insufficient information being obtained about a particular subject. In order to overcome these drawbacks in this study, the researcher decided to take the following steps: Firstly, the researcher decided to administer the questionnaire personally (face-to-face), because the face-to-face administration method offers several advantages. For instance, researchers have a chance to build a relationship with respondents and can motivate and direct respondents to answer the questions of the questionnaire.

Furthermore, the face-to-face method provides opportunity for researchers to probe questions which are answered briefly or unanswered and to clarify some questions in order to avoid misunderstanding (McBurney and White, 2009).

Secondly, the researcher decided to make herself available at the time and in the place in which the questionnaire was answered and spend time with the respondents until they finished answering, and then the researcher herself would immediately collect the answered questionnaires. Her presence while the questionnaire was answered would enable the researcher to provide an explanation for any ambiguity, which the respondents might face. Thirdly, because a questionnaire depends entirely on the ability and willingness of the respondents to answer the researcher decided to use a second research technique, interviews, in order to get deeper, more detailed information, which is relevant to the research purposes.

6.4 Questionnaire Design

According to Neelankavil a questionnaire is defined as:

A series of questions on a specific topic, based on specific research goals that a respondent answers. The role of questionnaire is to translate the research objectives into specific questions that are asked of respondents. (Neelankavil, 2007: 160).

Similarly, Oppenheim (1992:10) emphasises that a questionnaire is a tool to collect required data, not only a set of questions to be answered. Therefore, he added that researchers have to think about a research as a whole prior to the wording of questionnaire questions. Thus, in developing the questionnaire for this study, items were derived from the

literature review. At the same time, some considerations such as content, format and sequence of these items were taken into account.

The questionnaire was designed to answer the main research question, in particular the research sub-questions 6 and 7. A Likert scale format was used. This is the most popular rating scale because “it’s easy to convert the data to an ordinal scale of measurement and proceed with statistical analysis” (Jackson, 2011:94). In this regard, Antonovich argued that:

A likert scale survey attempts to determine the respondents’ level of agreement with a statement by selecting a value from 1 to 5 based on how strongly they agree or disagree with the statement.
(Antonovich, 2010: 84).

The questionnaire consisted of eleven parts, as detailed below. All of the questions were closed questions and respondents were directed to respond to the questions using a five-point Likert-scale as follows: Strongly disagree = 1, Disagree = 2, Neutral = 3, Agree = 4, Strongly agree = 5. The first version of questionnaire consisted of the following parts:

First part

This part included demographic data that indicated type of school: basic school (primary, preparatory) and secondary school.

Second Part

This part was designed in order to investigate head teachers’ and deputies’ views of the meaning of citizenship, in order to provide an answer to sub-question No.6 (a). It included 16 statements.

Third Part

This part was designed in order to provide an answer to sub-question No. 6 (b), and it

included 14 statements. Head teachers and deputies were asked to identify their views of the characteristics of a citizen which citizenship education can reinforce.

Fourth Part

This part was designed in order to investigate head teachers' and deputies' views of the aims of citizenship education and this part included 12 statements. This part was designed in order to provide an answer to sub-question No.6 (c).

Fifth Part

This part was included in order to provide an answer to sub-question No 6. It consisted of 13 statements, where head teachers and deputies were requested to indicate their views of the main reasons behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

Sixth Part

This part was designed in order to provide an answer to sub-question No 7. (a), it included 6 statements. Head teachers and deputies were requested to give their views on how citizenship education can help to increase students' awareness of their rights and responsibilities in society?

Seventh Part

This part was included to provide an answer to sub-question No 7. (b), and it consisted of 11 statements. Head teachers and deputies were requested to indicate their views on the potential of citizenship education to help to foster democratic values among young people.

Eighth Part

This part was included to provide an answer to sub-question No 7. (c), and it included 5 statements. In this part, head teachers and deputies were requested to indicate their views of the potential of citizenship education to help to foster national sense among young people.

Ninth Part

This part was designed in order to provide an answer to sub-question No 7. (d). and it included 11 statements. In this part, head teachers and deputies were requested to indicate their views of the potential of citizenship education to support women's rights in society.

Tenth Part

This part was included to provide an answer to sub-question No 7. (e), it consisted of 5 statements. In this part, head teachers and deputies were requested to indicate their views of the potential of citizenship education to help to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority in society.

Eleventh Part

This last part of the questionnaire was designed in order to provide an answer to sub-question No 6 (d) and it included 4 statements. In this part, participants were requested to indicate their views on issues influencing citizenship education in Libyan society and rank them according to the degree of their influence on citizenship education.

In order to avoid bias of respondents, the researcher took into account that the statements covered several areas of citizenship education, and were arranged according to the theoretical framework of this study as well as to answer the research questions, as follows:

Table 6 1-Meaning of Citizenship:

Items No	<i>Citizenship is:</i>
01	A legal status that determines rights of individuals in society.
02	A legal status that determines responsibilities of individuals in society.
03	A legal status that determines the relationship between citizen and state.
04	Equality of political rights.
05	Equality of social rights.

06	Individuals' awareness of their rights.
07	Individuals' awareness of their responsibilities.
08	A sense of belonging to a specific tribe.
09	A sense of belonging to a particular region.
10	A sense of belonging to a specific country.
11	A sense of belonging to a specific nation.
12	A sense of belonging to a specific community.
13	Free participation in political life.
14	Free participation in social life.
15	Obedience to law.
16	Patriotism.

2-Characteristics of an Effective Citizen

Items No	Characteristics of effective citizen
01	Loyalty to a country.
02	Loyalty to a tribe.
03	Fulfilling of responsibilities.
04	Awareness of rights and respect for others' rights.
05	Participation in politics at the national level.
06	Participation in politics at the local level.
07	Participation in voluntary work at the local level.
08	Thinking critically about issues in one's own community.
09	Thinking critically about issues in other communities.
10	Effective participation in social life.
11	Supporting women's rights.
12	Rejecting stereotyping of women's role in society.
13	Respecting cultural diversity in society
14	Willingness to sacrifice for country.

3-Aims of Citizenship Education

Items No	Citizenship education aims
01	To help students to be aware of their rights.
02	To help students to be aware of their responsibilities in their society.
03	To provide students with information and knowledge related to government

	institutions and functions.
04	To provide students with information on the social structure of society.
05	To enhance democratic values such as equality and social justice among students
06	To develop political literacy among students.
07	To enhance students' loyalty to their country.
08	To encourage students to participate effectively at the local level in their society.
09	To encourage students to participate effectively at the national level in their society.
10	To help students to think critically about contemporary issues that face their society
11	To supply students with essential knowledge about human rights.
12	To foster patriotism among students.

4-The Main Reasons behind the Growth in Significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi

Items No	The main reasons behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post- Gaddafi
01	Absence of democracy.
02	Need to build a modern society.
03	Need to strengthen national unity.
04	Need to build a democratic society.
05	Need to diminish tribal loyalty.
06	Need to reduce the political role of tribes in society.
07	Need to reduce the social role of tribes in society.
08	Need to minimise regional loyalty.
09	Need to enhance citizenship values in society, such as social justice and equality.
10	Discrimination against the Amazigh minority as regards their cultural rights.
11	Discrimination against the Amazigh minority as regards their linguistic rights.
12	Increased calls for supporting women's rights and their role in the society.
13	Need to strengthen national cohesion among tribes.

5-Citizenship Education and Students' awareness of their Rights and Responsibilities in Society

Items No	Citizenship education can
01	Help to understand the meaning of right.
02	Help students to identify types of rights.

03	Provide students with information about how to enjoy their rights according to law.
04	Provide students with knowledge about the basis and nature of their responsibilities toward themselves.
05	Provide students with knowledge about the basis and nature of their responsibilities toward their families.
06	Provide students with knowledge about the basis and nature of their responsibilities toward their country.

6-Citizenship Education and Fostering Democratic Values

Items No	Citizenship education can
01	Provide students with knowledge and skills required for democratic practice.
02	Help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on social issues at the local level.
03	Help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on political issues at the local level.
04	Help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on social issues at the national level.
05	Help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on political issues at the national level.
06	Help to foster notions of social justice among students.
07	Help to foster notions of equality of rights among students.
08	Help students to understand the decision- making process.
09	Help to encourage students to join social clubs.
10	Help to encourage students to engage in charity work in the local community.
11	Provide students with skills required for practice of free expression.

7- Citizenship Education and National Sense

Items No	Citizenship education can
01	Help students to understand the meaning of belonging to their country.
02	Help students to understand the meaning of allegiance to their country.
03	Help students to understand the meaning of national unity.
04	Help students to enhance national cohesion among tribes.
05	Help students to understand the meaning of patriotism.

8-Citizenship Education and Women's Rights

Items No	Citizenship education can
01	Provide a clear picture of women's struggle for their rights.
02	Help to explain the relationship between traditional culture and women's rights in society.

03	Help to explain the relationship between traditional culture and women's role in society.
04	Help to explain the relationship between Islamic culture and women's rights in society.
05	Help to explain the relationship between Islamic culture and women's role in society.
06	Help to enhance modern values among students, such as gender equality.
07	Teach students how to address stereotyping of women's role in society.
08	Teach students how to bring about social change in society.
09	Help to increase students' ability to defend women's rights in society.
10	Help to increase students' ability to support women's participation into political life.
11	Help to increase students' ability to support women's participation into economic life.

9-Citizenship Education and Reduce Discrimination against the Amazigh Minority in Society

Items No	Citizenship education can
01	Help students to recognize the Amazigh community.
02	Identify the Libyan cities in which they live.
03	Provide students with information about the Tamazight language.
04	Teach students how to respect cultural diversity in their society.
05	Provide students with information about the Amazigh history.

10- Issues Influencing Citizenship Education in Libyan Society

Items No	Issues Influencing Citizenship Education in Libyan Society
01	Political issues.
02	Religious issues (Islamic).
03	Social issues (customs and traditions).
04	Tribal issues (dominant tribal culture).

In addition, the first page of this questionnaire was the cover letter, which included the name of researcher, the title and purpose of the current study. The cover letter assured head teachers and deputies of their right to withdraw from the research at any time. Additionally, it informed them that their responses would be used only for the purpose of the study and promised that their responses would be treated confidentially (For the cover letter, English and Arabic version see Appendices 7 and 9).

The questionnaire was translated into Arabic then checked by a professional translator proficient in both the Arabic and the English languages in order to avoid any ambiguity in the meaning of the questionnaire statements and to ensure the Arabic version of questionnaire reflected the English.

6.5 Population of Study

The population of a study is a target population from which the researcher seeks to draw a sample for gathering data, also called the universe (Butcher, 1966). McDaniel and Gates (2004:301) argued that the population or universe is “the total group of people from whom information is needed”. It is important, at the beginning, for the researcher to identify the population of a study, because a research sample is selected from the main study population, in order to collect data (ibid).

In this study, the population of study was all head teachers and deputies of basic schools (primary, preparatory) and secondary schools during the academic year 2012-2013 in Libya, which totalled approximately 8860 and also the Minister of Libyan Education at the national level and officials of the Department of Educational Affairs at the local level in the two cities, Derna and El-Qubba, and their surrounding areas.

6.6 Sample Design

The specific plan that is used to select a sample from a target population is called a sample design. Kothari (2004:55) defined a sample design as “the procedure or the technique the

researcher would adopt in selecting items for the sample”. The procedure of selection of a sample from a population is also called sampling. As Dattalo (2008:3) argued, “sampling is a strategy used to select elements from a population” and “a sample is selected that is representative of a population”. Success in research is achieved not only by selection of an appropriate methodology but also by implementing a suitable sampling technique. In this vein, Cohen et al., argued that:

The quality of a piece of research stands or falls not only by the appropriateness of methodology and instrumentation but also by the suitability of the sampling strategy that has been adopted.
(Cohen et al., 2007:100)

Researchers tend to select a sample from the main population of study due to the large size of the main target population and also to avoid several difficulties, for example, the amount of time, and cost of transport needed to gain access to the main population, which might prevent them from collecting data. Thus, a sample is a group that is chosen from the main target population in order to get knowledge which represents the main population (ibid). Usually this depends on several factors, which include the research objectives, the population type, the required information and the variability of sampling (Takona, 2002). Cohen et al., (2007) suggested that during the process of sample selection, the researcher should make decisions about four factors. These factors are: firstly, the size of sample, which is determined by the total number of the wider population, the style of research, the desired confidence level and confidence intervals, as well as non-response and respondent mortality. Secondly, the representativeness and parameters of the sample; to ensure a valid sample, a researcher should emphasise that a sample actually represents the wider population in question, so a researcher must clarify both the sampling frame and parameter characteristics of the main population. Thirdly, access to the sample; the researcher must ensure access to the sample easily and without exposure to risk or problems, such as could

occur, for example, in the case of child abuse victims and drug addicts. Also, a researcher must avoid facing rejection from some certain groups such as doctors and teachers, due to the responsibilities of their work. Fourthly, a sampling plan should be used.

6.7 Types of Sample Design

In general, there are two categories of sample design; probability and non probability sample, from which the researcher may choose. In a probability sample, the chance of being included in the sample is known and equal for every member of the wider population; “inclusion or exclusion from the sample is a matter of chance” (Cohen et al., 2007:110). The probability sample seeks representativeness of the wider population. It is therefore useful if the researcher wants to make generalizations. By contrast, in a non probability sample, the chance of being included in the sample is unknown and unequal for members of the wider population, since the researcher chooses deliberately a particular group of the wider population to be included or excluded from the sample. Therefore, a non probability sample does not represent the wider population; it only represents a specific group of the wider population (ibid:110). Types of probability sample include simple random sample and complex random sample, which in turn can be divided into cluster sample, systematic sample, stratified sample, area sample, multi-stage sample, and sampling with probability proportional to size (Kothari, 2004). Non probability or purposive samples include quota, snowball, specialist group, convenience, case, and self-selected sample and these samples are used in order to achieve a particular purpose (Peter, 2010:233). In this study, a non probability sample was employed in which the researcher selected the sample deliberately from the wider population. According to Peter (2010:251) such a sample is used when a research project needs input as activities from a specific group, for example, “in policy

research, experts could comment on proposed policy initiatives”. Additionally, Lodico et al., (2010:34) argued that “purposeful sampling involves the selection of participants who have key knowledge or information related to purpose of the study”.

This study investigates a new topic in the Libyan educational system after an absence of about forty-two years: the key areas for citizenship education in Libya post Gaddafi. Therefore, this study surveyed the perceptions of key principals in Libyan education. The researcher purposively selected a specific sample group from the wider population for pragmatic reasons. The interview sample consisted of the Minister of Libyan Education at the national level and the two officials of education at the local level in the two cities, Derna and El-Qubba. These respondents were selected because they hold key positions in the Libyan education system and they are responsible for enacting, reforming, and applying any new policies on the ground. The two cities, Derna and El-Qubba were selected pragmatically and purposively because they were very accessible to the researcher, in terms of distance, transport and safety. Given the volatile situation prevailing in Libya, this was a major consideration, as well as saving time and transport costs. The questionnaire was distributed to head teachers and deputies of all basic schools and secondary schools in these two cities and their attached districts. The number of schools was 140 and 84 respectively, totalling 224, as seen in Table 6.2 below.

Head teachers and deputies were targeted rather than teachers and parents, because they play key administrative, technical, and social roles in their schools. They are the main administrators who stand at the head of the organization, and have full responsibility, before the national and local educational authorities and the local community. They represent the cornerstone of the official relationship between schools and the educational

authorities at a local and national level within the hierarchical educational system in Libya. They receive educational instructions and legislation and also convey the needs, requirements, and issues of their schools to the higher authority (El-Fiqi, 1994; cited in Mohammed, 2012). Also, they inform teachers about the latest developments in education, and provide information about the national conferences, seminars and workshops related their subjects (Al-Shaibani, 1976; cited in Mohammed, 2012). Furthermore, head teachers have more experience with the curriculum than parents through their role as educational supervisors in their schools

Table 6.2: Sampling Frame of Head teachers and Deputies According to the Type of School and Educational Regions

Educational region Derna and EL- Qubba and their attached districts	Basic school	Secondary school	Number of target sample "head teacher and deputies
Derna	50	10	120
Martobha	14	3	34
Am-Razm	12	2	28
EL-Aziat	9	1	20
EL-Tamimy	20	3	46
Am afaine	3	0	6
Karsa	8	2	20
Wadi-Elnaga	1	0	2
ALtharon	2	0	4
EL-Qubba	26	3	58
EL-Giegb	16	3	38
Ras EL-helal	10	1	22
Aien Mara	16	2	36
Abu nagla	3	0	6
Tart	4	0	8
Total	194	30	448

Thus, the size of the main sample for the questionnaire was 448 participants.

6.8 Validity of the Study Instrument (Questionnaire)

In general, validity means “the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration” (Rubin and Babbie, 2005:186). More simply, the validity of the instrument used in the study is defined as “the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed to measure” (Kothari, 2004:73). Similarly, Lokanadha Reddy and Sujathamalini (2006:87) defined validity as “the quality of the research tool or procedure that measures what it purports to measure”. There are several types of validity, for instance face validity, content validity, criterion-related validity, construct validity, and factorial validity (Rubin and Babbie, 2005). However, in this study the face and content validity of the questionnaire were determined.

6.8.1 Face Validity

Face validity is determined through the view of experts and educators, who evaluate whether the research tool is related to the variables being measured. In this regard, Lokanadha Reddy and Sujathamalini argued that:

Face validity refers to the way the test appears to those it is meant, to experts and educationists. That is, the test items should be related to the variable being measured. Based on the experts’ consultation and opinion, it can be said that the tools used in the study possessed face validity.
(Lokanadha Reddy and Sujathamalini, 2006:87)

If a research instrument has face validity, this means that it appears valid to measure what the researcher wants to be measured.

6.8.2 Content Validity

Content validity is defined as “the degree to which a measure covers the range of meanings included within the concept” (Rubin and Babbie, 2005:188). Also, Lokanadha Reddy and

Sujathamalini (2006:87) argued that content validity refers to the “adequacy of the content of a tool”.

Content validity, like face validity, is determined by the judgement of researchers and experts about whether the instrument’s items cover the general aspects that comprise the concept (Rubin and Babbie, 2005). Generally speaking, a research tool possesses content validity if its items really measure the concepts being measured. Additionally, Kothari argued that:

Content validity is the extent to which a measuring instrument provides adequate coverage of the topic under study. If the instrument contains a representative sample of the universe, the content validity is good. Its determination is primarily judgemental and intuitive.
(Kothari, 2004:74)

According to Kothari (2004:74) a common procedure to determine the content validity of a measuring instrument is using a panel of experts in the related area who can judge whether an instrument measures a topic being researched or not. Similarly, Rubin and Bellamy (2012) argued that face validity can be determined by judgement of experts in the same field.

In order to ensure the clarity of questions and their appropriateness to the aims and objectives of the study and to reveal any ambiguity in wording of questions, as well as simplifying their wording as much as possible, in this study both face and content validity of questionnaire were tested as follows:

Firstly, the researcher and her supervisor carefully checked the wording of statements and they made sure of the clarity of the meaning of items and also that they reflected the content of the scale. Additionally, the researcher tended to select simple words as much as

possible in order to avoid any ambiguity in the meaning of items, especially during translation of the questionnaire into Arabic.

Secondly, the Arabic version of the questionnaire was judged by a group of experts in the department of Educational Studies at Omar EL-Moukhtar University, which is located at the eastern part of Libya and also a group of specialists in social studies in the two cities, Derna and El-Qubba, in order to ensure the face validity of the questionnaire, in other words, to assess whether the questions and statements in the questionnaire were appropriate to the topic being researched. These experts made some suggestions which were followed by the researcher, as follows:

Third part

The experts suggested new statements for instance “Faith in God” was added and put as item No 1, while “Loyalty to a country” became item No 2. They made this change because Faith in God is regarded as the most important characteristic of effective citizens in Islamic countries such as Libya. Additionally, a new statement “Protecting state institutions” was added to option No 4 instead of “Awareness of rights and respect for others’ rights” and the statement “Supporting women’s rights” in item No 11 was deleted and a new statement “Broad-mindedness and familiarity with knowledge” was added. Similarly, the statement “Respecting cultural diversity in society” in item No 13 was changed to a new one “Ability to adapt quickly to the changes which occur in society”. The experts suggested these changes in this part because in their view these new options represented the required characteristics of effective citizens, which should be implanted among young people, and could be help to build a democratic society in the Middle East in general after the Arab Spring and in Libya in particular after the Revolution of 17th February.

Fourth part

According to the suggestion of experts, item No1 “To help students to be aware of their rights” was changed to “To provide students with information about the history of their country” and item No 2 “To help students to be aware of their responsibilities in their society” was changed to “To implant the virtuous social values, such as devotion in work/ honesty/ seeking knowledge”. They made these changes in order to avoid repetition of questionnaire statements, as the two original items were mentioned in the first part. Furthermore, two options were added by the experts: No 13 “To clarify the meaning of a civilian society” and No 14 “To provide students with information about the organisations of a civilian society and their functions”. They suggested these two options for several reasons; firstly, these two options bring new meanings and thoughts to Libyan society, which were non-existent during Gaddafi’s regime. Secondly, the civilian society and its organisations play a crucial role in facilitation of a linkage between citizens and a state. Thirdly, organisations of civilian society are essential for a democratic development, as these organisations are able to put pressure on a government by peaceful means to make general adjustments and reforms in a society.

Sixth part

In this part, statement No 3 “Provide students with information about how to enjoy their rights according to law” was changed by experts to a new statement “Provide students with information about the International Organisations, such as Child Rights Organisation, The United Nations Organisation”. They made this change because these Organisations are responsible for protection of human rights worldwide.

Eighth part

The panel of experts added two more options: item No 6 “Can provide students with information about some national symbols, such as the national flag and the national

anthem” and item No7, “Can provide students with information about symbols of jihad for the sake of the homeland, such as Omar El-Moukhtar”. They added these new options in order to promote a national sense among the new generations.

Hence, the questionnaire was revised according to the suggestions of the group of experts, in order to be suitable to the aims of the research. Accordingly, the questionnaire was assessed as valid to measure what was being measured. Then the new version of questionnaire was used in a pilot study, in order to assure validity of the questionnaire.

6.9 Piloting the Questionnaire

A pilot study is defined as “a means of checking whether the survey can be administered and provides accurate data” (Cargan, 2007:116). Piloting a questionnaire is a crucial step before the final administration of the questionnaire, since it provides important feedback about any obstacles that might face respondents, such as ambiguities and misunderstanding in the instructions or questions of questionnaire. Therefore, its purpose “is to pre-test an early draft of a survey questionnaire” (McNabb, 2010:105). Similarly, McCormack and Hill (1997:97) argued that a pilot study helps researchers in the following procedures:

- ▶ identifies ambiguity of instructions.
- ▶ identifies unclear wording of questions
- ▶ identifies length of a questionnaire.
- ▶ identifies a lack of continuity.

In addition, piloting of a questionnaire helps the researcher to know whether questions are answered in the same manner; if so, they need to be revised. Also, it helps the researcher to

determine the length of a questionnaire through recording the time taken to complete it (Thomas et al., 2011:279).

In this study, the questionnaire was piloted in a random sample drawn from the main sample; pilot respondents did not participate in the main study, in order to avoid any possible bias in response to the main study due to familiarity with the questionnaire. In this regard De Vaus argued that:

Piloting of the questionnaire should be conducted with a sample of the same people who have similar characteristics to those people of the final sample whom the final questionnaire will be given.
(De Vaus, 2002:117)

The pilot sample was 20 head teachers and deputies selected randomly from the main sample of head teachers and deputies of basic (primary and preparatory) and secondary schools in the two cities, Derna and El-Oubba and their attached districts, as explained in Table 6. 3.

McCormack and Hill (1997) advised that the result from a sample selected for piloting a questionnaire should be excluded from the final findings of the study. This result is used only for determine the validity and reliability of questionnaire (McNabb, 2010).

Table 6.3: Pilot Study Sample

Derna and EL-Qubba and their attached districts	Basic school	Secondary school	Number of head teacher and deputies
Martobha	0	1	2
AM-Elrzm	1	0	2
EL-Aziat	1	0	2
EL-Tamimy	0	1	2
ALtharon	1	0	2
EL-Giegb	0	1	2
Ras EL-helal	0	1	2
Aien Mara	0	1	2
Abu nagla	1	0	2
Tart	1	0	2
Total	5	5	20

In line with research ethics, the researcher obtained a letter from officials of the Department of Educational Affairs at the two mentioned cities, giving permission to administer the pilot questionnaire. This letter referred to recommendations of the Minister of Education at the national level regarding this study, an introduction to the current study, the purpose of the pilot study, time for conducting the pilot study, and the selected sample, in order to enhance the confidence of participants, as well as to obtain the most honest answers possible.

Subsequently, the questionnaire was administered face-to-face separately to each head teacher and deputy in his/her school in March 2013. Before the start of the pilot study, the head teachers and deputies were provided with an introduction about the research and its purpose by the researcher herself. Then, the head teachers and deputies were requested to answer the questionnaire carefully and to make comments about the instructions, wording of questions, and any difficulties they faced. Also, they were told they could suggest or delete any option or statement in order to improve the questionnaire. Also, the researcher assured them of the significance of their responses in the success of this study.

Finally, the researcher recorded the time needed for completing the questionnaire, which was approximately 25-30 minutes. Piloting of the questionnaire resulted in some changes to some items and also some new ideas were obtained, which helped to improve the questionnaire. The suggestions of head teachers and deputies of basic (primary and preparatory) and secondary schools were as follows:

Second part

The participants suggested adding new words “For example, district\ city\ village” to statement No 9 “A sense of belonging to a particular region” in order to clarify the meaning of the phrase “A particular region”. Also, words “for example, Libya” were added to

statement No 10 in order to give a better understanding of the word “country”. Similarly, the words, “For example, the Arab nation” were added to statement No 11 in order to give an example of the word nation. Furthermore, the word “Community” in statement No 12 was changed to the word “Sect”. They made this change because the word sect refers to a group of individuals who have an idea especially religious, which is different from the rest of the community. Also, the word “Respect” was added to statement No15 instead of the word “Obedience”. They suggested that because the word respect is more respectful in this statement than the word obedience, which can be construed as meaning doing something under coercion.

Seventh part

In this part, the participants changed the statement No 8 “Help students to understand the decision-making process) to (Help students to understand the voting process”. The participants made this change because the voting process is the main base of democracy.

Ninth part

The participants suggested changing the word “explain” to “clarify” in option No.4“Help to explain the relationship between Islamic culture and women’s rights in society” and also in option No 5 “Help to explain the relationship between Islamic culture and women’s role in society”. They made this change because the word “Clarify” in the Arabic language is more suitable than “Explain”, especially in these two statements. Also, the statement No 6 “Help to enhance modern values among students, such as gender equality” was modified by the participants to “Help to enhance the accepted values religiously and socially among students, such as gender equality”. They suggested this modification in order to make the statement more appropriate to the culture of Libyan society.

Tenth part

The participants suggested adding the word Berber to the instructions of this part. They suggested adding this because the Amazigh are sometimes called the Berber. (For the questionnaire after the pilot study see Appendices 8 and 10 for English and Arabic version).

6.10 Reliability of the Questionnaire

Reliability is defined as the extent to which a test or procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions (Bell, 2005:117). In the same way, Rubin and Babbie (2005:182) argued that “reliability is a matter of whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object, would yield the same result each time”. Additionally, Wiersma (2000:297) argued that “reliability is the consistency of the instrument in measuring whatever it measures”. There are two types of reliability, external reliability and internal reliability. Wiersma argued that:

Internal reliability indicates the extent of to which data collection, analysis, and interpretations are consistent given the same conditions while external reliability refers to whether or not independent researchers can replicate studies in the same settings.
(Wiersma, 2000: 8)

Reliability can be estimated by many procedures. For instance, the Test-Retest procedure is used to determine external reliability, where the same test is applied twice or more with the same group. If the result shows a high positive association between the scores, this will indicate that the test is reliable (ibid). According to Pallant (2010:6), internal reliability is “the degree to which the items that make up the scale are all measuring the same underlying attribute”. Pallant added that Cronbach’s Alpha coefficient is the most common procedure used to determine the internal consistency. Coefficient Alpha ranges between 0 and 1. Krysik and Finn explained that:

Scales in which items are not scored consistently will have a relatively low alpha coefficient. Conversely, scales in which the items are scored consistently will have a relatively high Cronbach's alpha. (Krysiak and Finn, 2010:276)

In the current study Cronbach's Alpha was utilized to determine the internal reliability of the whole scale, which consisted of 102 items. The overall Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for this scale was 0.82. Statistically, this value was acceptable, so the scale was reliable.

6.11 Administration of the Questionnaire

Distribution of the questionnaire lasted for two months from the first of April 2013 until the first of June 2013. The size of the main questionnaire sample was 448. However, 20 head teachers and deputies of basic and secondary schools were excluded because they had taken part in piloting the questionnaire, bringing the sample size to 428. Hence, 428 questionnaires were distributed personally by the researcher (face-to-face). In order to increase participants' confidence and to ensure a high-level willingness to participate in the study, official approval letters were issued by the officials of the Department of Educational Affairs in the two cities Derna and El-Qubba and their surrounding areas. Each letter informed head teachers and deputies about the conduct of the survey, followed by the name of the researcher and finally requested them to participate in this study, based on the approval given by the Minister of Education at the national level. These letters were sent to all schools in the two selected cities and their surrounding areas (see Appendices 5 and 6).

The researcher began to visit schools in the two selected cities, Derna and El-Qubba, sequentially and she met each head teacher and his/her deputy in their own school. During each visit, the researcher introduced herself and gave a brief overview of the topic of her

study and clarified its purpose. Also, she informed head teachers and deputies of the importance of their responses to serve their country as well as for the success of the study. She assured them that their responses would be treated confidentially and eventually thanked them for their participation. In addition, she asked head teachers and deputies to read carefully the instructions of the parts of the questionnaire and informed them that she was available and they should not hesitate to ask her about any difficulty in wording of items. Then the researcher requested head teachers and deputies to fill the questionnaire. Finally, after they had finished filling in their responses, the completed questionnaires were collected immediately by the researcher herself.

The return rate of the questionnaire was high, with 420 completed questionnaires received. Eight questionnaires were missing because they were completely rejected by head teachers and deputies of four schools. Some of them explained their refusal to participate on the ground that they did not believe in citizenship education and had another religious perspective, as they wished to establish an Islamic society. Others refused to fill in the questionnaire because they considered citizenship education as similar to what was taught during Gaddafi's regime (Gaddafi's thought), which sought to build citizens who served the regime itself. Therefore, they considered this subject just a waste of time. Others refused to complete the questionnaire because they thought the citizenship concept is a Western concept, which they considered alien to the Arab culture.

6.12 Interviews

The interview is one of the main research tools used for collecting research data. The interview is defined by the Oxford Dictionary "as a face-to-face meeting, especially for

purpose of obtaining a statement or for assessing the qualities of a candidate” (Andrews, 2009:1). Similarly, Sprenkle and Piercy (2005:221) defined interview as “the format that an investigator uses to ask questions; it can be conducted in person, over the telephone, through mail questionnaires, or in some other way”.

Merriam (2009) suggested that interview is conducted for many purposes, for instance it is used to obtain information from people about their behaviour, thoughts and their feeling, and their perspectives, which cannot be observed directly. Also, interview is conducted to access information that cannot be obtained except by interview. Hence, the purpose of conducting interview in this study was to explore the views of the Minister of Libyan Education at the national and officials of the Department of Educational Affairs at the local levels about key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

There are three types of interview that can be utilized as a research tool to collect data; highly structured/standardized, semi-structured, and unstructured/ informal interviews (Merriam, 2009; Dantzker and Hunter, 2006). The highly structured interview is a formal interview and is quantitative in nature. In this regard, Lazaret al., (2010) argued that:

Fully structured interviews use a rigid script to present questions in a well-defined order. Although some questions may be skipped, based on answers to previous questions, there is no room for asking questions out of order or for adding questions not found in the pre-defined interview script.
(Lazaret al., 2010: 189)

In this type of interview, all interviewees are asked a list of predefined questions in the same order and usually followed by optional answers, and answer in their own time, without being rushed (Dantzker and Hunter, 2006). However, in a highly structured interview there is no chance to talk freely as Campion et al., (1988:28) asserted that “there is no encouraging the interviewee or follow-up questions though a question may be

repeated”. Although a highly structured interview has advantages, such as saving time and avoiding bias by reducing the effect of the researcher and instrument, it has less flexibility, which can prevent the interviewer from obtaining wide information related to his/her subject. Hence, in this study this type of interview was not applied, because the purpose of conducting the interview was to obtain in-depth information around the research topic.

On the other hand, an unstructured interview is an informal conversational interview where questions are not predetermined but are generated from conversation between interviewer and interviewee. As Breakwell (1990:78) argued, in unstructured interview “the questions and their order develop from exchange with respondents”. As a result, each unstructured interview can generate data in various forms (Lazar et al., 2010). Fielding (2003) argued that unstructured interview has a high flexibility, as interviewees are allowed to talk freely and they answer the questions in their own words. However, they are time-consuming, researchers might lose their control of the pace and direction of the interview and more effort is needed to analyse the various answers. Moreover, Lazar et al., (2010) suggested that unstructured interview needs a highly skilled researcher, who has more experience and knowledge of controlling the pace of the interview, introducing new topics, and directing the conversation toward the research subject. Therefore, this type of interview was not employed in the current study.

A semi-structured interview is less rigid in comparison to a structured interview, and the questions are not nearly as fixed as in a structured interview. In a semi-structured interview, the researcher uses a guide related to the research topic to introduce some structure to the interview, while at the same time interviewees are allowed to talk freely, as well as to express their opinions in their own words (Schuh and Associates, 2009). Accordingly, the

researcher can obtain deeper information about his/her subject. In other words, in a semi-structured interview, a researcher is able to control the interview well and to direct it in a specific manner, as the researcher can change the order and wording of questions according to the conditions of the interview. Also, the researcher can add new questions and investigate issues that may emerge (Lodico et al., 2010). Therefore, a semi-structured interview is easier and more appropriate for 'novice' researchers (Tenenbaum and Driscoll, 2005:593).

Green and Browne (2005) argued that a semi-structured interview is used commonly in qualitative research, where questions are not only predetermined but also questions can be reworded whenever respondents request more clarification. Similarly, Cargan (2007) asserted that in semi-structured interview there is a less possibility of misinterpretation, since the interviewer has a chance to clarify any ambiguous meaning that may face interviewees. Additionally, a semi-structured interview enables interviewers to obtain a good response rate and build a relationship with the interviewees.

Based on what was mentioned above, a semi-structured interview was more suitable for the purpose of the current study because the researcher wished to explore the interviewees' views on the areas of focus, in order to obtain more depth of information from the interviewees about the topics of the research. At the same time, it was more appropriate for the researcher as it is easier to conduct than an unstructured interview because the researcher has a guide (or a checklist) of questions that is used to direct the conversation.

The interviews were conducted after data were collected by questionnaire, in order to get more information to enrich the research.

6.13 Design of the Semi-structured Interview Schedule

The researcher first designed an interview schedule by listing the main themes of the study, similar to those included in the questionnaire, which focused on key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi (see Appendices 11, 13, and 15). According to the purpose of the study, nine interview questions were derived, as follows:

Q1. How do you define citizenship?

Q2. What are the characteristics of an effective Libyan citizen?

Q3. Could you please tell me about the significance of citizenship education in general?

Q4. Why is citizenship education growing in significance in Libya post-Gaddafi?

Q5. From your point of view, what sort of society should citizenship education aim to build?

Q6. What do you think should be the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

Q7. What about women's rights in the new Libya?

Q8. What about the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority in Libya post-Gaddafi?

Q9. What are the issues that might negatively impact citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

6.14 Conduct of Interviews

The interviews were conducted after the period of distribution of the questionnaire, from mid June until the end of July 2013 and each interview took around 45 to 50 minutes. In

line with ethical considerations, the approval letter issued by the Minister of Education at the national level was sent to the officials of the Department of Educational Affairs at the two cities, Derna and El-Qubba and their surrounding areas (see Appendix 4). Next, the researcher sought to determine a time and place for the interviews prior to the interviews, in order to avoid disruption of the interviews as far as possible. In this regard, Mathers et al., emphasised that:

Effort should be made to avoid interruption wherever possible and this can be helped by informing the interviewee in advance of how long the interview should take and making sure the interview takes place at the most convenient time.

(Mathers et al., 2002:11)

With this in mind, appointments were made to interview the officials in their offices at the Education Department headquarters building in each city, and each of them was interviewed just once. The first interview, with the official of Educational Affairs in the city of Derna was on 15th of June 2013 at 10.00 am. The second interview, with the official of Educational Affairs in the city of El-Qubba was on 20th of June 2013 at 10.00 am. Finally, the researcher submitted a written request to the undersecretary of the Ministry of Education for approval to make an appointment to meet the Minister of Education at the national level. The researcher obtained the approval to conduct an interview on 15th of July 2013 at 11.30 am at the headquarters building of the Ministry of Education in the city of Tripoli, the capital of Libya. The researcher preferred to leave some time after each interview in order to allow time for coding and transcribing the interview before conducting the next one.

All the interviews took place in the interviewees' offices. Since all the interviewees were male, the researcher conducted the interviews in the presence of her husband, in order to

carry out the interviews in more comfortable and respectful conditions for all, in line with the social culture in Libyan society. In Libyan culture it is unacceptable for women to sit with a strange man in a closed room in any organisation, especially if she is not a member of staff of the organisation.

Each interview was recorded, after obtaining permission for using tape recording, to enable the researcher to carefully follow up all the points in conversation. This is because “qualitative researchers are frequently interested not just in what people say but also in the way that they say it” (Bryman, 2012:428). Besides the tapes, detailed notes were taken in each interview, and then the researcher reviewed the notes, and listened to the tapes more than once, in order to select the most important ideas in each conversation. As Seidman (2006:115) suggested, “It is possible to listen to the tapes a number of times, pick out sections that seem important, and then transcribe just those”. Then, the researcher transcribed all the tapes herself, a process which is not easy as it takes effort and consumes time (Seidman, 2006:115; George, 1991:47). Nonetheless, the researcher chose self-transcribing in order to be conversant with all the information and ideas raised during the interviews, as self-transcription helps to bring researchers closer to the data, so they can discover main ideas, and compare between numerous interviewees' responses (Bryman, 2012:486). The tapes were transcribed in Arabic, and then translated into English by a translator who was proficient in both languages.

6.15 Validity and Reliability of Interviews (Trustworthiness)

Trustworthiness is an alternative criterion to measure the quality of qualitative research and it similar to validity and reliability in quantitative research (Bryman, 2012). Bryman added that the trustworthiness of qualitative research consists of four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

6.15.1. Credibility

Credibility is the major criterion for assessing qualitative research (Flick, 1998). In this regard, Bryman (2012:390) argued that credibility parallels internal validity in quantitative research. However, in a qualitative context, Corbin and Strauss pointed out that:

“Credibility” indicates that findings are trustworthy and believable in that they reflect participants’, researchers’, and readers’ experiences with a phenomenon but at the same time the explanation is only one of many possible “plausible” interpretations possible from data.
(Corbin and Strauss, 2008:302)

Furthermore, Polit (2004:539) argued that “credibility involves two aspects: carrying out the study in a way to enhance the believability of the findings, and taking steps to demonstrate credibility to external readers”. In regard to enhancing the credibility of research, Flick (1998:232) mentioned some strategies that can be used by researchers in order to increase credibility of their research, such as “triangulation of various methods, peer debriefing, member checks, and appropriateness of the terms of reference of interpretations and their assessment”.

In order to enhance the credibility of this study, the researcher employed a triangulation strategy, where data were collected by different methods and from different participants. Moreover, the interview schedule (items and questions) was subjected to extensive sorting.

First it was discussed and checked carefully by the researcher and her supervisor, which resulted in some changes. Then it was discussed with the researcher's colleagues in the University of Hull, who made some comments and suggestions. The interview was then piloted with some of the researcher's colleagues in the Department of Educational Studies in the University of Omar EL-Mukhtar in Libya, in order to discover any ambiguity in wording of questions or items. The third strategy was, at the end of each interview, to show the participants their answers for review, in a process of member checking where participants were given chance to "refine, rephrase, and interpret" their ideas, as suggested by Foster (2004:230).

6.15.2 Transferability

According to Polit (2004:539) transferability means "essentially to the generalizability of the data, that is, the extent to which the findings can be transferred to or have applicability in other settings or groups". Similarly, Bryman (2012:390) argues that transferability is the qualitative answer to external validity in quantitative research, which means "the degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings". However, Flick (1998:70) argues that in general, generalization is not the aim of the qualitative research, whereas it is considered the main issue in quantitative research. Rather, as Ponterotto (2006:543) emphasised, "thick description leads to thick interpretation, which in turns leads to thick meaning of the research findings for the researchers and participants themselves, and for the report's intended readership".

Based on what is stated above, in this study, the researcher sought to provide a deep and clear description and interpretation, "thick description" of key areas of citizenship

education in and of the chosen context, in order to enable readers to assess the extent of applicability to their contexts.

6.15.3 Dependability

Dependability corresponds to reliability in quantitative research, which refers to “the degree to which a study can be replicated” (Bryman, 2012:390), and it is addressed through employing an auditing process. Shenton (2004) and Bryman (2012:392) suggested that to tackle issues of dependability, researchers should provide a detailed report of their study, in order to facilitate replication of the study for other researchers even if they do not obtain the identical findings. Dependability is achieved from “research notes that clarify interpretations, decisions, the strategy and plan of research design, procedure of data collection, and results development” (Foster, 2004:230). Also, triangulation enhances dependability in qualitative research, since any disadvantages of one method of gathering data can be compensated by using an alternative method (Krefting, 1991:221). Accordingly, in this study, dependability was ensured through triangulation. Furthermore, a full description of the research design was provided and the procedures of data collection and analysis clarified.

6.15.4 Confirmability

Bryman (2012, 390) argues that confirmability equals objectivity. Also, Polit (2004:539) suggested that confirmability means: “Objectivity, that is, the potential for congruence between two or more independent people about the data’s accuracy, relevance, or meaning”. Shenton (2004) similarly argues that, confirmability is related to the concern of objectivity in qualitative research and how researchers can avoid bias in their research findings as far as possible. In the current study, this condition was pursued through the

researcher's reflexivity on her position and its impact, as reflected in a later section. Furthermore, confirmability in this study was ensured through using triangulation and providing clear research notes (Foster, 2004:230; Shenton, 2004:72).

6.16 Ethical Issues

According to Gratton and Jones (2010:124) "researchers should ensure that they obtain ethical approval from the relevant committee at their institution before any research programme involving ethical issues commences". Hence, the initial approval was obtained from the Libyan Ministry of Education at the national and local levels for conducting this study. In addition, following a careful checking of the questionnaire and interview schedule, approval was obtained from the Ethics Committee in The Faculty of Education at the University of Hull (see Appendix 1). Then, an approval letter was issued by the supervisor that stated the title of the study, the starting data, the population and the purpose of the study. This letter was sent to Libyan Embassy- cultural attaché in London, in order to get official permission for conducting the study in Libya with the target population and during the specified period of time. As a third step, the researcher sought official approval from the Ministry of Education at the national level to authorise the researcher to conduct the study in the selected region. Finally, the researcher sought official approval from the officials of the Department of Educational Affairs in the two selected cities, Derna and El-Qubba, to enter schools for distribution of the questionnaire to head teachers and deputies (For the official approval letters see Appendices 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6).

Once she had obtained the approval for the first meeting was at 10:00 am, in the minister's office at the headquarters building of the Ministry of Education in the city of Tripoli, the capital of Libya, the researcher began by introducing herself and providing a brief overview

of the research topic which included the purpose of the research and its goals. The Minister of Education, in return, welcomed the research topic, and expressed the importance of citizenship education and the need for it in all countries of the world in general, and in the Arab world in particular, especially after the revolutions of the Arab Spring. He mentioned that this study deals with the most important issues in Libya post-Gaddafi, the Amazigh minority rights and women's rights, which challenge the Libyan temporary government and rank first on its agenda. Then he requested a report in Arabic containing the research title, its purpose, the parameters of the research (date and place), the population and the research tools to be used for data collection. The Minister encouraged the researcher to carry on her study, and he mentioned that he wished to see the results collected from the questionnaire at our next meeting. Finally, he issued a letter directed to the officials of the Department of Educational Affairs in each of the selected cities, Derna and El-Qubba. This official letter indicated approval for conducting the study in the two mentioned cities and asked the officials to facilitate this by making the necessary provision.

During the conduct of the research, general ethical principles were observed. According to Walsh and Wings (2003:106) the ethics of research are concerned with the standard of behaviour and the practical procedure that researchers are expected to follow". These ethics include confidentiality and a right of privacy. For example, participants have a right to withdraw from the research at any time they want, a right to refuse to answer any question asked, a right to remain anonymous, and a right to secrecy and protection of their information (Walsh and Wigns, 2003:110).

Similarly, Hall (2008:66) argued that "ethical considerations are considered as an integral part of the planning stage of all research projects". Among these ethical considerations, for

instance voluntary informed consent is the first step. It means the consent of participants must be obtained, this is written, must be voluntary and obtained without coercion, and participants must be informed about the purpose of the research and what the researcher requires from them (ibid). Another issue is risk assessment. There are some research projects, which involve physical and psychological harm to participants. Therefore, participants should be informed of the potential harm. Ethically, researchers must take care to avoid harm or reduce it as much as possible (Hall, 2008). Also, researchers should use a code of conduct, which includes essential guidelines and instructions (Gratton and Jones, 2010). For carrying out interviews in particular, Kervin suggested that:

Informed consent needs to be sought from participants to use the information they provide through interviews. It is important that participants are briefed on the purpose of all interviews, consent to the recording of these, and are given opportunity to review transcripts. The confidentiality of participants is important and may be protected by assigning pseudonyms to interview respondents.
(Kervin, 2006: 90)

Hence, the researcher took these ethical considerations into account, in order to make the interviews respectful to all, as well as to encourage the respondents to talk confidently. The researcher introduced herself and the interviewees were provided with a full oral description of the current study, which included the title of the study, the general aims of the study, the purpose of conducting the interview, and the significance of the perspectives of interviewees in enhancing the success of the study in achievement of its goals.

In order to gain their confidence, the interviewees were assured that their answers would be employed only for the purposes of the study and also that the researcher would be happy to allow the interviewees to review the transcripts of their answers, if they so wished (For interview introduction English and Arabic version, see Appendices 12 and 14). In conducting the interviews, use of a tape recorder was an important assisting tool, as it

enables the researcher to focus on the person being interviewed, particularly when the answers are translated professionally into English. To show respect for the interviewees, the researcher obtained permission for using a tape recorder before beginning the interviews. In the case of the interviewees, the position of these key informants raised difficulties regarding the general principle of anonymity. Since the credibility and value of the interview data depended on the unique positions of the interviewees (as shapers of education policy) much of the significance would be lost if these positions were not identified. However, as there is only one incumbent of each position, the individuals concerned would be identifiable. This dilemma was resolved by pointing out this difficulty to the interviewees and discussing whether identification might pose any risk or problem for them. All of the interviewees were willing to disclose their involvement in this study and have their opinions attributed. These issues were taken into consideration to establish good relations with participants, and to obtain the most honest results.

6.17 The Researcher's Positionality in the Study

Positionality in a study refers to "how the study might be affected by the researcher's own particular background, beliefs and values" (Hammond and Wellington, 2013:118). It plays a role in discovering the obstacles and limitations of understanding that face researchers (ibid). The researcher has worked as a lecturer since 2005 in the Faculty of Education in Omar EL-Mukhtar University in the city of Derna, which is located in the east of Libya, and now the researcher is doing research for a PhD in education. As such, the researcher was interested in studying citizenship by investigation of stakeholders' views on key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. This interest emerged because Libya is undergoing a transitional stage after the overthrow of Gaddafi's dictatorship after about two

decades, and the success of the Revolution of 17th February, 2011. In this context, the researcher thought that citizenship education could help to create new citizens in the new Libya, and hence will help to achieve the goals of the Revolution of 17th February, which were to achieve freedom and establish a democratic society. However, the researcher faced a lack of local knowledge and experience related to citizenship in general and citizenship education in particular, because citizenship education was abolished during Gaddafi's regime. Therefore, the researcher depended on her own experience, especially with regard to what she saw as the main social and ethnic issues in Libyan society, which are tribalism, women's rights and their stereotyping in society, and the Amazigh minority and their linguistic and cultural rights. The researcher is familiar with the study context as she is an Arab Libyan citizen, a woman, and she belongs to one of the Libyan tribes. This contextual familiarity with these factors had positive and negative effects on the research. The depth of the researcher's experience and her knowledge about the research context assisted and encouraged her to address the issue from many aspects (socially, politically and educationally). The researcher thought this would be helpful to increase her understanding of the situation and would help to realize the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

With regard to negative effects of the researcher's familiarity with the context, this led her to face challenges for her role in the research. For example, during the interviews the researcher tried several times to avoid deliberately asking more questions, especially related to women's rights, as all the participants were men and the researcher is a woman who knows how women struggle for their rights in a male-dominated society. Under this circumstance, the researcher found herself in a divided position, between being a researcher

who was aspiring to investigate and collect data and a woman who has enough experience about the context.

Similarly, in regard to the Amazigh minority issue, on the one hand, the researcher who as an Arab citizen whose native language is Arabic is familiar with the context, and she knew how the Amazigh are prevented from enjoying their cultural and linguistic rights. On the other hand, she was a researcher who was attempting to investigate and gather the required data. At that time, the researcher gradually changed her role as she realized she was a researcher who was seeking to obtain more information without any bias. For this reason, she sought to extract information from respondents through asking more questions, in order to encourage them to engage in the research. Therefore, deep and rich information was obtained, which will help in interpreting the findings.

6.18 Procedures for Statistical Analysis of the Quantitative Data (Questionnaire):

In this study, descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyse the data obtained from the questionnaire.

6.18.1. Descriptive Statistics

According to Rose and Sullivan (1996:84) “the descriptive statistics are concerned with the interpretation and summarization of frequency distributions and percentage distributions”. Hence, in this study frequency was used in order to obtain the number of cases and percentages in the categories of a variable (ibid).

6.18.2. Inferential Statistics

In this regard, the parametric and non parametric tests were performed in this study. In general, there are differences between the parametric and non parametric tests, the parametric tests are:

Statistical techniques to test a hypothesis based on some restrictive assumptions, which are respect to the normality of the population and random selection of samples from the normal population. Additionally, parametric test require quantitative measurement of the sample data in the form of an interval or ratio scale.
(Bajpai, 2010: 678)

In contrast, “non parametric tests make no assumptions regarding the distributions of the data variables and can be applied to ordinal and /or nominal data” (Marque deSa, 2003:141). Among parametric tests, One- way analysis of variance (ANOVA) test was performed in the last part of the questionnaire to compare the mean of responses between the two cities and between the two types of schools as well.

In order to determine any significance differences regarding the influences of the four issues; political, religious, social and tribal issues on citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. As Pagano argues, ANOVA

...is a statistical technique used to analyze multi group experiment. Using F allows us to make one overall comparison that tells whether there is significant difference between the means of the groups.
(Pagano 2013:405)

From the non parametric tests, the Chi-square test and cross tabulations were used. Cross tabulations were employed in order to examine if there were any differences between the two cities and between the two types of schools. As Acton et al., (2009:141) stated “cross tabulations are frequently employed to examine the relationship between two variables”.

A Chi-square test was undertaken in order to determine whether any statistical differences exist between the two cities and between the two types of schools. In this regard, Acton et

al., (2009:144) argue that “the Chi-square test allows researchers to determine whether or not there is a statistically significant association between the two variables”.

6.19 Procedures for Analysis of the Qualitative Data (Interviews)

The procedures of analysis the qualitative data obtained from interviews included the following these stages:

6.19. 1 Transcription

In line with Wilde (2003:77) the researcher “transcribed the interviews, as a strategy to familiarise [herself] with the interview data, and to allow quotations from the interviews that would be as accurate as possible”. Hence, in this study, all the three interviews were successfully recorded, and also notes were taken. The researcher purposely left time between interviews. After the conduct of each interview, the tape was transcribed by the researcher herself in order to be closer to the data being collected, to avoid missing any information or ideas arising through the interviews, to ensure the transcription was as similar to the original conversation as possible, and to save time. While carrying out the transcription, the researcher came to the notes taken, which are considered the second resource of data.

6.19.2 Translation

As all three interviews were transcribed in Arabic, after transcription each interview was translated into English by a professional bilingual translator in Libya, in order to ensure accuracy of the data.

6.19.3 Coding and Categorising

According to Saldana (2013:9) coding is a method that enables a researcher “to organise and group similarly coded data into categories or “families” because they share some characteristics”. Categorizing means coding interviews into categories in order to summarise a large text (Kvale, 1996:4). In order to develop interpretation of the interviews, coding is the initial step of analysis that helps to derive key concepts from the data that are in tune with respondents’ expression and also the purpose of the study. In this sense, Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002) suggested that:

Coding transcribed interview narratives depends on the objective of the study. By coding, categorizing and analysing semi-structured interviews, researchers thus develop concepts that are increasingly abstracted from, but consistent with, individuals’ accounts.
(Klandermans and Staggenborg, 2002: 111)

Thus, an iterative inductive and deductive analysis approach was adopted in order to obtain more explanation about the topic being researched. In this regard Altinay and Paraskevas recommended that:

If you opt to follow the deductive approach, you must develop a coding schema or template which reflects the codes deriving from your research (conceptual) framework and emphasize the key themes that emerge from the literature review.
(Altinay and Paraskevas, 2008:168)

In the same sense, LeCompte and Schensul (1999) argued that a deductive analysis indicates categorizing of data according to the predetermined concepts or theoretical framework, while inductive analysis originates from the conceptual model. In this study, the interviews were coded and categorised based on the research questions and the literature review and in order to derive themes and key concepts, as described by Radnor (2001) shown below in Table 6.4. This procedure is explained in chapter 8 which deals with the data analysis part-two: semi-structured interviews.

Table 6. 4: procedure of data analysis part-two: semi- structured interviews

Steps	Examples
<p>1-Topic ordering In this study codes emerged from the original questions The code is written in a blank Microsoft Word document.</p>	<p>Themes: Meaning of citizenship (MC), Characteristics of an effective citizen (CEC), Aims of citizenship education (ACE), Significance of citizenship education (SCE), citizenship education and democracy (CED), Key areas of citizenship education (KACE), The potential of citizenship education to support women’s rights (SWR), The potential of citizenship education to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority (RDAM), and Issues that influence citizenship education (IICE). Under each theme there are categories as shown in</p>
<p>2-Constructing categories (sub-headings) After reading the transcripts carefully the categories (sub-headings) emerged and were written for each topic. s.</p>	<p>Categories: For example, under the meaning of citizenship there are: belonging, rights and responsibilities, equality, a legal status, free participation, and patriotism, and in the same for the other categories .Under these categories there are subcategories as shown in the next step</p>
<p>3-Reading for content To code content to topic categories by highlighting the main quotations within the three interview transcripts. In the margin put the code followed by the number of the subcategory. Giving the text a letter (A-Z), in order to differentiate it from other pieces of the text.</p>	<p>Subcategories: e.g., under the categories of belonging there are subcategories: belonging to a country (B1A) belonging to a tribe (B2B), belonging to a region (B3C) Belonging to the Arab nation (B4D)., and this has done with the other categories.</p>
<p>4-Completing the coding sheets Develop a coding sheet for each topic, and insert each appropriate code from the three transcripts under the correct topic.</p>	<p>Topics Meaning of citizenship (MC)</p>
<p>5-Generate coded transcripts. Keep a master copy intact at all times, and use copy and paste rather than cut to generate coded transcripts.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>6-Analysis and interpretation of the data Write a statement that supports the data organize and replace category headings.</p>	<p>-</p>

6.19.4 Developing Interpretations

Kvale (1996:4) argued that “meaning interpretation stands for a more or less speculative interpretation of the deep meaning of the text”. Saldana (2013:12) reported that in the process of analysis of qualitative data, researchers move from the particular to the general by following the stages of coding, categorizing, and subcategorizing in order to develop of themes and concepts. Hence, in this study, the researcher attempted to develop interpretations of the interviews by looking sometimes at the transcripts and at other times at the literature framework.

6.20 Summary

In this chapter, the research design and tools used to collect data were presented and explained. The chapter began by setting out the research questions, based on the research issue of key areas for citizenship education in Libya-post Gaddafi. Due to the strengths and weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative approaches, triangulation was chosen to conduct this study, in order to obtain rich information, and at the same time to enhance the validity and reliability of the study.

The target population of this study could be said to include a large number of stakeholders: head teachers, teachers, deputies, educational policy makers, parents, and students in Libya during the academic year (2012-2013). Two purposeful samples were selected based on the purpose of the study: firstly, head teachers and deputies of primary and secondary schools in the two selected cities Derna and El-Qubba during the academic year (2012-2013);

Secondly, the Minister of Education at the national level and the officials of Educational Affairs at the local level (in the cities of Derna and El-Qubba).

Based on the purpose of study, two research tools were selected for gathering data: a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire design was informed by relevant literature. In order to avoid ambiguity in the wording of statements, to adapt the instrument to the Libyan context, and to ensure face and content validity, the questionnaire was professionally translated into Arabic, then, submitted to a panel of experts and some changes were made according to their suggestions. The questionnaire was piloted and the final changes made. The questionnaire was administered personally (face-to-face).

A schedule for the semi-structured interviews was developed, which included the same themes as were covered in the questionnaire. The interviews were conducted after the questionnaire distribution. Trustworthiness in qualitative research, which consists of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability was achieved through adaption of several procedures such as triangulation, thick description, audit, and reflexivity on the researcher's role in this research.

Ethical considerations were taken into account. First of all, the research tools (questionnaire and interview schedule) were approved by the Ethics Committee in the Faculty of Education in the University of Hull. Secondly, the informed consent of participants was obtained and confidentiality and a right of privacy were ensured. Thirdly, an approval letter was obtained, giving official permission for conducting the study in Libya with the target population and during the specified period of time.

Analysis of the questionnaire included frequencies to describe the distribution of data in form of percentages. The parametric test; a One-way analysis of variance test (ANOVA) was performed, as were the non parametric tests, Cross tabulations and Chi-Square test. Also, analysis of the interviews included these stages: transcription, translation, coding and categorizing, and developing interpretations. Data analysis for the questionnaire and interviews are represented in chapter seven and eight respectively.

Chapter: 7 Data Analysis–Part One: Questionnaire

7.1 Introduction

The current study aims to explore how key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi are viewed by stakeholders. As mentioned in the previous chapter, data were collected by two research instruments; a questionnaire and interviews. This chapter presents an analysis of the first part of the data, gathered by the main research tool, namely, the questionnaire. This will be supported by the interview data, which will be analysed in the next chapter.

Based on the questionnaire, this chapter is divided into eleven parts as follows; analysis of demographic data, the meaning of citizenship, characteristics of an effective citizen, aims of citizenship education, reasons behind the growth of significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, citizenship education and students' awareness of their rights and responsibilities in society, the potential of citizenship education to help to foster democratic values, the potential of citizenship education to help to reinforce a national sense among young people, the potential of citizenship education to help to support women's rights in society, citizenship education and discrimination against the Amazigh minority in Libyan society, and finally issues influencing citizenship education in Libyan society post-Gaddafi.

Data analysis was carried out by using the Statistical Software Package SPSS (version 20). In this chapter, the data are interpreted and summarized in order to obtain a clear

understanding, using descriptive statistics, including frequencies and percentages. In this regard Rose and Sullivan (1996:84) explain that “descriptive statistics are concerned with the interpretation and summarization of frequency distributions and percentage distributions”. Pagano (2013:48) comments that “the major purpose of frequency to present the scores in such a way to facilitate ease of understanding and interpretation”. Also, cross tabulation was performed to examine the data in order to see if there were any differences between the two cities and the two types of schools, basic and secondary. A Chi-Square test was then used to determine whether any such differences are statistically significant.

7.2 Demographic Data of Schools

In this study, the questionnaire was distributed to 428 head teachers and deputies of basic and secondary schools in the areas of two selected cities Derna (131 schools) and El-Qubba and their surrounding areas (79 schools). Eight questionnaires were rejected by head teachers and deputies. Therefore, the return rates were (98%), and as completed questionnaires were received from 420 head teachers and deputies, as highlighted below in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Responses from Derna and El-Qubba

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Derna and its surrounding areas	262	62.4	62.4	62.4
Valid 2 El-Qubba and its surrounding areas	158	37.6	37.6	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

It can be seen from the Table 7.1 that the city of Derna and its surrounding areas had the highest percentage of representation (62.4%) while the city of El-Qubba and its

surrounding areas had the lowest percentage of representation (37.6%) because Derna is bigger than El-Qubba.

Table 7.2: School Type *Derna and El-Qubba Cross tabulationTab

		Derna and El-Qubba		Total
		Derna and its surrounding areas	El-Qubba and its surrounding areas	
School Type	Count	224	140	364
	% within School Type	61,5%	38,5%	100,0%
	% within Derna and El-Qubba	85,5%	88,6%	86,7%
	% of Total	53,3%	33,3%	86,7%
Basic	Count	38	18	56
	% within School Type	67,9%	32,1%	100,0%
	% within Derna and El-Qubba	14,5%	11,4%	13,3%
	% of Total	9,0%	4,3%	13,3%
Secondary	Count	262	158	420
	% within School Type	62,4%	37,6%	100,0%
	% within Derna and El-Qubba	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	62,4%	37,6%	100,0%
Total	Count	262	158	420
	% within School Type	62,4%	37,6%	100,0%
	% within Derna and El-Qubba	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	% of Total	62,4%	37,6%	100,0%

Table 7.2 shows a cross tabulation of school type by region. It can be seen that the percentage of basic schools in the city of Derna and its surrounding areas was 85.5%, while in the city of El -Qubba and its surrounding areas it was 88.6%. In addition, the percentage of secondary schools in the city of Derna and its surrounding areas was 14.5%, whereas this percentage in the city of El-Qubba was 11.

Table 7.3: Distribution of head teachers and Deputies by School Type

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Basic	364	86.7	86.7	86.7
Valid 2 Secondary	56	13.3	13.3	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Table 7.3 shows the distribution of head teachers and deputies by the type of school at the two cities, Derna and El-Qubba, in the academic year 2012-2013. This table illustrates that the great majority of respondents were from basic schools and they represented 364(86.7%) of the main sample, while the representation of participants from secondary schools was only 56 (13.3%) of the main sample. This could be explained by the reality that, generally in Libya, the number of basic schools is greater than the number of secondary schools.

The other questionnaire data was coded by using a five-point scale: Strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, and strongly agree, the respondents were requested to determine their degree of agreement or disagreement about each item.

7.3 Data Distribution

The data from the Likert responses were checked for normality of distribution using a one sample Kolmogoroff Smirnoff test and all items with the exception of two, faith in God and loyalty to a country were found to be normally distributed.

7.4 Data Analysis

The demographic data were used to analyse the data to see if there were any significant differences between the responses from the two cities and also whether there were any

differences between the two types of school. To do this a Chi Square test was performed for each cross tabulation and this showed that there were no significant differences between the responses from either city or between school types ($p > 0.05$).

7.5 Meaning of Citizenship

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of 16 suggested items that sought the views of head teachers and deputies on the meaning of citizenship.

7.5.1 A Legal Status

The first three items on the questionnaire asked respondents about their views of citizenship as a legal status. Table 7.4 below shows their responses to the notion that it determines the rights of individuals.

Table 7.4: A Legal Status that Determines Rights of Individuals in Society

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1 Strongly disagree	60	14.3	14.3	14.3
2 Disagree	51	12.1	12.1	26.4
3 Neutral	22	5.2	5.2	31.7
4 Agree	182	43.3	43.3	75.0
5 Strongly agree	105	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

As can be seen from Table 7.4, in their responses, 68% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship was about the determination of the rights of individuals. With regard to the responses for responsibilities of individuals, 55% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship was about the responsibilities of individuals, and 70% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship was about determining the relationship between citizen and state.

In respect to the first item, about the determination of the rights of individuals, cross tabulation revealed that there were no differences in the responses from the two cities. When comparing responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed for the basic schools 68% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view and 70% did so for secondary schools.

As regards the second item, that citizenship was about determination of the responsibilities of individuals, cross tabulation revealed that in Derna 57% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, while, in El-Qubba the percentage was lower at 53%. When comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, the level of agreement was 56% for basic and 54% for secondary schools.

With regard to the third item, indicating that citizenship was about determination of the relationship between citizen and state, cross tabulations demonstrated that there were no differences between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools.

7.5.2 Equality

Two items were about equality, of political rights and social rights. Table 7.5 shows the responses for political rights. It can be seen in their responses that 87% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education was about equality of political rights. With regard to the responses for social rights, 86% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship was about the equality of social rights.

Table 7.5: Equality of Political Rights

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	25	6.0	6.0	6.0
Disagree	15	3.6	3.6	9.5
Neutral	15	3.6	3.6	13.1
Agree	174	41.4	41.4	54.5
Strongly agree	191	45.5	45.5	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

With regard to the first item, that citizenship was about equality of political rights the cross tabulations demonstrated that 88% of participants agree or strongly agree with this view in the city of Derna, compared to 85% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 88% agreement for the basic and 79% for secondary schools.

With regard to the second item, that citizenship was about equality of social rights. Cross-tabulation showed that there was no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed for the basic schools 86% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view and 91% did so in secondary schools.

7.5.3 Individuals' Awareness

Two items were about individuals' awareness, of their rights and their responsibilities. Table 7.6 shows responses of head teachers and deputies about the first item, where 96% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship was about individuals' awareness of their rights. On the second item, that citizenship was about individuals' awareness of their responsibilities, again 96% of participants agreed or strongly agreed.

Table 7.6: Individuals' Awareness of their Rights

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Strongly disagree	12	2.9	2.9	2.9
2 Disagree	6	1.4	1.4	4.3
Valid 4 Agree	222	52.9	52.9	57.1
5 Strongly agree	180	42.9	42.9	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Cross tabulations revealed no difference between the two cities. When comparing responses from the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 85% of participants for the basic and 91% for secondary schools agreed or strongly agreed with this view.

Similarly, for the second item, indicating that citizenship was about individuals' awareness of their responsibilities, cross tabulations revealed no difference between the two cities. When comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 95% agreement for basic and 100% for secondary schools.

7.5.4 A Sense of Belonging

The questionnaire asked respondents five items about aspects of belonging, to a tribe, to a particular region, to a specific country, to the Arab nation, and to a specific sect. Table 7.7 shows the responses to the item about tribes.

Table 7.7: A Sense of Belonging to a Specific Tribe

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	38	9.0	9.0	9.0
Disagree	110	26.2	26.2	35.2
Valid Neutral	25	6.0	6.0	41.2
Agree	161	38.3	38.3	79.5
Strongly agree	86	20.5	20.5	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

In participants' responses, 35% disagreed or strongly disagreed that citizenship is a sense of belonging to a specific tribe and only 6% had a neutral view toward this statement, while 59% agreed or strongly agreed. This response indicates that there are some individuals, who still prefer belonging to tribe and this can be explained by the fact that Libyan society is a tribal society in which the tribe is considered a social umbrella and a holy heritage, which must be respected by individuals, as it provides protection and safety for its members. Also, the tribe helps and supports its members in issues to which they are exposed during their life, especially issues that cannot be solved without the existence of the tribe, such as honour issues. Therefore, some individuals saw their tribe as a social entity that cannot be abandoned.

The data were further inspected to see if there were any differences between the two cities and a cross tabulation showed that there was no difference between them. Then a comparison was made between the basic and secondary sectors where the data showed that in the basic schools 36% of head teachers and deputies disagreed or strongly disagreed with the view that citizenship was about a sense of belonging to a specific tribe. In the secondary sector, this percentage was 34%.

In respondents' responses to the other items about aspects of belonging, 40% disagreed and strongly disagreed that it was about the belonging to a particular region for example, district\ city\ village, while 48% agreed or strongly agreed and also 12 % had a neutral view toward this statement, 100% agreed and strongly agreed that it was about belonging to a specific country for example, Libya, 96% agreed and strongly agreed that it was about belonging to a specific nation for example, the Arab nation, and 86% disagreed and strongly disagreed that it was about the belonging to a specific sect.

Two cross tabulations were performed, to see if there were any differences between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. With regard to the item about belonging to a specific nation, for example, the Arab nation, the cross tabulations revealed no difference between the two cities or between the two types of school.

With regard to the item about a sense of belonging to a particular region, for example, district\ city\ village, the cross tabulations showed that in the city of Derna 74% of participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with this perspective, compared to 68% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 71% disagreement for the basic and 75% for secondary schools.

In respect to the item about a sense of belonging to a specific sect, cross tabulation showed no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 86% of participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item in the basic and 82% in the secondary schools.

7.5.5 Free Participation

As regards the idea that citizenship means free participation, respondents were asked to respond to two items about aspects of free participation, in political and social life. Table 7.8 shows the responses to the item about free participation in political life.

Table 7.8: Free Participation in Political Life

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4 Agree	151	36.0	36.0	36.0
Valid 5 Strongly agree	269	64.0	64.0	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

It can be seen that all participants either agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship means free participation in political life and the same responses were given to regarding free participation in social life. These responses reflected the importance of participation in both political and social life, which expresses the desired meaning of citizenship for the respondents, which had been lost for a long period of time. Thus, these responses are consistent with the fact that free participation in political and social life was one of the main demands that Libyan people made of their new government.

7.5.6 Respect for Law

Table 7.9: Respect for Law

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4 Agree	168	40.0	40.0	40.0
Valid 5 Strongly agree	252	60.0	60.0	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

As regards the idea that citizenship means respect for law, Table 7.9 shows that all participants agreed or strongly agreed that a key element of the meaning of citizenship is respect for law. Similar responses were given to the idea that the meaning of citizenship is patriotism.

7.6 Characteristics of an Effective Citizen

This part of the questionnaire consisted of 15 items that elicited the views of head teachers and deputies on the characteristics of an effective citizen.

7.6.1 Faith in God

The first item in this part asked participants about the characteristic of faith in God. In their responses, 100% agreed or strongly agreed with this item.

7.6.2 Loyalty

Two items were about the characteristic of loyalty, to a country and to a tribe. In their responses, 100% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that an effective citizen was characterized by loyalty to a country. While, regarding the second item, 54% agreed or strongly agreed that effective citizens were loyal to a tribe, while 35% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the item and 11% were neutral, as shown below in Table 7.10. This result indicates that tribal loyalty still existed among individuals in Libyan society.

Table 7.10: Loyalty to a Tribe

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	10	2.4	2.4	2.4
Disagree	136	32.4	32.4	34.8
Neutral	49	11.7	11.7	46.4
Agree	128	30.5	30.5	76.9
Strongly agree	97	23.1	23.1	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Cross tabulations showed that in the city of Derna, 30% of participants disagree or strongly disagree that an effective citizen was characterized by loyalty to tribe, compared to 42% in the city of El-Qubba. When, the responses of the basic and secondary schools were compared, this revealed 35% of participants disagree or strongly disagree with this view in the basics, and 32% did so in the secondary.

7.6.3 Fulfilling of Responsibilities

Participants were asked one item about fulfilling of responsibilities, Table 7.11 shows their responses to this item. In their responses, 93% agreed or strongly agreed that an effective citizen was characterized by fulfilling of responsibilities.

Table 7.11: Fulfilling of Responsibilities

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
3 Neutral	27	6.4	6.4	6.4
4 Agree	54	12.9	12.9	19.3
Valid 5 Strongly agree	339	80.7	80.7	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Cross tabulations revealed no difference between the two cities, while comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 93% agreement for basic and 96% for secondary schools.

7.6.4 Protecting State Institutions

As regards the characteristic of protecting state institutions, in participants' responses, 100% agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, as shown below in Table 7.12. This response might be because of the devastation and bombing of state institutions in Libya that occurred during and after the 17 February Revolution, which was perpetrated by the Libyan citizens themselves.

Table.7.12: Protecting State Institutions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4 Agree	52	12.4	12.4	12.4
Valid 5 Strongly agree	368	87.6	87.6	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

7.6.5 Participation

In regard to this characteristic, respondents were presented with three items about aspects of participation: in politics at the national level, in politics at the local level, and involuntary works at the local level. On the first item, 76% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that it was about participation in politics at the national level; for the second item, about participation in politics at the local level, 71% agreed or strongly agreed. In their responses to the third item, 52% agreed or strongly agreed that it was about participation in voluntary work at the local level, as illustrated below in Table 7.13.

Table 7.13: Participation in Voluntary Work at the Local Level

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	55	13.1	13.1	13.1
Disagree	107	25.5	25.5	38.6
Neutral	41	9.8	9.8	48.3
Agree	183	43.6	43.6	91.9
Strongly agree	34	8.1	8.1	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further checked to determine the possible existence of any differences between the two regions. Regarding the first item, about participation in politics at the national level, cross tabulation revealed no difference between the two cities. When comparing responses for the basic and secondary schools, this revealed that 74% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view for basic and 84% for secondary schools.

With respect to the second item, about participation in politics at the local level, cross tabulation revealed no differences between the two cities or between basic and secondary schools as well.

On the third item, about participation in voluntary work at the local level, cross tabulation demonstrated no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed that 54% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view for the basic and 39% in secondary schools.

7.6.6 Critical Thinking

Two items were about the characteristic of critical thinking, about issues in one’s own community and about issues in other communities. Regarding to the first item, almost 60% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that it characteristic of an effective citizen was about the critical thinking about issues in one’s own community. In contrast, in their responses to the second item, only 22% agreed or strongly agreed that it was about critical thinking about issues in other communities, as shown below in Table 7.14.

Table 7.14: Thinking Critically about Issues in Other Communities

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	139	33.1	33.1	33.1
Disagree	153	36.4	36.4	69.5
Neutral	36	8.6	8.6	78.1
Agree	72	17.1	17.1	95.2
Strongly agree	20	4.8	4.8	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further inspected by using cross tabulation to identify if there were any differences between the two regions or between basic and secondary schools. Regarding the first item, cross tabulation showed that 62% of head teachers and deputies in the city of Derna agreed or strongly agreed on thinking critically about issues in one’s own community, while in El-Qubba city the percentage was 56%. When comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 62% agreement for basic and 46% for secondary schools.

Similarly, with regard to the second item, about critical thinking about issues in other communities, cross tabulation showed that there were no differences between the two cities. When comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 21% of participants agreed or strongly agreed for basic and 29% for secondary schools.

7.6.7 Effective Participation in Social Life

As regards this characteristic, in the responses of participants, almost 72% agreed or strongly agreed that it characteristic of an effective citizen was effective participation in social life, as shown below in Table 7.15.

Table.7.15: Effective Participation in Social Life

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Strongly disagree	24	5.7	5.7	5.7
2 Disagree	61	14.5	14.5	20.2
3 Neutral	34	8.1	8.1	28.3
4 Agree	232	55.2	55.2	83.6
5 Strongly agree	69	16.4	16.4	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further checked using two cross tabulations to determine whether differences existed between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. The cross tabulation revealed no significant difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed that 70% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view for basic and 80% for secondary schools.

7.6.8 Open-mindedness

Respondents were asked three items about the characteristics of broad-mindedness and familiarity with knowledge, ability to quickly adapt to the changes which occur in society,

rejecting stereotypical views of women in society. Table 7.16 shows the responses to the first item.

Table 7.16: Broad-Mindedness and Familiarity with Knowledge

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly disagree	56	13.3	13.3	13.3
Disagree	112	26.7	26.7	40.0
Neutral	63	15.0	15.0	55.0
Agree	159	37.9	37.9	92.9
Strongly agree	30	7.1	7.1	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

In participants' responses, only 45% agreed or strongly agreed that a characteristic of an effective citizen was about broad-mindedness and familiarity with knowledge. In response to the second item, 51% agreed or strongly agreed that it was about ability to quickly adapt to the changes which occur in society.

The data were further inspected to see if there were any differences between the two regions and between basic and secondary schools. Cross tabulations showed that in the city of Derna 46% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the characteristic of broad-mindedness and familiarity with knowledge, compared to 43% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 44% agreement for basic and 50% for secondary schools.

With regard to ability to quickly adapt to the changes which occur in society, the cross tabulation showed that there was no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed that 50% of participants agreed or strongly agreed for in basic and 59% in secondary schools.

On the third item, almost 50 % of participants agreed or strongly agreed that characteristic of an effective citizen was about rejecting stereotypical views of women in society, while 43% disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 7% expressed neutral opinions, as shown below in Table 7.17.

Table 7.17: Rejecting Stereotypical Views of Women in Society

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly disagree	66	15.7	15.7	15.7
Disagree	114	27.1	27.1	42.9
Neutral	31	7.4	7.4	50.2
Agree	173	41.2	41.2	91.4
Strongly agree	36	8.6	8.6	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Cross tabulations demonstrated that there were no differences between the two cities or between basic and secondary schools.

7.6.9 Sacrifice for Country

Respondents were asked one item about the characteristics of willingness to sacrifice for country. On this item, all participants agreed or strongly agreed that it characteristic of an effective citizen was about willingness to sacrifice for one’s country.

7.7 Aims of Citizenship Education

This part of the questionnaire consisted of 14 statements put forward to elicit the views of head teachers and deputies on the aims of citizenship education. Overall, participants’ responses showed that they agreed or strongly agreed regarding the suggested aims of citizenship education, with slight differences in the frequencies of their responses.

All agreed or strongly agreed aims of citizenship education included; providing students with information about the history of their country, implanting the virtuous social values, such as devotion in work/ honesty/ seeking knowledge, providing students with information on the social structure of society, enhancing democratic values, such as equality and social justice among students, developing political literacy among students, enhancing students' loyalty to their country, encouraging students to participate effectively at the national level in their society, and fostering patriotism among students.

In contrast, the participants differed slightly in their responses regarding some aims. For instance, 77% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education aims to provide students with information and knowledge related to government institutions and functions, 81% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education aims to encourage students to participate effectively at the local level in their society, 80% agreed or strongly agreed that it aims to help students to think critically about contemporary issues that face their society, 84% agreed or strongly agreed that it aims to supply students with essential knowledge about human rights, 84% agreed or strongly agreed that it aims to clarify the meaning of a civilian society, and 86% agreed or strongly agreed that it aims to provide students with information about organisations of a civilian society and their functions.

To find out whether there were any differences between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools, data were inspected by using cross tabulation. With regard to the view that citizenship education aims to provide students with information and knowledge related to government institutions and functions, cross tabulation demonstrated no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of the basic and

secondary schools, this revealed that 79% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in basic and 70% in secondary schools.

Regarding the item, citizenship education aims to encourage students to participate effectively at the local level, cross tabulation demonstrated that there were no differences between the two cities or between basic and secondary schools.

In respect of the item, citizenship education aims to help students to think critically about contemporary issues that face their society, cross tabulation demonstrated that 82% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the city of Derna, compared to 77% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 81% agreement in basic and 75% in secondary schools.

As regards the item, that citizenship education aims to supply students with essential knowledge about human rights. Cross tabulations demonstrated that there were no differences between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. Similarly, with regard to the item that citizenship education aims to clarify the meaning of a civilian society, cross tabulations revealed that there were no differences between the two cities and between the basic and secondary schools.

Regarding the item, that citizenship education aims to provide students with information about organisations of a civilian society and their functions, a cross tabulation showed that 84% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the city of Derna compared with 89% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing responses of the basic and secondary schools, no difference was found between them.

7.8 The Main Reasons behind the Growth in Significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi

This part of the questionnaire consists of 13 statements that sought the views of head teachers and deputies about the main reasons behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

7.8.1 Reasons Related to Absence of Democracy

In this regard, participants were asked to respond to one item suggesting absence of democracy was a main reason behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. In their responses to this item, all agreed or strongly agreed with this item.

7.8.2 Reasons Related to the Sort of Society

In this regard, the participants were asked to respond to two items suggested that need to build a modern society, and the need to build a democratic society were the main reasons behind the growth of citizenship in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

Participants' responses showed that 82% agreed or strongly agreed that the importance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi was about need to build a modern society and in their responses on the second item, 100% agreed or strongly agreed that it was about the need to build a democratic society.

The data were further checked by using cross tabulation, in order to determine whether any differences existed between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. With

regard to the first reason, about need to build a modern society, cross tabulation showed no differences between the two cities or between the basic and secondary schools.

7.8.3 Reasons Related to the Aspects of National Unity

In this respect, two items were suggested. In participants' responses almost 86% agreed or strongly agreed that the importance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi was the need to strengthen national unity. For the second item about the need to minimise regional loyalty, all agreed or strongly agreed with this item.

The data were further checked by using cross tabulation, in order to determine whether any differences existed between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. With regard to the need to strengthen national unity, the cross tabulation showed no differences between the two cities or between the basic and secondary schools.

7.8.4 Reasons Related to the Aspects of Tribalism

Three items were suggested about reasons in terms of tribalism; need to diminish tribal loyalty, need to reduce the political role of tribes in society, and need to reduce the social role of tribes in society.

For the first item, need to diminish tribal loyalty, as Table 7.18 shows, nearly 53% of participants agreed or strongly agreed, 42% disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 5% gave neutral responses.

Table 7.18: Need to Diminish Tribal Loyalty

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	73	17.4	17.4	17.4
Disagree	103	24.5	24.5	41.9
Neutral	22	5.2	5.2	47.1
Agree	176	41.9	41.9	89.0
Strongly agree	46	11.0	11.0	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Two cross tabulations were used for further checking of data, in order to determine whether any differences existed between the two regions and also between basic and secondary schools. As regards the fourth reason, about need to diminish tribal loyalty, a cross tabulation demonstrated that 49% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in Derna, and 60% of participants did so in El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed that 54% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the basic and 46% in secondary schools.

On the second item, about need to reduce the political role of tribes in society. Table 7.19 shows that 52% of participants agreed or strongly agreed, 43% disagreed or strongly disagreed, and almost 5% gave neutral responses. Similar responses were given to the third item; participants' responses showed that 52% agreed or strongly agreed on the need to reduce the social role of tribes in society, 43% disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 5% gave neutral responses. These results can be explained by the fact that there are some individuals who still prefer the social and political role of tribe in Libyan society.

Table 7.19: Need to Reduce the Political Role of Tribes in Society

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	69	16.4	16.4	16.4
Disagree	113	26.9	26.9	43.3
Neutral	21	5.0	5.0	48.3
Agree	168	40.0	40.0	88.3
Strongly agree	49	11.7	11.7	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

To determine whether any differences existed between the two cities, cross tabulations were used for further inspecting of data. The cross tabulation showed that in the city of Derna 58% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the view that the need to reduce the political role of tribes in society was a main reason for the significance of citizenship education, while, in the city of El-Qubba this percentage was 41%. When comparing responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 50% agreement for the basic and 61% for secondary schools.

With regard to the third reason, about the need to reduce the social role of tribes in society, cross tabulation demonstrated that 77% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the city of Derna, compared to 72% in El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 76% agreement for the basic and 73% for secondary schools.

7.8.5 Reasons Related to Citizenship Values

In this regard, participants were asked to respond to one item suggested that need to enhance citizenship values in society, such as social justice and equality was a main reason

behind the growth insignificance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. In their responses to this item, all agreed or strongly agreed with this item.

7.8.6 Reasons Related to Discrimination

In this regard, respondents were asked three items about discrimination, against the Amazigh minority as regards their cultural rights, against the Amazigh minority as regards their linguistic rights, and the increased call for supporting women’s rights and their role in society. All the respondents agreed or strongly agreed on all three items. Table 7.20 shows the responses on the first item, about discrimination against the Amazigh minority as regards their cultural rights.

Table 7.20: Discrimination against the Amazigh Minority as Regards Their Cultural Rights

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4 Agree	141	33.6	33.6	33.6
Valid 5 Strongly agree	279	66.4	66.4	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Similar responses were given to the other two items, concerning discrimination against the Amazigh minority as regards their linguistic rights, and increased call for supporting of women’s rights and their role in the society.

7.8.7 Reasons Related to National Cohesion

In this regard, participants were asked to respond to one item suggesting that need to strengthen national cohesion was a main reason behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. Table 7.21 shows the responses on this item. Almost 50% of participants disagreed or strongly disagreed, only 41% agreed or strongly agreed, and 9% gave neutral responses.

Table 7.21: Need to Strengthen National Cohesion

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	98	23.3	23.3	91.9
Disagree	113	26.9	26.9	59.8
Neutral	37	8.8	8.8	68.6
Agree	138	32.9	32.9	32.9
Strongly agree	34	8.1	8.1	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further checked by using cross tabulations, in order to find out if there were any differences between the two cities or between basic and secondary schools. The cross tabulations showed that 56% of participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with this view in the city of Derna, compared to 66% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of the basic and secondary schools, this revealed 62% agreement in the basic and 48% in secondary schools.

7.9. Citizenship Education and Students' Awareness of their Rights and Responsibilities

This part of the questionnaire explored the participants' views about the potential of citizenship education to increase students' awareness of their rights and responsibilities. In this regard the participants were presented with six items about citizenship education. These suggested that citizenship education can: help students to understand the meaning of rights, help students to identify types of rights, provide students with information about International organisations such as the Child Rights Organisation and The United Nations Organisation, provide students with knowledge about the basis and nature of their responsibilities toward themselves, provide students with knowledge about the basis and

nature of their responsibilities toward their families, and can provide students with knowledge about the basis and nature of their responsibilities toward their countries.

Overall, all the responses agreed or strongly agreed with all of these items. Table 7.22 shows the participants' responses on the first item, suggesting citizenship education can help students to understand the meaning of rights.

Table 7.22: Help to Understand the Meaning of Rights

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4 Agree	269	64.0	64.0	64.0
Valid 5 Strongly agree	151	36.0	36.0	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

7.10 Potential of Citizenship Education to Help to Foster Democratic Values

This part of the questionnaire consisted of eleven items that sought to explore the perspectives of participants about the possibility of citizenship education helping to foster democratic values.

7.10.1 Possibility of Providing Required Knowledge and Skills

In this respect, two items were suggested about the possibility of citizenship education to provide students with required knowledge and skills for democratic practice and for free expression. Table 7.23 illustrates the participants' responses on the first item. In their responses, 78 % agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can provide students with knowledge and skills required for democratic practice. On the second item, 86%

agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can provide students with skills required for free expression.

Table 7.23: Can Provide Students with Knowledge and Skills Required for Democratic Practice

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Strongly disagree	16	3.8	3.8	3.8
2 Disagree	44	10.5	10.5	14.3
3 Neutral	34	8.1	8.1	22.4
4 Agree	259	61.7	61.7	84.0
5 Strongly agree	67	16.0	16.0	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further examined to see if there were any differences between the two cities and also between basic and secondary schools, using cross tabulations. With regard to the first item, that citizenship education can provide students with knowledge and skills required for democratic practice, the cross tabulation showed that there was no difference between the two cities. When comparing responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that in the basic schools, 78% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view and 75% did so in secondary schools.

In respect to the second item, that citizenship education can provide students with skills required for free expression, cross tabulation showed that in the city of Derna, 87% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view and 85% did so in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 86% agreement for the basic and 88% for secondary schools.

7.10.2 Possibility to Reinforce Capability of Participation

Four items were suggested about the potential of citizenship education to help reinforce student’s capability of participation; in debates on social issues at the local level, in debates on political issues at the local level, in debates on social issues at the national level, and in debates on political issues at the national level.

The participants’ responses to these items were similar with only slight differences. Table 7.24 shows responses on the first item, where 77% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to reinforce students’ capability of participation in debates on social issues at the local level.

Table 7.24: Can Help to Reinforce Students’ Capability of Participation in Debates on Social Issues at the Local Level

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1 Strongly disagree	20	4.8	4.8	4.8
2 Disagree	46	11.0	11.0	15.7
3 Neutral	29	6.9	6.9	22.6
Valid 4 Agree	254	60.5	60.5	83.1
5 Strongly agree	71	16.9	16.9	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

In response to the second item, 79% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to reinforce students’ capability of participation in debates on political issues at the local level, while 14% disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 6% gave neutral responses.

On the third item, 78% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to reinforce students’ capability of participation in debates on social issues at the national level. Similarly, in response to the fourth item, 79% agreed or strongly agreed that

citizenship education can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on political issues at the national level.

In order to determine whether any differences existed between the two regions and between basic and secondary schools, cross tabulations were used. With regard to the first item, that citizenship education can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on social issues at the local level, the cross tabulation showed that there was no difference between the two regions. When comparing responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that 79% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the basic and 70% in secondary schools.

Regarding the second item, that citizenship education can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on political issues at the local level, cross tabulation demonstrated that there was no difference between the two cities. When comparing responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that 81% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view for the basic and 68% for secondary schools.

As regards the third item, that citizenship education can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on social issues at the national level, cross tabulation showed that 78% of participants agreed and strongly agreed with this view in the city of Derna, compared to 81% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 80% agreement for the basic and 73% for secondary schools.

Regarding the fourth item, that citizenship education can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on political issues at the national level, cross

tabulation showed that 80% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the city of Derna and 77% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 78% agreement for the basic and 84% for secondary schools.

7.10.3 Possibility of Fostering some Notions

In this regard two items were presented about the possibility of citizenship education to help to foster notion of social justice and the notion of equality of rights among students. In the participants' responses, 82% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to foster the notion of social justice among students, while 85% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to foster notion of equality of rights among students, as shown below in Table 7.25.

Table 7.25: Can Help to Foster Notion of Equality of Rights among Students

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	20	4.8	4.8	4.8
Disagree	23	5.5	5.5	10.2
Neutral	19	4.5	4.5	14.8
Agree	260	61.9	61.9	76.7
Strongly agree	98	23.3	23.3	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further checked to see if there were differences between the two regions and between basic and secondary schools. With regard to the first item, that citizenship education can help to foster the notion of social justice among students, cross tabulation demonstrated that there was no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that in basic schools, 81% of

participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, while 84% did so in secondary schools.

In respect to the second item, that citizenship education can help to foster the notion of equality of rights among students, cross tabulation showed that 84% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the city of Derna, compared to 88% in the city of El-Qubba. Comparison between basic and secondary schools revealed that there was no difference between them.

7.10.4 Understanding the Voting Process

Participants were asked about the possibility of citizenship education helping students to understand the voting process. Table 7.26 shows their responses; 83% agreed or strongly agreed with this item, while only 21% disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 5% gave neutral responses.

Table 7.26: Can Help Students to Understand the Voting Process

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	24	5.7	5.7	5.7
Disagree	25	6.0	6.0	11.7
Neutral	21	5.0	5.0	16.7
Valid Agree	260	61.9	61.9	78.6
Strongly agree	90	21.4	21.4	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further examined to determine whether any differences existed between the two cities and between the two types of schools. Cross tabulation demonstrated that there was no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that in basic schools just over 82% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, as did 89% in secondary schools.

7.10.5 Joining the Local Community

Two items were suggested about the possibility of citizenship education helping to encourage students to join social clubs, and helping to encourage students to engage in charity work in the local community. In the participants' responses on the first item, 81% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to encourage students to join social clubs. On the second item, 86% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to encourage students to engage in charity work in the local community, as shown below in Table 7.27.

Table 7.27: Can Help to Encourage Students to Engage in Charity Work in the Local Community

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	20	4.8	4.8	4.8
Disagree	20	4.8	4.8	9.5
Neutral	18	4.3	4.3	13.8
Valid Agree	261	62.1	62.1	76.0
Strongly agree	101	24.0	24.0	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Two cross tabulations were used to determine whether any differences existed between the two regions and between basic and secondary schools. The cross tabulation showed that in the city of Derna, 78% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the view that citizenship education can help to encourage students to join social clubs. In the city of El-Qubba this percentage was 86%. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed no difference between basic and secondary schools.

With regard to second item, that citizenship education can help to encourage students to engage in charity work in the local community, cross tabulation demonstrated that 87% of

participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the city of Derna, compared with 85% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 86% agreement for the basic and 91% for secondary schools.

7.11 Potential of Citizenship Education to Help to Reinforce a National Sense

This part of the questionnaire consisted of 7 suggested items that sought the views of participants about the possibility of citizenship education helping to reinforce a national sense among young people.

7.11.1 Understanding some Meanings

In this regard, four items suggested that citizenship education can help students to understand the meaning of belonging to their country, allegiance to their country, national unity, and patriotism. Overall, full agreement was given to all four items. Table 7.28 below shows the participants' responses on the first item. In their responses, 100% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help students to understand the meaning of belonging to their country. Similar responses were given to the other three items.

Table 7.28: Can Help Students to Understand the Meaning of Belonging to their Country

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	257	61.2	61.2	61.2
Valid Strongly agree	163	38.8	38.8	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

7.11.2 Possibility of Enhancing National Cohesion among Tribes

In this respect, one item was suggested. In the participants' responses, all agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to enhance national cohesion among tribes.

7.11.3 Possibility of Providing Information

Two items asked respondents about their views on the possibility of citizenship education providing students with information. Table 7.29 below shows their responses on the first item. In their responses, 73% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can provide students with information about some national symbols such as the national flag and the national anthem. In response to the second item, almost 72% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can provide students with information about symbols of jihad for the sake of the homeland, such as Omar EL-Moukhtar.

Table 7.29: Can Provide Students with Information about Some National Symbols such as the National Flag and the National Anthem

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	25	6.0	6.0	6.0
Disagree	52	12.4	12.4	18.3
Neutral	38	9.0	9.0	27.4
Agree	220	52.4	52.4	79.8
Strongly agree	85	20.2	20.2	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further checked to determine whether any differences existed between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. Two cross tabulations were used to see these possible differences. Regarding to the view that citizenship education can provide students with information about some national symbols such as the national flag and the

national anthem, cross tabulation showed that there were no differences between the two cities or between the basic and secondary schools. Similarly, regarding the view that citizenship education can provide students with information about symbols of jihad for the sake of the homeland, such as Omar EL- Moukhtar, cross tabulation showed that there were no differences between the two cities or between the basic and secondary.

7.12 Potential of Citizenship Education to Help to Support Women’s Rights

This part of the questionnaire consisted of 11 items that sought the views of head teachers and deputies on the potential of citizenship education in helping to support women’s rights in society.

7.12. 1 Women’s Struggle

In this regard, participants were asked about one item suggesting that citizenship education can provide a clear picture of women’s struggle for their rights. In their responses, 51% agreed or strongly agreed with this item, and 40% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this view as shown below in Table 7.30.

Table 7.30: Can Provide a Clear Picture of Women’s Struggle for Their Rights

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	56	13.3	13.3	13.3
Disagree	112	26.7	26.7	40.0
Neutral	36	8.6	8.6	48.6
Agree	184	43.8	43.8	92.4
Strongly agree	32	7.6	7.6	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further checked to see if there were any differences between the two cities, cross tabulation showed that in Derna 43% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to provide a clear picture of women’s struggle for their rights, while 65% did so in El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that in basic schools 49% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, while 64% did so in secondary schools.

7.12.2 Relationship of Women’s Rights and Traditional Culture and Religion

Four items were about the possibility of citizenship education helping to explain the relationship between; traditional culture and women’s rights in society, traditional culture and women’s role in society, Islamic culture and women’s rights in society, and Islamic culture and women’s role in society. Overall, the same response was given to the four items.

Table 7.31 shows participants’ responses on the first item. In their responses, almost 45% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to explain the relationship between traditional culture and women’s rights in society, and 46% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this view. The same response was given to the other three items.

Table 7.31: Can Help to Explain the Relationship between Traditional Culture and Women’s Rights in Society

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	40	9.5	9.5	9.5
Disagree	152	36.2	36.2	45.7
Neutral	38	9.0	9.0	54.8
Agree	168	40.0	40.0	94.8
Strongly agree	22	5.2	5.2	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Two cross tabulations were used for further inspection of the data to determine whether any differences existed between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. The cross tabulation showed that 49% of participants in the city of Derna agreed or strongly agreed with all of the above-mentioned views, compared to 39% in the city of El-Qubba. A comparison between the basic and secondary schools demonstrated that 47% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in the basic, 36% did so in the secondary.

7.12.3 Enhance Gender Equality

In this regard, participants were asked one item about the possibility of citizenship education helping to enhance religiously and socially accepted values, such as gender equality. In their responses, 41% agreed or strongly agreed with this view, 6% was neutral, and 53% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this view, as shown below in Table 7.32.

Table 7.32: Can Help to Enhance the Accepted Values Religiously and Socially among Students, such as Gender Equality

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	61	14.5	14.5	14.5
Disagree	162	38.6	38.6	53.1
Neutral	23	5.5	5.5	58.6
Agree	123	29.3	29.3	87.9
Strongly agree	51	12.1	12.1	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further checked to determine whether any differences existed between the two regions and between basic and secondary schools, using cross tabulations. The cross tabulations showed that in the city of Derna, 39% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the view that citizenship can help to enhance religiously and socially accepted values, such as gender equality, compared to 46% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the

responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 45% agreement for the basic and 34% for secondary schools.

7.12.4 Possibility of Addressing Stereotyping of Women's Role

One item suggested that citizenship education can teach students how to address the stereotyping of women’s role in society. In the participants’ responses, only 53% agreed or strongly agreed with this item, 38% disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 9% was neutral, as shown below in Table 7.33.

Table 7.33: Can Teach Students how to Address Stereotyping of Women’s Role in Society

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	54	12.9	12.9	12.9
Disagree	107	25.5	25.5	38.3
Neutral	37	8.8	8.8	47.1
Agree	204	48.6	48.6	95.7
Strongly agree	18	4.3	4.3	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further checked to determine whether any differences existed between the two regions and between basic and secondary schools, using cross tabulations. The cross tabulations showed that in the city of Derna, 49% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the view that citizenship education can teach students how to address stereotyping of women’s role in society, compared to 60% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 52% agreement for the basic and 61% for secondary schools.

7.12.5 Women’s Rights and Role in Society

In this regard two items were suggested. The first item was that citizenship education can teach students how to bring about social change in women’s rights and role in society. The second item was that citizenship education can help to increase students’ ability to defend women’s rights in society. In participants’ responses, 67% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can teach students how to bring about social change regarding women’s rights and role in society, 17% disagreed with this view, and 8% was neutral. On the second item, their responses showed that 54% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to increase students’ ability to defend women’s rights in society, 38% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this view, and 8% had neutral views, as shown below in Table 7.34.

Table 7.34: Can Help to Increase Students’ ability to Defend Women’s Rights in Society

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	12	2.9	2.9	2.9
Disagree	149	35.5	35.5	38.3
Neutral	32	7.6	7.6	46.0
Agree	193	46.0	46.0	91.9
Strongly agree	34	8.1	8.1	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

To see if there were any differences between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools the data were further checked using cross tabulations. In regard the first item, the cross tabulations showed that in Derna 74% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can teach students how to bring about social change in women’s rights and role in society, compared to 80% in El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that there was no difference between them. Regarding the second item, that citizenship education can help to increase

students' ability to defend women's rights in society, the cross tabulations revealed that in Derna, 57% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, compared to 49% did so in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that in the basic schools 53% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, while 63% did so in the secondary schools.

7.12.6 Support Women's Participation

Two items were suggested on women's participation: citizenship education can help to increase students' ability to support women's participation in political life, and citizenship education can help to increase students' ability to support women's participation in economic life. Table 7.35 shows participants' responses on the first item. In their responses, 51% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to increase students' ability to support women's participation in political life, 42% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this view, and 7% was neutral. The same response was given to the second item.

Table 7.35: Can Help to Increase Students' ability to Support Women's participation into Political Life

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	15	3.6	3.6	3.6
Disagree	163	38.8	38.8	42.4
Neutral	29	6.9	6.9	49.3
Agree	174	41.4	41.4	90.7
Strongly agree	39	9.3	9.3	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Two cross tabulations were used to see whether any differences existed between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. With regard to the first item, that citizenship education can help to increase students' ability to support women's participation

in political life, the cross tabulation demonstrated that in Derna 49% agreed or strongly agreed with this view, compared to 54% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that there was no difference between them.

In respect to the second item that citizenship education can help to increase students' ability to support women's participation in economic life, a comparison was made between the two cities by cross tabulation, which showed that in Derna 48% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, compared to 55% in El-Qubba. When comparing responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that in basic schools, 50% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, and 48% did so in secondary schools.

7.13 Citizenship Education and Discrimination against the Amazigh (Berber) Minority in Libyan Society

This part of the questionnaire sought the views of head teachers and deputies on the potential of citizenship education to help to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority in Libyan society. In this regard, five items were suggested: citizenship education can help students to recognize the Amazigh community, can identify the Libyan cities in which they live, can provide students with information about the Tamazight language, can teach students how to respect cultural diversity in their society, and can provide students with information about the Amazigh history.

In respect to the first item, participants' responses showed that almost 68% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help students to recognize the Amazigh

community, nearly 25% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item, and just over 7% gave neutral responses, as shown below in Table 7.36.

Table 7.36: Can Help Students to Recognize the Amazigh Community

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	54	12.9	12.9	12.9
Disagree	49	11.7	11.7	24.5
Neutral	32	7.6	7.6	32.1
Agree	256	61.0	61.0	93.1
Strongly agree	29	6.9	6.9	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

The data were further inspected in order to determine whether any differences existed between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. Cross tabulation showed that that there was no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that in the basic schools, 67% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view and 73% did so in secondary schools.

In regard to the second item, the participants' responses showed that approximately 66% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can identify the Libyan cities in which the Amazigh live, almost 25% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item, and 9% gave neutral responses, as shown below in Table 7.37.

Table 7.37: Can Identify the Libyan Cities in which They Live

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	56	13.3	13.3	13.3
Disagree	47	11.2	11.2	24.5
Neutral	38	9.0	9.0	33.6
Agree	255	60.7	60.7	94.3
Strongly agree	24	5.7	5.7	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Two cross tabulations were used in order to see if there were any differences between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. The cross tabulations showed that there was no difference between the two cities. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed that in the basic schools, 65% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the view that citizenship education can identify the Libyan cities in which the Amazigh live and 75% did so in secondary schools.

With regard to the third item, Table 7.38 shows participants' responses. In their responses, only 53% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can provide students with information about the Tamazight language, almost 40% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item, and 6% gave neutral responses.

Regarding the fifth item, 54% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can provide students with information about the Amazigh history, 38% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item, and 6% gave neutral responses.

Table 7.38: Can Provide Students with Information about the Tamazight Language

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	77	18.3	18.3	18.3
Disagree	93	22.1	22.1	40.5
Neutral	26	6.2	6.2	46.7
Agree	213	50.7	50.7	97.4
Strongly agree	11	2.6	2.6	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Again, the data were further inspected to determine if there were differences between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. With regard to the third item, that citizenship education can provide students with information about the Tamazight language, cross tabulations demonstrated that there were no differences between the two cities, while 53% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view in basic schools 56% did so in secondary schools. Regarding the fifth item, that citizenship education can provide students with information about the Amazigh history, cross tabulations demonstrated that there were no differences between the two cities or between the basic and secondary schools.

Regarding the fourth item, participants' responses showed that 79% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can teach students how to respect cultural diversity in their society, around 16% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this item, and just over 5% gave neutral responses, as shown below in Table 7.39.

Table 7.39: Can Teach Students how to Respect Cultural Diversity in Their Society

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	25	6.0	6.0	6.0
Disagree	43	10.2	10.2	16.2
Neutral	22	5.2	5.2	21.4
Agree	307	73.1	73.1	94.5
Strongly agree	23	5.5	5.5	100.0
Total	420	100.0	100.0	

Two Cross tabulations were used to determine whether any differences existed between the two cities and between basic and secondary schools. The cross tabulations showed that in the city of Derna, 77% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with this view, while the corresponding percentage was 82% in the city of El-Qubba. When comparing the responses of basic and secondary schools, this revealed 78% agreement for the basic and 80% for secondary schools.

7.14 Issues Influencing Citizenship Education in Libyan Society post-Gaddafi

In this part of the questionnaire, four items were suggested on issues influencing citizenship education in Libyan society. Head teachers and deputies were requested to indicate their views about these four issues (political, religious, social, and tribal) by ranking them according to the degree of their influence on citizenship education in Libyan society on a five-point Likert- type scale (1=Not at all important, 2= Not very important, 3= Somewhat important, 4 = Very important, 5=Extremely important).

In this regard, analysis was carried out by using the mean and standard deviation scores for the four issues.

Table 7.40: Ranking of Mean and Standard Deviation Scores for Issues Influencing Citizenship Education in Libyan Society

	N	Range	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Social issues (customs and traditions).	420	1	1963	4.67	.469
Political issues.	420	1	1807	4.30	.460
Religious issues (Islamic Issues).	420	4	1444	3.44	1.120
Tribal issues (dominant tribal culture).	420	4	1006	2.40	1.227
Valid N (listwise)	420				

Table 7.40 shows the means and standard deviation of participants' responses on issues influencing citizenship education in Libyan society. The table showed that the means ranged from 4.67 to 2.40 and each of the items was considered as an issue influencing citizenship education in Libyan society. As can be seen, the third item (Social issues "customs and traditions") took the first ranking, with the highest mean score 4.67. The first item "political issues" ranked second, as it still had a high mean score, 4.30. The third ranking was for Religious issues, "Islamic issues", with a relatively low mean score of 3.44. The fourth item (Tribal issues) ranked the lowest, with mean score 2.40, showing it was thought to have less influence on citizenship education than the religious issues. According to the views of head teachers and deputies, all the four issues above were seen to be influential in citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi but with different levels of importance.

7.14.1 One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

To determine whether there were any statistically significant differences in participants' responses between the two cities in issues influencing citizenship education in Libyan society issues One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used.

With regard to the four issues and the regions, One-way ANOVA tests were run by regions. The ANOVA test results showed that the significance levels are 0.481, 0.481, 0.458 & 0.343 for political, religion, social and tribal issues respectively. All of these are greater than 0.05. This means, there were no significant differences between the two cities regarding the influence of the four issues on citizenship education, as shown below in Table 7. 41.

Table 7.41: ANOVA Results for the Influence of the Four Issues on Citizenship Education “between the Two Cities”

Political issues	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.105	1	.105	.498	.481
Within Groups	88.492	418	.212		
Total	88.598	419			
Religious issues	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.105	1	.105	.498	.481
Within Groups	88.492	418	.212		
Total	88.598	419			
Social issues	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.122	1	.122	.551	.458
Within Groups	92.190	418	.221		
Total	92.312	419			
Tribal issues	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.354	1	1.354	.900	.343
Within Groups	629.036	418	1.505		
Total	630.390	419			

Similarly, to determine if there was significant difference between the basic and secondary schools with regard to the influence of the four issues on citizenship education, ANOVA was run by type of school. The ANOVA test results showed significance levels of 0.547, 0.946, 0.489, & 0.919 for political, religious, social and tribal issues respectively. All of them are more than 0.05. Therefore, there were no significant differences between the types of schools with regard to the influence of the four issues on citizenship education, as shown below in Table 7.42.

Table 7.42: ANOVA Result for the Influence of the Four Issues on Citizenship Education “between the Two Types of Schools”

Political issues	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.077	1	.077	.364	.547
Within Groups	88.521	418	.212		
Total	88.598	419			
Religious issues	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.006	1	.006	.005	.946
Within Groups	525.385	418	1.257		
Total	525.390	419			
Social issues	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.106	1	.106	.480	.489
Within Groups	92.206	418	.221		
Total	92.312	419			
Tribal issues	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.015	1	.015	.010	.919
Within Groups	630.375	418	1.508		
Total	630.390	419			

7.15 Summary

This chapter has presented the quantitative data analysis about key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, collected from head teachers and deputies of primary and

secondary schools in the two selected cities Derna and El-Qubba. The chapter began with demographic data for participants that included distribution of participants by regions and by schools type. Then, the opinion analysis was presented, starting with the meaning of citizenship.

Overall, the results indicated positive views towards the suggested meanings of citizenship; where participants' responses had ranged from 100% to 55% agree or strongly agree with some of the offered items. For instance, all agreed or strongly agreed with the view that citizenship is belonging to a specific country, and about free participation in social and political life. However, 59% participants positively viewed that citizenship is a sense of belonging to a specific tribe.

In respect to characteristics of effective citizens, generally, participants agreed with the suggested characteristics, with proportions ranging from 100% to 47% agreeing or strongly agreeing. For example, all agreed or strongly agreed that an effective citizen should be characterized by loyalty to a country, and protecting state institutions, and 45% agreed or strongly agreed that an effective citizen should be characterized by broad-mindedness and familiarity with knowledge. While 43% expressed negative views toward the characteristic of rejecting stereotypical views of women in society, 54% expressed positive views toward the characteristic of tribal loyalty.

In regard to aims of citizenship education, participants agreed with all of the suggested items, with percentages of agreement ranging from 100% to 77%. For instance, all agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education aims to enhance students' loyalty to their

country, and 77% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education aims to provide students with information and knowledge related to government institutions and functions.

With regard to the main reasons behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, participants' responses ranged from 100% to 73% agreed or strongly agreed with the suggested reasons. For example, all agreed or strongly agreed with on the part played by absence of democracy. However, 42% disagreed or strongly disagreed on the need to diminish tribal loyalty, 43% disagreement toward need to reduce the political and social role of tribe in society.

Overall, all agreed or strongly agreed with the items that suggested the possibility of citizenship education helping students to be aware of their rights and responsibilities. For instance, it can help students to understand the meaning of rights, and it can provide students with information about International organisations such as Child Rights Organisation and The United Nations Organisation. In regard to the potential of citizenship education to help to foster democratic values, participants' responses ranged from 70% to 85% agree or strongly agree with all the suggested items.

In respect of the potential of citizenship education to help to reinforce a national sense, participants' responses ranged from 100% to 73% agree or strongly agree with the introduced items. For instance, 100% agreed or strongly agreed with the view that citizenship education can help students to understand the meaning of belonging to their country, and 73% agreed or strongly agreed with the view that citizenship education can provide students with information about some national symbols such as the national flag and the national anthem.

With regard to the potential of citizenship education to help to support women's rights, overall, the results showed there are negative views toward support women's rights and role in society, for instance, 40% expressed negative views toward the suggestion that citizenship education can provide a clear picture of women's struggle for their rights.

Regarding the potential of citizenship education to help to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority in Libyan society, participants' responses ranged from 79% to 56% agree or strongly agree with the suggested items. For example, 78% agreed or strongly agreed with the view that citizenship education can teach students how to respect cultural diversity in their society. However, 40% disagreement toward citizenship education can provide students with information about the Tamazight language.

All the data were further checked using cross tabulations to determine whether any differences existed between the two cities and between the two types of schools. Chi-square tests were performed to see if apparent differences were statistically significant. In general, the cross tabulations showed some differences between the two cities and between the two types of schools as well. However, the Chi-square tests findings revealed that there were no significant differences between them.

Finally, regarding the influence of political, social, religious and tribal issues on citizenship education in Libyan society, participants' responses showed that citizenship education in Libyan society is influenced by the four issues. However, the social and political issues ranked first, while the religious and tribal issues ranked the third and fourth respectively. ANOVA tests showed that there were no significant differences between the two cities or between basic and secondary schools.

Thus, this chapter has provided analysis of the quantitative data. In order to obtain deeper information and a clear picture about key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, these findings will be supplemented by the analysis of the qualitative data, which will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 8: Data Analysis-Part Two: Semi-structured Interviews

8.1 Introduction

To supplement the findings of the quantitative data presented in the previous chapter, this chapter presents the second part of the analysis of the data, based on semi-structured interviews with three stakeholders; the Minister of Libyan Education at the national level, and the Officials of the Department of Educational Affairs at the two cities, Derna and El-Qubba and their surrounding areas.

In order to obtain deep information, the three stakeholders were asked nine questions that focused on the main themes of this study, which were about key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The three interviews were conducted according to an interview guide addressing the following: definition of citizenship, characteristics of an effective Libyan citizen, aims of citizenship education in general, reasons behind the increased significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, the sort of society citizenship education should aim to build in Libya post-Gaddafi, the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, women's rights in the new Libya, the Amazigh issue regarding their cultural and linguistic rights , and the challenges that might negatively impact citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

The interviews were coded based on the research questions and according to the literature review and as described by Radnor (2001) detailed in chapter six (Table 6.4). The procedure for analysing the qualitative data began with assigning codes for the themes. The themes were derived in advance from the literature review, which formed the basis of the interview questions. The themes followed up the issues raised in the international citizenship education literature, such as the meaning of citizenship (assigned the code MC), and specifically, the issues that were reflected in the demands of the 17th February Revolution: tribalism, the marginalization of womens' rights, and discrimination against the Amazigh minority (see Chapter 5). For each code, a separate Microsoft Word Document was created to collect the data pertinent to each code. Based on a careful reading of the interview transcripts, the categories and subcategories were identified and labeled under each code. For example, under the code, "the meaning of citizenship", the categories and subcategories emerging from the interview responses included "a sense of belonging", "belonging to a country", and "belonging to the Arab nation". For each of the categories and subcategories, key segments of data (quotations from the transcripts) were copied and pasted into the relevant Word Document. Each piece of text was identified first by theme code, then by a number identifying a subcategory, followed by a letter to identify the individual quotation. For example, in the code B1A, B is the code for the category "belonging", 1 is the first subcategory within the category "belonging" and A denotes the first quotation pertaining to that subcategory. A coded sheet was developed for each theme and the relevant data from each of the three transcripts was inserted under the appropriate code. Master copies of each transcript were retained intact, and "the copy and paste" function was used to generate the data coded to each theme or principal code. The themes, categories and subcategories resulting from the interview analysis are shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Categories, Subcategories and Codes

1-Theme (MC) Meaning of citizenship.

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
A legal status	An unwritten covenant	L1A
	Relationship between state and citizens	L2B
	Respect for law	L3C
Belonging	Belonging to a country	B1A
	Belonging to a tribe	-
	Belonging to a region.	-
	Belonging to the Arab nation	B2B
Rights and responsibilities	Determination of rights and responsibilities	R1A
	Awareness of rights and responsibilities	R2B
Free participation	Free participation in social and political life	FP1A
Equality	Equality of political and social rights.	Q1A
Patriotism	Love of a country	P1A
	Patriotism	P2B
	Patriotis	

2- Theme (CEC) characteristics of an effective citizen

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
Faith in God	Faith in God	F1A
	Good ethics	F2b
Loyalty	Loyalty to a country	L1A
Patriotism	Sacrifice for a country	P1A
	Patriotism	P2B
	Maintaining government organizations	P3C
	Maintaining the security and stability of the country.	P4D
Responsibility	Fulfilling responsibilities and Doing duties	R1A
participation	Participating in	P1A

	politics at national and local levels. Participating in politics at local community level. Participating in social life. Engaging in voluntary work.	P2B P3C P4D
Democratic values	Thinking critically Supporting gender equality. Supporting social justice Rejecting women's marginalization. Respecting others' rights. Cultural diversity Welcoming new ideas Acceptance of positive changes.	D1A D2B D3C D4D D5E D6F D7G D8H

3-Theme (ACE) Aims of citizenship education

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
Creating effective citizens	Creating effective citizens	C1A
Strengthen national awareness	Patriotism. Loyalty to a country.	SN1A SN2B
Provide information about	Civilian society Political order. Government organizations. The country. Human Rights.	PI1A PI2B PI3C PI4D PI5E
Implant democratic values	Freedom Social justice. Gender equality. Thinking about the issues facing society Participation in debates on issues. Participation in social activities.	ID1A ID2B ID3C ID4D ID5E ID6F

4-Theme (SCE) Significance of citizenship education

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
Awareness of rights and responsibilities	Create citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities	A1A
Democracy	Absence of democracy Build a democratic society. Build a modern society. Establish a state of constitution. Free participation. Create responsible citizens	D1A D2B D3C D4D D5E D6AF

The need to reduce tribalism	Tribal loyalty. Loyalty to region. Political role of tribes. Tribal domination	T1A T2B T3C T4D
The need to reduce discrimination and marginalization	Discrimination against the Amazigh minority. Women's marginalization. Supporting women's rights and role in society.	DM1A DM2B DM3C
The need to enhance national values	Loyalty to a country. Belonging to a country. National unity. National cohesion	NV1A NV2B NV2C NV2D

5- Theme (CED) citizenship education and democracy

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
Sort of society	Create a democratic society.	S1A
Providing students with skills	Skills of free expression practice. Skills required for social and political debates	PS1A PS2B
Strengthen democratic values	Contribution in voluntary work and charity. Equality and social justice. Social justice and gender equality. Join social clubs. Respect for other's rights.	DV1A DV2B DV3C DV4D DV5E
Providing students with information about	Voting process. Human Rights	VP1A VP2B

6-Theme (KACE) Key areas of citizenship education

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
Rights and responsibilities	Understanding the meanings of different rights. Understanding the nature of responsibilities. Supply information about International Human Rights Organizations	RS1A RS2B RS3C
National sense	Belonging and loyalty to a country only. Eliminating tribal and regional affiliation. Fostering national cohesion Providing national knowledge.	NS1A NS2B NS3C NS4D
Democratic values	Develop democratic values Explain the	DV1A DV2B

	principles of democratic society	
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7-Theme (SWR) The potential of citizenship education to support women's rights

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
Women's rights and traditional culture	Provide students with information about social culture and women's rights.	WR1A
Women's position in Islam	Provide students with information about women's rights in Islam.	WI1A
Gender equality	Promoting gender equality Respecting women's rights	GE1A GE2B
Encouraging debates about women's issues	Provide students with information that helps them to participate in social debates about women's issues	ED1A
Women's struggle.	Support the women's rights struggle for their rights Provide students with information about women's rights struggle.	WS1A WS2B
Women's participation	Support women's participation in social and political life	WP1A

8-Theme (RDAM) the potential of citizenship education to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
Official language	Arabic	OL1A
Cultural diversity	Provide information about the Amazigh social culture. Teach students how to respect each other's culture. Enhance cultural exchange.	CD1A CD2B CD3C
Providing information about	The ethnic origins of the Amazigh The cities in which they live. Tamazight language History of the Amazigh.	PI 1A PI2B PI3C PI4D
Tamazight language	Teach Tamazight language.	TL1A

9-Theme (IICE) Issues that influence citizenship education

Categories	Subcategories	Codes
Political	Determine the nature of citizenship Responsibility for legislations and laws Drafting of the constitution	P1A P2B P3C
Social	Tribalism Discrimination against women Amazigh discrimination	S1A S2B S3C

Tribal	Tribalism Women's rights Reinforcement of tribal values	T1A T2B T3C
Religious	Women's rights	R1A

8.2. Theme (MC) Meaning of Citizenship

This section is intended to provide greater insights into the meaning of citizenship, as written in bold. Hence the interviewees were asked,

How do you define citizenship?

As indicated in section 5.2 there is no exact meaning of citizenship. However, several categories and subcategories regarding this theme were identified from the respondents' quotations: **a legal status, a sense of belonging and loyalty, determination of rights and responsibilities, awareness of rights and responsibilities, free participation, equality, patriotism, and respect of law.**

8.2.1. A Legal Status

The Minister of Education at national level defined citizenship as a relation between citizens and their state in form of an unwritten "covenant" which indicated individuals' belonging:

*From my point of view, citizenship can be defined as an unwritten covenant between the state and individuals which includes **belonging and loyalty to a country** (for us belonging to Libya) only, neither to a tribe nor to a region, to a sect or a group.*

The official of the Department of Educational Affairs at the city of El-Qubba defined citizenship as follows "*In my view, citizenship is **a legal relationship** between citizen and state and what it entails of legal ideas and proposals*". The official of the Department of

Educational Affairs at Derna, on the other hand, believed that there is a connection between citizens' respect for the law and other legislation and their relationship with the state:

Respect for law and all rules and legislations issued by the state, and this is according to a legal relationship between individuals and their state, which in return guarantees their rights as citizens.

8.2.2. A Sense of Belonging and Loyalty

The interviewees indicated that citizenship refers to a sense of belonging and loyalty to a country. The Minister of Libyan Education at the national level noted that the sense of belonging and loyalty should be confined to Libya only and identified an unwritten agreement between citizens, stating,

*From my point of view, citizenship can be defined as an unwritten covenant between the state and individuals" which includes **belonging and loyalty to a country** (for us belonging to Libya) only, neither to a tribe nor to a region to a sect or a group.*

The official of the Department of Educational Affairs at the city of El-Qubba, emphasized belonging to a country only, stating that citizenship refers to

The feeling of belonging to a country, such as Libya rather than to anything else, such as tribe or territory, not to be linked to anything, such as sect, or group in a negative way.

The official of educational affairs at Derna, expressed the view that citizenship is belonging to the Arab nation firstly, and to Libya. Also, he rejected other sense of belonging by stating,

*In my view, citizenship in the broadest sense is the individual's feeling (male or female) of **belonging to the Arab nation** in general, and also **belonging to their homeland** only in which they live, in particular, for instance to Libya not to a tribe or to a region and sect.*

8.2.3. Determination of Rights and Responsibilities

The quotations show that all the interviewees believed that citizenship can also be regarded as a determinant of individual rights and responsibilities. The Minister of Education at the national level stated,

*Citizenship can be defined as an unwritten covenant between the state and individuals, which includes...**determination of citizens' rights and duties.***

The education official at Derna, stated, “*Citizenship means **determination of individuals’ rights and responsibilities**”.*

The education official at El-Qubba emphasized that citizenship refers to the determination of rights and responsibilities for men and women. He said,

*Citizenship is a legal relationship between citizen and state and what it entails of legal ideas and proposals, also it refers to **identify rights and responsibilities of all citizens men and women.***

8.2.4. Awareness of Rights and Responsibilities

As indicated in section 5.2 an awareness of rights and responsibilities is considered one of the characteristics of good citizenship. This category was emphasized by all interviewees, the Minister of Education at the national level expressed that citizenship can be defined as “*A **consciousness of rights and responsibilities**”.*

The education official at Derna also stated, “*Citizenship indicates individuals’ awareness of **their rights and responsibilities**”.*

8.2.5. Free Participation

This category is considered one of the most important themes and was emphasized in all the respondents' statements. They emphasized that citizenship gives citizens the freedom to participate in all social and political aspects of life. The Minister of Education at the national level noted that citizenship can be defined as “*A free participation into political and social life*”.

Similar views were offered by the two officials of educational affairs at Derna and El-Qubba, the official at Derna mentioned in his definition of citizenship that “It *ensures enjoyment of free participation in social and political life*”.

The official at El-Qubba shared the same view, stating that it also refers to...

Free participation in social and political life.

8.2.6. Equality

Citizenship should ensure equal rights and freedoms for all members of society without discrimination. This view was expressed by the Minister of Education at the national level who stated,

It includes faith in the principles of equality and justice in terms of practice of social and political life for all individuals regardless of gender, race and color.

The official of education at Derna also underscored that citizenship should ensure equality and justice among citizens in terms of their rights and their participation in social and political life. He said, “*Taking into account the basics and principles of equality and social justice between all citizens*”.

In the following statement, the official at El-Qubba also emphasized that equality should be without any discrimination or bias, stating, *“Equality of political and social rights among all citizens, and free participation in social and political life without any discrimination or bias between citizens”*.

8.2.7. Patriotism

Citizenship refers to love for one’s country. This category was stressed by all the interviewees, including the Minister of Education who stated, *“Citizenship can be defined as an unwritten covenant between the state and individuals, which includes love of country”*.

The two education officials at Derna and El-Qubba shared the statement, for example, the official at Derna said

.. Also, citizenship means patriotism.

8.2.8. Respect of Law

This subcategory was only stated by the official at Derna who stated,

Also, citizenship means ...all the individuals’ deeds and behaviours toward their country, such as respect for law and all rules and legislations issued by the state.

8.3 Theme (CEC) Characteristics of an Effective Citizen

To find out what the stakeholders view as the characteristics of effective citizenship, they were asked,

What are the characteristics of an effective Libyan citizen?

As indicated in section 5. 8, several characteristics were identified across different dimensions. In this section many of the characteristics were given by the interviewees which led to the categories detailed in the following sections.

8.3.1. Faith in God

These three interviewees were of the opinion that an effective citizen should be characterised by faith in God, this may be because all Libyans are Muslims, for example, the official at Derna stated that *“There are many characteristics of an effective citizen, but from my point of view, the effective citizen after **faith in God**”*.

Similarly, the official at El-Qubba stated, *“I think, the most important characteristics of an effective citizen is **faith in God**”*.

However, the Minister of Education at the national level believed that faith in God requires a Muslim to be characterised by other capacities, such as honesty, compassion and charity, as he explained,

*From my personal view, the most important characteristics of an effective citizen are **faith in God Almighty**, being characterized by **good ethics**, such as honesty, justice, compassion and charity*

8.3.2. Loyalty to a Country

All the interviewees shared the view that an effective citizen should be characterised by loyalty to a country only. The Minister of Education expressed that the most important characteristics of an effective citizen are...*“Loyalty only to a country not to anything else such as tribe or region”*.

The two officials emphasized this point, for example, the official at El-Qubba stated *“The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are ... loyalty to a country not to a tribe or to territory”*.

8.3.3. Patriotism

The Minister of Education at the national level and the official of education at Derna, shared the view that patriotism is one of the most important characteristics of an effective citizen. The Minister said, *“The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... patriotism”*.

8.3.4. Sacrificing for Country

All the interviewees asserted that an effective citizen should be characterised by a willingness to make sacrifices for the country, this view is clear in the following statement by the official at Derna, *There are many characteristics of an effective citizen, but from my point of view, the effective citizen should be characterized by... sacrifice for country.*

The Minister of Education stressed that an effective citizen should be characterized by willingness to defend and make sacrifices for the country. He said *“The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... defence and **sacrifice for a homeland**”*.

As with the Minister of Education, the official at El-Qbba stated *“The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... keen to defend and willingness to **sacrifice for country**”*.

8.3.5. Maintaining Government Organisations

Maintaining government organisation was one of the most important characteristics underscored by two, the Minister of Education and the official of education at Derna.

*The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... **keen to maintain state’s belongings and organizations*** stated by the Minister of Education.

The official of education at Derna included security and stability in his statement. He said,

*The effective citizen should be characterized by keenness to **maintain the security and stability of the country, preservation of the state’s institutions and properties.***

8.3.6. Fulfilling Responsibilities and Doing Duties

All the interviewees stressed in their statements that an effective citizen should be characterised by a willingness to fulfil their responsibilities and doing duties, for instance, the Minister of Education expressed that *“The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are ...**fulfilling responsibilities, commitment to duties**”*.

The official of education at El-Qubba agrees when he states, “*The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are...doing duties and fulfilling responsibilities*”.

The official at Derna also stated “*The effective citizen should be characterised by doing his/her duties and fulfilling his/her responsibilities*”.

8.3.7. Participating

Political participation was endorsed as a characteristic of effective citizenship by all the interviewees. The Minister of Education believed that the effective citizen should be characterised by his/her level of participation in political life at both national and local levels. He stated that “*The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... participation in politics at both levels, local and national*”.

The two officials of education at Derna and El-Qubba, cited only local participation. The official at Derna said that “*The effective citizen should be characterized by participation in politics in the local community, such as participation in the voting processes*”.

The official at El-Qubba stated “*The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... participation in politics in the local community*”.

The importance of participation in social life was also underscored by the two officials at Derna and El-Qubba who shared the same statement. The official at Derna said “*The effective citizen should be characterized by participating in social life*”.

8.3.8. Engaging in Voluntary Work

The Minister of Education and the official of education at Derna shared the same view: the Minister stated that *“The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are...engaging in voluntary work in society”*.

8.3.9. Thinking Critically

An effective citizen should be characterised by the ability to think critically about issues in local and international communities according to the Minister of Education and the official of education at El-Qubba. The Minister stated,

*The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... **critically thinking** about issues faced not only by his/her own society but also and neighbourhoods and wider societies.*

While the official at El-Qubba believed that critical thinking should be around issues that faced the community as he points out,

*The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... **paying attention to issues that faced the community and thinking critically** about those issues.*

8.3.10. Welcoming New Ideas and Values

One of the most important characterises was stressed by the Minister of Education in the following statement,

*The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are...broad cultural, familiarity with knowledge, acceptance of positive changes and keeping up to date and **welcoming new ideas and values.***

8.3.11. Supporting Gender Equality and Democratic Values

The Minister of Education considered supporting new ideas and values, such as gender equality and the rejecting the marginalization of women as another crucial characteristic of effective citizenship. He said,

Welcoming new ideas and values and being willing to help to support these values, such as gender equality, and rejection of marginalization of women's role in society.

Similarly, the official of education at El-Qubba, believed that,

*The most important characteristics of an effective citizen are... **supporting democratic values** in society, such as social justice, **gender equality**, and **rejection of women's marginalization** in society.*

The official of education at Derna, on the other hand, stated “*The effective citizen should be characterized by ...enhancing democratic principles in society, and **respecting others' rights***”

8.4. Theme (ACE) Aims of Citizenship Education

This section explores how stakeholders view the general aims of citizenship education. The interviewees were asked,

Could you please tell me about the aims of citizenship education in general?

As detailed in sections, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5, citizenship education can have several aims, which will differ from one country to another according the philosophical, social, economic and

cultural factors involved. This section presents the aims that were selected by the interviewees in following categories:

8.4.1. Creating Effective Citizens

Creating effective citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities is one of the aims of citizenship education. This aim was selected only by the Minister of Education at the national level. He said, *“From my point of view, citizenship education should aim to create effective citizens who are conscious of their rights and duties”*.

8.4.2. Strengthening patriotism and National Awareness

All the interviewees stressed that citizenship education should aim to strengthen patriotism, national awareness, and loyalty to a country among young people, for instance, the Minister of Education noted,

*From my point of view, Citizenship education should aim to **promote loyalty to a country** only among students, not to a tribe or to territory. Citizenship education should aim to **strengthen patriotism and national awareness** among students*

He believed the violence that occurred during the Revolution of 17th February resulted from the lack of national awareness among individuals as he makes clear:

The violence and destruction that happened in the Revolution of 17th February in Libya 2011, and all the ruin and loss of money and lives, would not have happened if the people had a great deal of national awareness.

The official of education at Derna made a similar point:

*In my view, citizenship education should aim to **strengthen loyalty to a country** among students rather than tribal or regional loyalty, and **promote patriotism***

among students. Citizenship education should aim to foster national awareness among students

The official of education at El-Qubba also stated,

In my view, citizenship education should aim to foster both patriotic and national sense among students as follows; citizenship education should aim to teach students how to love their country, to teach students how to be loyal to their country not to their tribe or to region

8.4.3. Providing Knowledge, Skills and Information

As mentioned in Chapter Five citizenship education can help to provide students with knowledge, information and skills in several areas. In this regard, the Minister of Education said “*Citizenship education should aim to provide students with information about the structure and importance of institutions of civil society*”.

In agreement with the Minister of Education, the official of education at Derna, said

Citizenship should aim to provide students with skills and knowledge about democratic society, such as civil society and the importance of its institutions.

The Minister of Education also noted that “*Citizenship education should aim to provide students with information about political order in their society*”

The official of education at Derna made a similar point, “*Citizenship education should aim to provide students with some political knowledge*”.

The official of at Derna noted that citizenship education should aim “*To provide students with information about human rights, such as the International Organizations for Human Rights*”.

Similarly, the official of education at El-Qubba said, “*Citizenship education should aim to provide students with information about human rights and about human organizations*”.

The official at Derna stated that

Citizenship education should aim to supply students with information about the main government organizations in their society that would help them in their life.

However, the official at El-Qubba made a broader statement:

Citizenship education should aim to provide students with information about their country from several aspects; socially, culturally, politically, and historically.

8.4.4. Encouraging Participation in Social Activities

Citizenship education should aim to motivate students to participate in social activities according to the Minister of Education and the official at El-Qubba who shared the same viewpoint with the official at El-Qubba, stating,

Citizenship education should aim to encourage students to engage in social activities at local and national levels.

8.4.5. Encouraging Participation in Debates

Citizenship education should aim to encourage students to take part in debates about community affairs. This aim was supported by the three interviewees. The Minister of Education said,

Citizenship education should aim to encourage students to follow up and to take part in debates on social, political, and economic issues that face their community.

The official of education at Derna also expressed the view that citizenship education should aim to *“Motivate them to freely contribute in discussion of social and political issues, which challenge their society”*.

Whilst the official of education at El-Qubba noted that *“Citizenship education should aim to encourage students to think about issues that actually face their community”*.

8.4.6. Enhancing Social Values

The three interviewees emphasized that citizenship education should aim to enhance social values among students. The Minister of Education said, *“Citizenship education should aim to foster good social values, such as honesty and fidelity”*.

The official of education at Derna also stated, *“Citizenship education should aim to foster good ethics and socially virtuous values among students”*.

The official of education at El-Qubba said, *“Citizenship education aims to instill socially virtuous values, such as social justice and gender equality among students”*.

8.4.7. Implanting Democratic Values

Two interviewees mentioned that citizenship should aim to instill democratic values among young people, for instance, the Minister of Education noted that,

Citizenship education should aim to implant democratic values among students and to teach them how to enjoy freedom and believe in the principles of equality and social justice.

The official of education at Derna also said, “*Citizenship education should aim; to create a democratic citizen, to instill democratic values among students, such as social justice and equality*”.

8.5. Theme (SCE) Significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi

This section aims to create a deeper understanding of why citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi is becoming such an important issue. Therefore, the interviewees were asked,

Why is citizenship education growing in significance in Libya post-Gaddafi?

As detailed in section 4.5, Libyan scholars such as, Yassin, (2011), Al-Teir (2011), Al-Honi (2011), and Abdul Latif (2012) have drawn attention to a number of issues in Libyan society post-Gaddafi that became central to the February 17th Revolution: tribalism, women's marginalization, discrimination against the Amazigh minority and a lack of democracy. In this section, the interviewees explain the reasons behind the growing significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The following themes were identified:

8.5.1. Awareness of Rights and Responsibilities

One of the reasons behind the growing importance of citizenship education is the need to create citizens who are aware of their rights and responsibilities as expressed by the Minister of Education who said,

From my personal view, the main reasons behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya-post Gaddafi are, the need to promote citizenship

*values in society in order to create a new generation whose individuals are **aware of their rights and responsibilities**, working for the service of their country, accompanying the wheel of progress and development in their society.*

The official of education at El-Qubba, stated.

*From my point of view, the key reasons behind the growing significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi are... need to support citizenship values among students, such as **awareness of their rights and responsibilities***

8.5.2. Democracy

The Minister of Education and the official at El-Qubba both emphasized the lack of democracy as one of the reasons for the growing significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. Consequently, all the interviewees emphasized the **need to establish a democratic society** as another reason. As the Minister of Education stated, there is a *“**Need to build a democratic society in which all citizens enjoy their social and political rights**”*.

Similarly, the official of education at El-Qubba said there is a *“**Need to create a new Libyan citizen for the new Libyan society, need to establish a democratic society**”*.

Another theme arising from the data was **a state constitution**. As the official of Education at Derna points out, *“**The need to establish a state constitution is considered one of the reasons behind growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi**”*.

8.5.3. Tribalism

As detailed in Chapter Three and Four, tribalism contributes to decline in the conception of national identity based on loyalty to a country, due to the powerful political and social role of tribal leaders. The three interviewees saw the need to reduce tribalism as a one of the

main reasons behind the growing importance of citizenship education. The Minister of Education gave the reasons, the need to build a new Libyan society, the need to reduce regional tribal loyalty and the need to reduce the political role of tribal leaders. He stated that there is a

*Need to **establish a new Libyan society** politically and socially by instilling new values among students, need to eliminate **tribalism** and its values in Libyan society, such as **tribal loyalty**, need to enhance **loyalty to a country** among students, need to reduce **loyalty to region or territory**, need to eliminate **the political role of tribes***

However, the official of education at Derna stressed the need to establish a modern society.

He said there is a

*Need to **establish a modern society**, need to reduce **tribal and regional loyalty** in society, need to promote **loyalty to Libya** only, need to reduce **the political domination of tribes** in society*

The official of education at El-Qubba also stressed the need to reduce the social and political role of the tribe and he emphasized the need to enhance the sense of belonging and loyalty to Libya. He said there is a

*Need to **build a modern society**, need to eliminate **tribal and regional loyalty in society**, need to reduce **tribal domination** in social and political aspects across the country, need to strengthen **belonging and loyalty to Libya***

8.5.4. Discrimination against the Amazigh Minority

The three interviewees cited the need to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority as another main reason behind the growing significance of citizenship education.

The Minister of Education and the official of education at El-Qubb shared the same view:

The Minister identified the

*Need to **eliminate discrimination** against the Amazigh minority in regard to their linguistic and cultural rights is the reason behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.*

The official of education at Derna supported this view

*The need for free practice of social and political rights for all Libyan people without **discrimination**, such as discrimination against the Amazigh minority regarding their cultural and linguistic rights*

8.5.5. Women's marginalization

The need to support women's rights in society was cited by all the interviewees as another main reason behind the growing significance of citizenship education. The Minister of Education indicated that issue of women's rights and their social marginalization are a consequence of the particular social culture that prevails in Libya. He pointed to the "*Need for a revision of social culture in Libyan society and to reduce its negative aspects, such as **women's marginalization***".

The official of education at Derna agreed with this reasoning, citing the need to support women's rights and their role as a key issue that is contributing to the growing interest in citizenship education post-Gaddafi. He considers women's rights one of the key citizenship values, as he makes clear when he highlights the "*Need to enhance citizenship values in society, such as social justice and equality especially in regard to **women's rights and their stereotyped role in society***".

The official at El-Qubba also cited the *Need to support women in their struggle for their rights and role in society*".

8.5.6. National Unity and Cohesion

The Minister of Education and the official of education at Derna both believed that the need to strengthen of national unity was a key reason behind the growing significance of citizenship education. The official at Derna stated there is a *“Need to strengthen national unity in the country”*.

The official of education at El-Qubba stated the *“Need to strengthen national cohesion among Libyan tribes in order to maintain the unity of Libyan soil”*.

The Minister of Education summarized the aims of citizenship education as follows:

Therefore, the Ministry of Education endeavors to build a solid educational system at the national level, in order to compensate all that the Libyan society lost during the previous regime. One of these endeavors is to introduce citizenship education, which can help us to tackle some of these challenges, even though this will take a long time

8.6. Theme (CED) Citizenship Education and Democratic Society

This part aims to explore how the stakeholders view the sort of society, which citizenship education aims to build and to obtain information about how citizenship education can help to create a democratic society. The interviewees were asked,

From your point of view, what sort of society should citizenship education aim to build in Libya post- Gaddafi?

As mentioned in section 5.5 that citizenship education can help to enhance democracy, and help students to play an effective role in a democratic society. For example, citizenship

education can help to **enhance democratic values, such as gender equality and social justice** among students and it can **provide students with information and skills** related to the **voting process, the practice of free expression, participation in political and social debates,** and **voluntary work and charity**. These themes were emphasized by the interviewees.

8.6.1. A Sort of Society

All the interviewees asserted that the primary goal of citizenship education should be to build a democratic society in order to achieve the aim of the 17th February Revolution. This point was emphasized by the Minister of Education who stated,

*Certainly, a **democratic society** in which all citizens enjoy equality and social justice, the society for which the 17th February Revolution rose up and overthrew Gaddafi's regime. Citizenship education might help to **create a democratic society**.*

Similarly, the official of education at Derna said,

*Without doubt, citizenship education **should aim to build a democratic society** in which social justice and equality is achieved, which the Libyan people seek to establish after the overthrow of Gaddafi's regime that was characterized by absolute dictatorship and tyranny for a period of 42 years.*

The official of education at El-Qubba also stated that,

*Citizenship education should **aim to build a democratic society** that protects the citizens' rights politically and socially, and preserves their dignity, for which the 17th February Revolution on 2011 rose up against the dictatorial regime.*

All the three interviewees asserted that citizenship education can play a role in enhancing democracy. The Minister of Education noted that “*Citizenship education might help to create a democratic society, and also could help to prepare effective and responsible citizens*”.

The official of education at Derna also stated,

Thus, the education system in the new Libya participates in achieving of the aims of 17th February Revolution on 2011 by introducing citizenship education, since citizenship education can help to lay the foundations of democracy in society.

Similarly, the official of education at El-Qbba said,

*Citizenship education might help to prepare students to be effective citizens for a **democratic society**. Citizenship education **can help to promote a democratic culture** in society.*

8.6.2. Providing Information and Skills

The interviewees agreed that citizenship education can help to provide students with information and skills regarding the following elements of democracy:

8.6.2.1. The Voting process

The Minister of Education emphasized that citizenship education can help to supply students with information about the voting process. He stated,

*Citizenship education can **equip students with information** about democratic processes, such as the **voting process** and **encourage them to participate in the voting process**.*

The official of education at El-Qubba said, “*Citizenship education can supply students **with information about democratic concepts, such as the voting process**”*

8.6.2.2. Free Expression

All the interviewees emphasized that citizenship education can help students to acquire information and skills that are related to freedom of expression. According to the Minister of Education,

*Citizenship education can help students to acquire information and skills that help them to contribute effectively in a democratic society, such as the **skills to practice of free expression**.*

The official of education at Derna also expressed this view, stating “*Citizenship education can help to **provide students with skills that... enable them to express their opinions freely***”.

Similarly, the official at El-Qubba, stated,

*Citizenship education can help to equip students with knowledge, information and skills about the way to democracy, and enable them to translate these knowledge and skills into practice and help them to be confident and able to play their role in democratic life, such as the **skills of free expression***

8.6.2.3. Charity, Voluntary Work and Join Social Clubs

Citizenship education can encourage students to engage in voluntary and charity work, this point was emphasized by two interviewees. The Minister of Education stated, “*Citizenship education can help to encourage students to engage effectively in social activities, such as **contributing to voluntary work and charity in their society***”.

The official of education at Derna emphasized student engagement in **voluntary work and charity at their local level**, adding that citizenship education can help to encourage students **to join social clubs**. He said,

*Citizenship education can help to encourage students to engage in work with groups, for instance, **encourage them to join social clubs in their community and to engage in charity work and voluntary work in their local society, such as collecting bins**.*

8.6.2.4. Participation

Participation in political and social debates was another element identified by the three interviewees. The Minister of Education emphasized that citizenship education can assist students to participate in political and social debates at a national and local levels. He stated that,

Citizenship education can help students to acquire the skills that enable them to take part in political and social debates at national and local levels in their society.

The official of education at Derna stated that,

Citizenship education can help to provide students with the skills that help them to contribute positively in political debates and social negotiations in their society.

The official of education at El-Qubba emphasized student participation in social and political debates at a local level. He stated that,

Citizenship education can help students to acquire skills that help them to participate effectively in political negotiations and in debates on social issues in their local community.

8.6.2.5. Human Rights

The official of education at El-Qubba emphasized that “*Citizenship education can help to provide students with information about human rights*”.

8.6.3. Enhancing Democratic Values

Citizenship education can help to foster democratic values among students; this point was emphasized by the interviewees. The Minister of Education emphasized social justice and gender equality. He stated that “*Citizenship education can help to foster democratic principles among students, such as social justice and gender equality*”.

The official of education at Derna stated that “*Citizenship education can help to strengthen democratic principles among students, such as social justice and equality, respect for others’ rights*”.

The official of education at El-Qbba agreed. He stated, “*Citizenship education can help to reinforce equality and social justice among students*”.

8.7 Theme (KACE) Key Areas of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi

This section attempted a more detailed exploration of the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The interviewees were asked:

What do you think should be the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post- Gaddafi?

Section 5.4 gave an account of citizenship education with a focus on three dimensions; social and moral responsibilities, community involvement and political literacy (QCA, 1998).

In the following sections, all the three interviewees said that citizenship education should include preparing students to become effective and responsible citizens. The following key issues were identified: determining **individual rights and responsibilities**, reinforcing a **sense of belonging and loyalty to a country**, reducing **tribal and regional loyalties and affiliations in society**, fostering a **national sense among citizens** and promoting **democratic values** in society.

8.7.1. Rights and Responsibilities

The QCA report (1998) (discussed in section 5.4) indicated that rights and responsibilities are preconditions of citizenship. All the interviewees asserted that citizenship education should focus on individual rights and responsibilities to raise awareness and understanding amongst those who are newly created citizens. The Minister of Education emphasized that citizenship education can teach students about different rights and help them to accept personal and social responsibilities. He stated,

*From my point of view, we need to introduce a citizenship education that might assist us to create a new generation for the new Libyan society. Therefore, citizenship education should cover **Individual rights and responsibilities**; in this regard citizenship education can help students to **know the meaning of rights, types of rights** and also citizenship education can help to **supply students with information and recommendations about their responsibilities on a personal level, social and family.***

The official of education at Derna shared the same view, however, he also mentioned women's rights. He said,

*The key areas of citizenship education are... **awareness of rights and responsibilities**, for instance, citizenship education can **provide students with information about the meaning and types of rights such as women's rights**, and **about the nature of their responsibilities toward themselves, their family and toward their country.***

The official of education at El-Qubba agreed; he added a broader international rights perspective by asserting that,

Rights and responsibilities of citizens**; in this respect citizenship education can help to explain the meaning of rights, can help students to **know their rights and others' rights** and can help to **provide students with information about International Human Rights Organizations**, such as the United Nations Organization. Also, citizenship education can help to **teach students how to fulfill their responsibilities toward themselves, their family and their society.

8.7.2. A Sense of Belonging and Loyalty

All the three interviewees emphasized that citizenship education should focus on reinforcing the sense of belonging and loyalty to a country and reduce the dominance of tribalism. The Minister of Education believed that citizenship education should focus on,

*Reinforcing belonging and loyalty to a country and nothing else, neither to tribe nor to region, for example, it can help to **explain the meaning of belonging and loyalty to a country**, and can help to **reduce tribalism in society** and help students to understand the negative impacts of tribalism on the national sense in their society.*

The official of education at Derna reiterated this point. He said,

*The key areas of citizenship education are...**strengthening belonging and loyalty to a country, diminishing of tribal and regional belonging and loyalty.***

The official of education at El-Qubba also emphasized that citizenship education can help students to understand the meaning of belonging and loyalty to their country. He stated,

*The key areas of citizenship education are...**belonging to a country.** Citizenship education can help to explain the meaning of belonging to a country. **Loyalty to country**, citizenship education can help student to understand the meaning of loyalty to country.*

8.7.3. National Awareness

The three interviewees emphasized that citizenship education should focus on fostering national awareness. The Minister of Education said,

*Citizenship education should cover these main areas...**Reinforcing a national sense** among students such as by providing them with national information, for example, **the national anthem, national flag, national holidays, and national symbols**, such as Omar El-Moukhtar.*

The official of education at Derna made a similar statement,

*Fostering of national sense for instance, it can help to provide students with national knowledge such as the national **flag** and **anthem**, can help to explain the meaning of **patriotism**.*

The official of education at El-Qubba agreed and he also mentioned the need to inform individuals about the negative effects of tribalism. He, stated,

*The key areas of citizenship education are...**Fostering a national sense**, for instance citizenship education can help to explain the meaning of **national unity** and can help to foster **national cohesion** in society, **clarify negative impacts of tribalism in society***

8.7.4. Democratic Values

All the three interviewees emphasized that citizenship education should focus on promoting democratic values among young people. The Minister of education, said, “*Citizenship education should focus on developing democratic values*”. This view was shared by the official of education at Derna.

The official of education at El-Qubba explained how this could be put into practice. He said, “*The key areas of citizenship education in the new Libya should include the following ...explain the basic principles of democratic society*”.

8.8 Theme (SWR) the Potential of Citizenship Education to Support Women’s Rights in Society

This section was investigating how stakeholders viewed the possibility of including women’s rights within the key areas of citizenship education in Libya. The interviewees were asked,

What about women’s rights in the new Libya?

As discussed in section 5.4, citizenship education can help to support women's rights and their role among students. All three interviewees emphasized the importance of this issue. They asserted that citizenship education could support women's rights in the following ways: by clarifying the **relationship between women's rights and the prevailing social culture in a society**, by clarifying the relationship **between women's rights and Islam**, by promoting **justice and gender equality**, by encouraging students to **participate in debates about women's rights and role in society**, by supporting **women's struggle for their rights** and by encouraging students to **support women's participation** in political and economic life. Each of these elements is discussed below.

8.8.1. Women's Rights and Social Culture

Two interviewees asserted that citizenship education can help to explain the relationship between women's rights and the prevailing social culture. The Minister of Education, stated,

*Citizenship education can help to provide students with information about the negative impacts of **traditional culture in regard to women's rights and role in society**.*

The official of education at El-Qubba also mentioned the influence of tradition, he stated that, "*Citizenship education can help to provide students **with information about the traditional culture and women's rights and role***".

8.8.2. Women's Rights and Islam

Two interviewees emphasized that citizenship education can help to clarify the position of women in Islam. The Minister of Education stated,

*Citizenship education can help to improve students' understanding about the **nature of women's rights and role in society** and support women's position by*

providing some articles from the Quran and from the sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, which indicate how women are respected in our religion.

The official of education at Derna also stated that “*Citizenship education can teach students about the **position of women in Islam**”.*

8.8.3. Promote Justice and Gender Equality

All three interviewees emphasized that citizenship education can help to promote social justice and gender equality among students. The Minister of Education said, “*Citizenship education may help to promote **social values such as social justice and gender equality among students**”.*

The official of education at Derna stated that

*Citizenship education can help to **encourage students to respect women’s role in society, and enhance social justice and gender equality among students.***

The official of education at El-Qubba shared the same view; he also recommended that this process should be started at an early age. He said,

*Citizenship education can **help to enhance gender equality and social justice among students, working on convincing and teaching them that women are active members of society who like men have rights and duties. Students, therefore, should be brought up having these thoughts since childhood.***

8.8.4. Encourage Participation in debates about Women’s Issues

The Minister of education emphasized that citizenship education can help to encourage students to participate in debates about women’s rights. He said,

*Citizenship education can provide students with information that enables them to **participate in social debates about women’s rights and their role in local society, and citizenship education can help to reinforce students’ capabilities to protect women’s rights anywhere.***

8.8.5. Support women's Struggle for Their Rights

Two interviewees emphasized that citizenship education can help to encourage students to support women's struggle for their rights. The Minister of Education stated that *"Citizenship education can motivate students to **support women in their struggles for their rights in participation in political and economic life**"*.

Similarly, the official of education at Derna stated,

Citizenship education can help to provide students with a clear idea about women's rights in their society and other societies and also about women's struggle for their rights

8.8.6. Support Women's participation

The three interviewees stressed that citizenship education can help to support women's participation in political and economic life. The Minister of Education stated, *"Citizenship education can motivate students to support women in their struggles for their rights in participation in political and economic life"*.

The official of education at Derna also stated that *"Citizenship education can help to **support women's participation in political and economic life in their society**"*.

Similarly, the official of education at El-Qubba said,

*Citizenship education can encourage students to support women's role in society, particularly their **participation in political and economic life at local and national level in their community***.

8.9 Theme (RDAM) The Potential of Citizenship Education to Reduce Discrimination Against the Amazigh Minority

This section attempts to obtain deeper information about whether citizenship education has the potential to help reduce discrimination against the Amazigh in Libya post-Gaddafi. The interviewees were asked,

What about the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority in Libya post-Gaddafi?

As detailed in section 5.4, citizenship education was shifted to focus on community involvement and to provide students with information about the socio-cultural structure of their society. The aim was to enhance a sense of national identity among young people and to promote cultural diversity in society (QCA, 1998). All the interviewees supported **Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights in Libya post-Gaddafi**. They emphasized that citizenship education had the potential to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh in particular through **providing students with information about the Amazigh community** (their issues in Libyan society, their culture, their language, their areas of residence in Libya, their history), by promoting cultural **diversity** and by educating students about **the official language in Libya post-Gaddafi**.

8.9.1. The Amazigh Cultural and Linguistic rights in Libya post-Gaddafi

The Minister of education and the official of education at Derna asserted that in post-Gaddafi Libya, the Amazigh are free to exercise their cultural and linguistic rights. The Minister of Education said,

*Of course, the Amazigh minority is considered one of the components of the social and cultural structure of Libyan society. The Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights were dispossessed during the Gaddafi's regime. But **now they exercise their cultural rights and social rituals freely**, like the Libyans in all regions of the country.*

Similarly, the official of education at Derna stated,

*In my opinion, the Amazigh are Libyans, living in Libya. Injustice was done to them during the era of Gaddafi's regime. They were deprived of their cultural and linguistic rights, but in the free Libya, they are **free to practise their culture and social customs and traditions like the rest of the other Libyan tribes**.*

8.9.2. Providing Information about the Amazigh Community

All the interviewees emphasized that citizenship education can help to provide students with information about the Amazigh minority, for instance, the Minister of education stated,

*Citizenship education can help students to know **who the Amazigh people are, what constitutes their culture and language, where they live in Libya, and can teach them the Amazigh history**.*

The official of education at El-Qubba agreed, and stated that

*Citizenship education can help to provide students with information about the Amazigh minority in terms of their **ethnic origins, history, and the Libyan places in which they reside**.*

The official at El-Qubba also emphasized that citizenship education can provide students with information about the Tamazight language, however, he regards the Tamazight language as a specific dialect. He said,

*Citizenship education can help to provide students with information about the **Tamazigh language** as a local dialect that the Amazigh use among themselves. This is because the Amazigh are associated with the Libyan people by national factors, which are the Islamic religion, the Arabic language, and the one country.*

The official of education at Derna merely stated that,

Citizenship education can help to provide students with information about the Amazigh minority and their call for their cultural and linguistic rights.

8.9.3. Cultural Diversity, Respect Others' rights and Cultural Exchange

All of these elements were emphasized by the interviewees. The Minister of Education stated that,

*Citizenship education can help to teach students about **cultural diversity** and encourage them to respect the Amazigh culture.*

The official of Education at El-Qubba believed that,

*The Amazigh issue should be included within the subject of citizenship education in the new Libya in order to reinforce the student's ability to accept **cultural diversity**.*

The interviewees also pointed out other elements related to enhancing cultural diversity among students. The official of education at El-Qubba stated that,

*Citizenship education can teach students how to **respect others' culture** in their local and national community. Also, citizenship education can help to provide students with information about the Amazigh social culture as a style of the Libyan social culture.*

The official of education at Derna emphasized that citizenship education can help to encourage cultural exchange. He said, "*Citizenship education can help to encourage students to strengthen their relationships socially and **culturally with the Amazigh through cultural exchange***".

8.9.4. The Official Language in Libya post-Gaddafi

The three interviewees asserted that Arabic is the official language in Libya post-Gaddafi.

The Minister of Education emphasized that in the new Libya the Amazigh are free to use

and teach their Tamazigh language to their children, however, the official language is Arabic. He justified this claim in the following statement:

*Although, the **official language** in Libya is Arabic, which is the language of the Quran, however, they are allowed to use their language freely, besides teaching it to their children in order to keep it from extinction. Moreover, they are allowed to set up schools and institutes in which the Tamazigh language is taught to anyone who wants to learn this language. However, the Arabic Language remains the **official language** in Libya for the sake of preserving the country's unity from division to a state within a state.*

The official of education at Derna shared this view:

*They can also use their Tamazigh language and teach it to their children in government and private sectors. However, the Arabic language will continue as **the official language** in Libya in order to sustain the unity of national cohesion among Libyan tribes and the unity of Libya as a whole.*

The official of education at El-Qubba added this point,

*The Amazigh speak Arabic and teach it to their children to enable them to recite the Quran and also to deal with Libyan Arab society, as Arabic is **the official language**.*

8.10 Theme (IICE) Issues That Influence Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi

This section investigates how stakeholders view the issues that influence citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The interviewees were asked,

What are the challenges that might negatively impact citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

As discussed in sections 5.5 and 5.6 the amis of citizenship education will differ from country to country and will be shaped by other factors including the history and development of the nation, the dominant social customs, religion, political philosophy, the economy and other local

demands. The interviewees asserted that citizenship education might be affected by **social, tribal, political and religious** aspects in Libya post-Gaddafi as presented in the following sections.

8.10.1. Political Aspects

The Minister of Education emphasized the political aspects that determine the nature of citizenship and the type of citizen that citizenship education should aim to create. He said,

*In my view, the challenges that might adversely influence citizenship education in Libya are the political aspects that are represented in the **political order** and its aims, which is responsible for determining the nature of citizenship in society and the citizen it aims to create.*

The official of education at Derna emphasized the political aspects with reference to the issuing of laws and legislations, he stated that,

*Political and religious aspects are considered sources of citizenship in the Libyan society. Therefore, citizenship in general and citizenship education in Political and religious aspects are considered sources of citizenship in the Libyan society. Therefore, citizenship in general and citizenship education in the **political aspects** are responsible for formation and determination of the structure of the state, legislations and laws.*

The official of education at El-Qubba emphasized how the political aspects influence the wording of a constitution. He said,

***Political issues** impact on the drafting of the constitution, which concerns legislations and determines of the relationship between citizens and their state and defines their rights and responsibilities.*

8.10.2. Social and Tribal Aspects

The three interviewees emphasized how the social and tribal aspects of Libya have an influence on citizenship education. The Minister of Education emphasized the effects of social and tribal values and also stressed the need for social change. He said,

*The most important challenges that could adversely affect citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi are negative habits and social values, especially related to the prevalence of **tribalism in society**. Therefore, there has to be a focus on changing the social system with the requirements of the times.*

The official of education at Derna shared the same perception. He stated that

*In my view, citizenship education might face social, tribal, political, and religious challenges in Libya post-Gaddafi. **The social and tribal aspects** are related together. This is because the tribe is the main social organization, which shapes the social culture in general, that is represented in social values, tribal culture, and all ideas, which are inherited in Libyan society. For instance, discrimination against women, such as considering that women have only one role, to breed and care their children, and tribal loyalty that negatively impacted national sense among young people.*

The official of education at El-Qubba agreed.

***Social aspects**, which are represented in the negative social values have been inherited in Libyan society since long ago, for instance, women's role stereotyped roles in society as well as the negative social beliefs and intellectual accumulation that is a result of the rule of Gaddafi, with disadvantages such as the Amazigh discrimination, and increased loyalty to region among individuals.*

The official of education at El-Qubba emphasized the effect of tribalism in Libyan society.

He stated,

*The nature of the **social structure of Libyan society**, where the tribe plays a key role in shaping social culture and reinforcement of tribal values such as tribal loyalty among young people.*

8.10.3. Religious Aspects

All the interviewees emphasized that citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi might be affected by religion. The Minister of Education stated that,

***Religious aspects influence** citizenship education in terms of some concepts related to **women's rights** in particular.*

The official of education at Derna also emphasized the influences of religion on citizenship education. He believed that

Religion provides some concepts and virtuous social values, which are applied by the religious scholars in the society or so-called Moufty Al-Deiar

The official of education at El-Qubba stated that,

The religious aspects in the area of citizenship education; religion may interfere with the identification of concepts that are consistent with the Islamic religion.

8.11. Summary

This chapter has presented the data analysis of the semi-structured interviews. This information has provided a deep insight into the stakeholders (the Minister of Libyan Education at the national level and the officials of the Department of Educational Affairs at the two cities, Derna and El-Qubba) views on key areas of citizenship education in post-Gadafi Libya. On the meaning of citizenship, their answers highlighted the following themes: a legal status, a sense of belonging and loyalty to a country. However, the official of education at Derna also emphasized belonging to the Arab nation, the determination of rights and responsibilities, free participation, equality and patriotism, and respect for the law.

On the characteristics of an effective citizen, their answers highlighted the following themes: Faith in God, loyalty only to a country rather than loyalty to tribe, participating in political debates, fulfilling responsibilities and duties, and willingness to sacrifice for the country. The Minister of Education and the official of education at Derna included patriotism, maintaining government organizations and engaging in voluntary work. The Minister of Education and the official of education at El-Qubba highlighted thinking critically. The Minister of Education and the official of education at El-Qubba stressed the

need to support gender equality and democratic values. The Minister of Education emphasized the need to welcome new ideas and values.

On the aims of citizenship education, their answers highlighted a number of themes. The Minister of Education stressed the need to create effective citizens. All interviewees mentioned strengthening patriotism and national awareness, encouraging participation in debates, and enhancing social values. Providing knowledge, skills and information about civilian society, and political knowledge were emphasized by the Minister of Education and the official of education at Derna along with providing information about Human Rights. The official at Derna also mentioned providing information about governmental institutions. The official at El-Qubba placed emphasis on providing social and political information. The Minister of Education and the official of education at El-Qubba emphasized the need to encourage participation in social activities. The Minister of Education and the Official of education at Derna mentioned the need to implant democratic values.

On the reasons behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, their answers revealed the following themes: an awareness of rights and responsibilities was stressed by the Minister of Education and the official of education at El-Qubba. Tribalism and the need to reduce its domination was emphasized by all interviewees. The need to reduce the political role of tribe was stressed by the Minister of Education and official of education at Derna. The need to reduce the political and social role of the tribe was stressed by the official of education at El-Qubba. All three interviewees viewed the need to spread democracy, discrimination against the Amazigh minority and women's marginalization as major reasons for the growing importance of

citizenship education. On National Unity and Cohesion, national unity was emphasized by the Minister of Education and the official of education at Derna. The official of education at El-Qubba stressed national cohesion.

On citizenship education and democracy, their answers indicated the following themes: all interviewees emphasized the need for a sort of society, a democratic society. Providing information about the voting process and providing the necessary skills was emphasized by the Minister of Education and the official at El-Qubba. The need to encourage free expression was emphasized by all three interviewees. The official of education at Derna mentioned charity, voluntary work and joining social clubs, which form part of a participatory democracy. Charity and voluntary work were also stressed by the Minister of Education. All three interviewees stressed the need for participation in political and social life. The need to be informed about human rights was stressed by the official of education at El-Qubba. As their answers indicate, enhancing democratic values was emphasized by the three interviewees.

On the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, their answers highlighted the following themes. All the interviewees emphasized that the key areas of citizenship education included rights and responsibilities, a sense of belonging and loyalty to a country, national awareness and democratic values. On women's rights and how they might be supported, the Minister and the official of education at El-Qubba emphasized the link between women's rights and social culture. Women's rights in Islam, and support for women's rights struggles were stressed by the Minister of Education and the official of education at Derna. Social justice, gender equality and supporting women's participation

were emphasized by all interviewees. The need to encourage participation in debates about womens' issues was emphasized by the Minister of Education.

On the Amazigh minority, their answers revealed a number of themes that were stressed by all interviewees. The official language in Libya post-Gaddafi, Arabic as the official language, cultural diversity and cultural exchange, respecting the rights of others, and the need to provide information about the Amazigh community. The Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights in Libya post-Gaddafi was emphasized by the Minister of Education and the official of education at Derna. On the issues that might influence the development of citizenship education, their answers revealed the following themes: political aspects, social and tribal aspects and religious aspects. The main themes obtained from the semi-structured interviews are summarized in Appendix, No.16. The results of this analysis will be discussed further in relation to the quantitative findings and the literature in the next chapter.

Chapter 9: Discussion of the Findings

9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the questionnaire data, the semi-structured interview data and the relevant literature to address the research questions in Chapter Six. The structure of the discussion follows the order of the research questions presented in Chapter Six. What are the views of selected stakeholders on the reasons behind the growth in significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi? (RSQ6), the meaning of citizenship (RSQ6a), the characteristics of an effective citizen which citizenship education aims to create (RSQ6b), the aim of citizenship education (RSQ6c), the issues that might influence citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi (RSQ6d), and the potential of citizenship education to foster students' awareness of their rights and responsibilities (RSQ7a), democratic values and national awareness (RSQ7d and 7c), women's rights and role and the rights of the Amazigh minority as regards their language and culture in Libyan society (RSQ7d and 7e). The chapter will conclude with a summary of this discussion.

9.2. Reasons behind the Growth in the Significance of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi

At the time the data was collected, there was widespread agreement among the participants that citizenship education had become increasingly important and was much needed in the current circumstances. They identified several issues of concern that in their view enhanced

this need. In answer to research sub-question 6, one of the main concerns raised was the aspiration for democracy, which was expressed in phrases such as [current] “absence of democracy”, “need to build a democratic society”, “need to build a modern society”, and “need to enhance social justice and equality. The data obtained from the semi-structured interviews, emphasized these themes. For instance, the Minister of education and the official at El-Qubba suggested that the “*Need to build a democratic society in which all citizens enjoy their social and political rights*” was a main reason behind the growing significance of citizenship education. Also, the three interviewees emphasized that the need to build a modern society was another reason. The Minister asserted this “*Need to build a modern society*. The survey findings showed an overall agreement that the “need to build a democratic society” was the reason and 82% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the importance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi was about the need to build a modern society.

Additionally, **the need to enhance social justice and equality**, was another reason behind the growing significance of citizenship education that was emphasized by the three interviewees. The official at Derna suggested there was a “*Need to enhance citizenship values in society, such as social justice and equality especially in regard to women’s rights and their stereotyped role in society*”. It is interesting that the word “democratic” was equated with “modern” in the eyes of respondents, suggesting a sense that Libya was out of step with trends in the international community and needed to “catch up”. This might be how the position could be interpreted in the light of western literature, but Libya is an Arab country, where citizenship education will be shaped around priorities that differ from those which might ‘top’ a western list. In the Libyan context, calls for ‘the need to build a

democratic society' and the like are more about creating a national identity through citizenship education as opposed to bolstering the old tribal allegiances.

The Minister of Education focused on **the social and political implications of democracy**, linking the building of a democratic society with a scenario where “*all citizens enjoy their social and political rights*”. Similarly, the official at Derna equated democracy with the “*need to enhance citizenship values in society, such as **social justice and equality***”. However, he also highlighted a legal aspect, the “*need to establish **a state constitution***”, thereby pinpointing an issue that has remained problematic for Libya since the Revolution. This emphasis on the drive towards democracy is in both general outline and in detail, consistent with Guider’s (2012) account of the main aims of the 17th February Revolution: to establish a democratic society, in which Libya would be a constitutional state, and to emphasize equality with all citizens equal before the law (see section 1.1).

Another key issue raised was **the need to strengthen national unity and cohesion**; notably, more than half of the survey respondents and all three interviewees, conceptualized tribalism as the biggest threat to such unity. As a result, they stressed the importance of diminishing tribal loyalty, and reducing the political and social role of the tribes.

Nevertheless, tribalism emerged as a controversial issue, which reflects the deeply-rooted tribal loyalties still prevalent in Libyan society. For example, 42% of survey respondents saw no need to diminish tribal loyalty, or to reduce the political and social role of tribes in society; they evidently wished to sustain their tribal identity. This finding indicates that for many Libyans, tribal identity is an integral part of national identity. Such a view concurs

with Kalaa (2014), who explains that the developed countries were built not only on particular historical tribal or ethnic groups but consisted of different tribal and ethnic societies, which effectively constituted a social ladder and created a balance that moderated the power of individual tribal and ethnic groups (see section 5.4).

Moreover, tribes played a key social and political role in supporting members who faced material hardship and instability (see section 3.2). Following on from these early roots, as pointed out by Tarhoni (1999; cited in Tarhoni, 2011), Obeidi (2010) and Mokhefi (2011) tribal leaders have continued to play a key social and political role in supporting members, for example, in certifying marriages and facilitating careers. Watfa (2011), Bisharat (2008) and Korany (2014), have suggested that tribal loyalties were intensified by the lack of a clear relationship between state and citizens, loss of confidence in governmental law, absence of democratic institutions, and no clear meaning of citizenship to determine citizens' rights and responsibilities (see section 5.6.4).

Such arguments may help to explain why strong support for the tribe is still prevalent among the survey respondents, where there is a sense of tribal belonging and loyalty among individuals. Historically, this is because a tribe is the basis of the social structure in Arab society, and exerts a significant social and political role which cannot be ignored. In this sense, Al-Tier (2011) asserted that tribal belonging and loyalty are not a defect, but if it exceeds 'the limit', it is considered a problem and hinders other affiliations and loyalties (section 5.6.4). Thus, it can be argued that the tribe is a contributing factor to the shaping of Libyan citizenship; however, this citizenship has not been transferred from local to national level. Therefore, the sense of tribal belonging and loyalty are considered as one level Libyan citizenship.

The findings also revealed that the respondents agreed on **a need to minimise regional loyalty, and to enhance national loyalty** and 41% agreed on a need to strengthen national cohesion as reasons behind the growing significance of citizenship education. These findings were supported by the interview data. Regional loyalty was another issue which emerged as a result of tribalism, where tribes dominate in the districts in which they live and they implant regional loyalty among their individuals. The respondents agreed on the need to minimise regional loyalty. On the one hand, they may believe that regional loyalty has a negative effect on national unity or cohesion, especially the slogans encouraging regionalism and tribalism which appeared after the February Revolution. These slogans may harm the unity of Libyan soil, which corresponds to the revolutionary goal 2. On the other hand, it may prevent social justice between the Libyan regions, which requires fairness in terms of appointments to leadership positions in the country. The revolutionary goals 6 and 9 stipulate equal opportunities and an end to the marginalization of regions, communities or individuals. Decentralization is also required to determine peoples' needs within their respective regions, irrespective of their political names, such as territory or province. This finding also reveals that Libyan citizenship is still located at the local level.

Finally, all respondents perceived **issues of ethnic discrimination, and gender** as one of the reasons behind the increased significance of citizenship education. The demand to end ethnic discrimination is exemplified by the Amazigh minority campaign for recognition of their cultural and linguistic rights. The demand to end gender discrimination is exemplified by the increasing calls to support women's rights and a more prominent and respected role for women in society. Data gathered from the interviews supported the survey findings in this respect. These findings indicate that Libyan society is an ethnic society which

discriminates against the Amazigh minority and marginalizes women's rights and their roles.

Citizenship education can help to tackle these issues as it can help to promote a nested citizenship that embraces or accommodates ethnic and cultural diversity and gender equality thereby reducing discrimination against the Amazigh minority and women. Students can learn about the structure of their society in order to promote cultural diversity so they can live comfortably within a pluralist society by respecting cultural differences. Also, citizenship education can teach students about women's rights, their role in society and how women have suffered from marginalization. Hence, citizenship education can be used to reinforce democratic values in Libyan society.

In summary, the participants agreed that citizenship education has assumed greater significance post-Gaddafi for the following reasons: the aspiration to build democracy and to desire to enhance national unity, and to end discrimination. Nevertheless, strong support for tribal ties remains amongst many people, which suggests that the notion of national unity in Libya is a complex one that citizenship education will have to take into account. In this respect, Yassin (2011) pointed out that tribalism and tribal belonging are not only a sense of belonging, but also behaviour, which should be tackled with educational plans and awareness campaigns (see section 4.5.1). The Libyan tribe is a source of Libyan identity, as individuals have a sense belonging and loyalty to their tribes and regions, which means Libyan citizenship is located at local levels. Thus, it can be argued that there is the possibility of developing a form of nested citizenship in Libyan society, where individuals are expected to belong to different levels or bodies and to the whole world as well (see Heater, 1999, section 5.4).

Developing a form of nested citizenship can help to extend Libyan citizenship from local levels to the national level, where individuals can belong and still be loyal to their tribes, to regions or cities and to their homeland. This is crucial because strengthening a sense of national identity can only be achieved through strengthening other affiliations and loyalties (Juma, 2007, see section.3.5); this can be done by raising awareness of nested citizenship in Libyan society. There are numerous ways to spread information, such as TV programs, newspapers, magazines and focused education programs. However, a citizenship education curriculum is considered the most important and effective means. Citizenship education can help to foster the concept of nested citizenship among students. Students can be given information about the nature and social structure of their society. They can be taught how to belong and be loyal on multiple levels without giving preference to one level over the other. Thus, citizenship education can teach students how their sense of belonging and loyalty should develop gradually, starting from their regions, cities, tribes or clans and extending to their homeland Libya and beyond. Furthermore, citizenship education can help to enhance an understanding of cultural diversity among students by teaching them how to respect and support the rights of others, including women and the role they play in society.

9.3 The Meaning of Citizenship in Libyan Society

As previously discussed in section 5.2, the meaning of citizenship differs across time and from one society to another according to the political and social ideology and the local demands of the society (Lee and Fouts (2005) and Shamsul Haque (2008)). The findings of this study (presented in Chapters Seven and Eight) revealed that the concept of citizenship was interpreted in a variety of ways by the respondents. These findings are discussed in the next section, in answer to research sub-question 6a.

9.3.1. A Legal Status

The findings revealed that citizenship was perceived as a legal status, entailing rights and responsibilities. This was a major theme; the survey results showed that 70% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship was concerned with **determining the relationship between citizen and state**. This result was supported by the semi-structured interview findings, with a dimension added by the Minister of Education who defined citizenship as *“an unwritten covenant between the state and individuals”*. The word covenant suggests a binding contract, which would confer rights and impose duties on both parties. However, his notion that the covenant is “unwritten” distinguishes it from a constitution and implies something more in the nature of a mutual understanding, where compliance is a matter of good faith. This perception of citizenship as a legal relationship between citizen and state is consistent with the literature discussed in section 5.2. Citizenship has been defined as a legal status, which refers to a relationship between citizens and their state and ensures their belonging to it (Citizenship Foundation, 2006; William and Humphrys, 2003; Oers et al., 2010).

The view of citizenship that emerges from the data implies a connection with several elements that were emphasized by many scholars in Chapter Five: for example, the notion of a state or political community, citizens, country, and rights and responsibilities. The state or political community grants the legal status of citizenship, which in turn entails rights and responsibilities.

This latter dimension of legal citizenship was also recognized by respondents. In Table 7.4 the quantitative data indicated that more than half of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship entailed **the determination of rights and imposed responsibilities on**

individuals. Such a view is consistent with the notion of a covenant, which entails reciprocal benefits. Just as citizens enjoy various forms of support and protection from the state as rights, so the state looks to citizens to fulfil their responsibilities (such as socially responsible behaviour, compliance with the law, and payment of taxes) to support the stability of the state. The three interviewees agreed with the Minister of Education on the implications of the “unwritten covenant between the state and individuals” which he associated with determination of citizens’ rights and duties. The official at El-Qubba specifically emphasised that such “*rights and responsibilities*” apply to “*all citizens’ men and women*”. This emphasis on gender is significant: as evidenced throughout this thesis the rights and role of women have become a controversial issue in Libya, due to the perpetuation of old constraints and stereotypes. The Minister is clearly aligning himself with more recent developments by demanding gender equality. These results are consistent with the Islamic call for the equality of human beings in general as cited in many parts of the Holy Quran: For example,

Who does good, whether male or female, and is a believer, shall enter Paradise and they shall not be wronged a whit.
(The Quran Chapter An-Nisa (4), Verse No. (124) (Zafrulla, 2008)

Of the believers who act righteously, whether male or female, we will surely grant such a one a pure life; and we will certainly reward them according to the measure of the best of their works”.
(The Quran Chapter Al- Nahl (16), Verse No. (69) (Zafrulla, 2008)

Also, gender equality is emphasised in the five pillars of Islam, *Shahada* (Testify), *Salah* (Prayer), *Seyam* (Fasting), *Zakat* (Charity), and *Hajj* (Pilgrimage) so both men and women owe their worship. The Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) also emphasised the equality between genders when he declared that “all people are equal, as equal the teeth of a comb” (Jawad, 1998:5) (see section 5.7).

These findings concur with Ibrahim (2014) who stated that all citizens Muslim and non-Muslim, had equal rights and responsibilities under the Medina Constitution issued by the Prophet Muhammad and his companion in the first year following the migration to Medina (see section 5.6.2) These findings also concur with Faulks (1998) and Scott and Lawson (2002) discussed in section 5.2. In general, the identification of rights and responsibilities is considered one of the main principles of citizenship to protect human rights and promote democracy.

The existence of citizenship rights and responsibilities is of little value unless citizens are aware of them. Table 7.6 reveals 96% of the survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship requires an awareness of rights, and the same proportion perceived that citizenship requires an awareness of responsibilities. The three interviewees agreed with these views. These responses concur with Pattie et al., (2004), who viewed awareness of rights and responsibilities as the main feature of good citizenship; and William and Macedo (2005), who argued that individuals cannot become citizens unless they have the required awareness of rights and duties in order to enjoy their rights and fulfil their responsibilities (see section 5.2).

Libya has endured the absence of real citizenship, tribal level restrictions and lack of democracy for over forty years; yet there is strong agreement between the respondents that citizenship is a legal status between a citizen and a state which determines rights and duties. However, as Bottery (1992:149) said “Rights and responsibilities, it might be argued, only make sense when people are able to understand and profit from them” (see section 5.9). Citizenship education can help students to become aware of their rights and responsibilities

and also it can teach them how to exercise these rights and responsibilities according to state legislation (see section 5.5.1).

9.3.2 A Sense of Belonging

Another major theme of citizenship was **a sense of belonging**, which manifested in a cluster of sub-categories to reveal the types and levels of belonging that are pertinent to Libyan society. Individuals could belong to a country, a nation, a tribe, a region, and a sect. As noted, these results indicate there is the potential for an enhanced form of nested citizenship that encourages all five levels of belonging in Libyan society.

All the participants emphasized that citizenship refers to **a sense of belonging to a country** (see section 7.5.4). This specific sense of belonging is not an abstract concept, but rather the product of an exchange relationship between individuals and their country: the country grants protection, security and identity, and in return individuals pledge their loyalty and willingness to make sacrifices for the sake of the country. Individuals cannot give allegiance to a homeland or sacrifice for it, unless they feel a sense of belonging. This view is supported by the interview data. The Minister of Education stated that citizenship includes “*belonging and loyalty to a country* (for us belonging to Libya)”; these words clearly link the sense of affiliation (the affective factor) with its behavioural manifestation (the loyalty of citizens to their nation).

This sense of belonging implies that citizens perceive an identity based on reciprocal interest with the nation and so will bestow their loyalty on it, consequently serving the nation’s interests serves their own interests. This idea of a sense that encompasses allegiance and belonging, is discussed by Osler and Starkey (2005), who suggest that

citizenship refers to “a feeling of belonging to a community” and the concomitant “practice of human rights”. Oers et al., (2010) suggest that citizenship can be defined inter alia as an identity, which focuses on belonging and loyalty to society as a whole. Similarly, the Arab author Al-Saweidi, 2001; cited in Abdul Karim & Al-Nassar, 2010:22) claimed that citizenship is “a sense of individual love for his community and his country, pride in belonging to it” (see section 5.2).

However, this sense of belonging to the homeland is not innate, it is an acquired feeling and governments must make exerted efforts to develop it among individuals. After Italy was built, the Italian nationalist, D’Azeglio said; “We have made Italy, now we have to make Italians” (Hobsbawm, 1992:44; cited in Bottery, 2003:103) (see section. 5.5.3). Citizenship education is one such exerted governmental effort which can help to foster this sense of national belonging.

For Libyans, as Arabs, this sense of belonging was not confined to the country of residence but extended to **the Arab nation**. The survey results show a high proportion of participants responded positively towards this dimension of citizenship. The interview data revealed that the official in Derna shared the same view. This finding might be due to the fact that Arabs always describe themselves as belonging to the Arab nation wherever they are. Nevertheless, this sense of belonging may be ranked low among some Arab citizens. In Asad’s study (2003) of Kuwait, 90% of participants ranked their belonging to the Arab nation in fifth place *after* belonging to religion, to a country, to a tribe and to a sect (see section.3.5). According to Fulcher and Scott (2007) people should rank national identity as a top priority (see section 3.6).

In view of the mixed responses to tribalism reported earlier, it is not surprising to find that tribal affiliation was important to a large proportion of the participants. Table 7.7 shows that 35% of participants responded negatively towards the view that citizenship indicates a **sense of belonging to a specific tribe**, as did the three interviewees. This negative view of tribalism might be a reaction against the political role of tribes, which is seen as a legacy of Gaddafi's rule that threatened the democratic process (El-Katiri, 2012) (see section 4.5.1). The findings might also indicate that the participants are aware of how the negative impacts of tribalism were a major cause of the delayed development in Libyan society for many years, as asserted by Anderson, 1986; cited in Khoury and Kostiner (1991:211). (See section 3.2).

Nevertheless, 59% of the survey participants responded positively towards the view that citizenship indicates a sense of belonging to a specific tribe. These findings reveal a wish to sustain tribal identity, as a valued level of belonging and loyalty in Libyan society, which can be explained by the historic social and political role of the tribes in Libyan society (see section 4.4). As Zeila (2006) and Al-Samurai (2009) pointed out, Arabs were strongly tied to their tribes pre-Islam. They lived in nomadic tribes that moved from one place to another, homeland was a tent, and the Sheikh or leader enjoyed full authority and took responsibility for his members; a tribal council debated tribal matters, and tribal customs (often unwritten) identified the rights and responsibilities of members. According to Abdul Hafeez (2014), Watfa (2011) and Bisharat (2008) Arab societies retained much of this way of life under colonialism and even after independence, the tribal model still dominated in Arab societies (see section 5.6). In Libyan society, the tribe strives to support its members socially and politically and in return members provide their loyalty and feel a sense of belonging. Therefore, it can be argued that whilst tribal identity cannot be neglected,

individuals can be encouraged to look beyond their tribe to extend their sense of belonging and loyalty from a local and regional level to a national level. Heater (1999) argued that in developed countries, citizenship transfers from local to national and global level in the form of multiple citizenships, where people are expected to be loyal to their city, region, civil society, country, regional bloc and eventually the whole world (see section 5.4). Such a view is consistent with Al-Riqieai (2011), who suggested that tribalism although not eradicated, would be balanced by the introduction of other loyalties (see section 4. 5.1).

The fourth type of belonging identified in this study, again a controversial one, was the **sense of belonging to a specific region**, such as a district, city, or village. 40% of survey respondents viewed this level of citizenship negatively, as did the interviewees, who wished to see regionalism superseded by nationalism. For example, the education official in El-Qubba reported that citizenship refers to *“the feeling of belonging to a country such as Libya rather than to anything else such as tribe or territory”*. Such responses reflect a strong aspiration toward national citizenship. However, 48% of the participants responded positively towards the meaning of citizenship as belonging to a specific region. This result can be explained by claims in the literature (Chapter Three). This feeling of belonging to a region is deeply entrenched in Libyan society and is linked to tribalism. During the monarchy era and Gaddafi’s regime, tribal leaders acted as mediators between the rulers and the population of their regions. This custom and practice strengthened the role of tribal leaders at the regional level which strengthened tribalism overall (Varvelli, 2013, section.3.2). As argued by Obeidi (2001), one type of belonging prevalent in Libya is belonging to a region (see section 3. 4).

The final type of belonging identified, albeit apparently the weakest among respondents, was **the sense of belonging to a specific sect**. Chapter Seven revealed that 86% of the survey participants negatively viewed the idea of citizenship as a sense of belonging to a specific sect, as did the three interviewees, who negatively viewed all types of belonging that competed with their idea of belonging only to a country.

This finding may indicate that the participants believe citizenship should mean belonging only to a country; they may also believe that belonging to a specific sect negatively affects their desired citizenship. Moreover, for forty years they were under the rule of a dictatorial regime that supported the idea of tribal affiliation in society without any other affiliations. This result is in line with Qasim (2005) and Carp (2014), who identified sectarianism as a serious challenge facing the establishment of citizenship in society (section 3.5).

Overall, the findings revealed various levels of belonging among respondents which could potentially, be gradually extended to the national level by developing a form of nested citizenship, thereby raising awareness in Libyan society.

9.3.3. Free Participation in Political and Social life

Table 7.8 indicates a positive view of the idea that citizenship means **free participation in political life**; the same response was given to **free participation in a social life**. The qualitative data also confirmed this view. For example, the Minister of Libyan Education viewed such participation as part of the **unwritten covenant referred** to earlier. Clearly, there was a strong desire among participants to establish freedom of participation in political and social life. This principle is one of the main aspects of citizenship and is consistent with the emphasis placed on the aspiration to democracy, discussed earlier. This

response can be understood as a reaction against the previous regime, in which such participation was constrained. These findings are consistent with several definitions of citizenship discussed in the literature (section 5.2). Marshall (1950) argues that citizenship indicates full participation in civilian, political and social life, Kuwari (2000) defined citizenship as freedom of participation based on equal rights (social, political, and economic) without discrimination (see section 5.2).

9.3.4. Equality of Political and Social Rights

In Chapter Seven (Table 7.5) shows that 87% of participants agreed that citizenship means **equality of political rights**. 86% agreed that it means equality of social rights. These findings reflect a strong concern for equality, which was reinforced by the three interviewees. Equal social and political rights are the main principle of citizenship in a democracy. This view is consistent with the themes of justice and equality that run throughout the participant responses. These rights are the necessary basis for freedom of participation in a democratic society. These findings are consistent with the international views of citizenship discussed in Chapter Five (section.5.2): Starkey et al., (2006) and Faulks's (1998) assert that citizenship refers to equal rights. Kuwari (2000) defines citizenship as freedom of participation and equal rights for all, regardless of belonging, sex, ethnicity, and religion. In the Libyan context the regional role of tribal leaders has restricted the principal of gender equality and negatively effected the selection processes for appointments to main positions. Such processes were generally based on tribal concepts, for example, the tribe with the largest number of males or the famous tribal leader would be given preferential treatment.

Equality did not prevail under the previous regime, nor had it been securely established at the time of this study, when the rights of women and social minorities, such as the Amazigh were being hotly debated. In their response to this issue (amongst others) the participants expressed their desire for change, but their concerns for equality, reflected an ideal rather than a lived reality, as discussed by the Libyan scholars cited in Chapter Four. In regard women's rights challenges, Bugaighis, (2013; cited in GWLI, 2013) noted that women represented only 10% of members on the drafting committee for the new Libyan constitution in 2012: less than the minimum 30% quota that women are entitled to according to the international conventions on women's rights (see section, 4.5.2). El-Jarh (2014) pointed out that the Amazigh refuse to participate in the process of drafting the Libyan constitution; this refusal is due to the new Libyan constitution not recognizing their language (Hasairi 2014) (see section 4.5.3).

9.3.5. Patriotism

Consistent with the view of national spirit manifested in the Revolution, and the concern for nationhood and national loyalty discussed earlier, the survey findings showed an overall agreement that citizenship means **patriotism**. The interview data supports previous findings in the quantitative data in this respect: the two officials of education emphasized citizenship refers to patriotism. The official at Derna stated that, citizenship means *patriotism*. Patriotism is an emotion that drives individuals to feel a sense of belonging and to be willing to give sacrifice in service to their homeland. Also, "patriotism expresses that attachment to the nation is a particular value that an individual may rank as a priority. On the other hand, patriotism also refers to involvement" (Depuiset and Butera, 2005:74) (see section 3.5).

9. 3.6. Respect of Law

The findings in Table 7.9 revealed a complete agreement that citizenship entails **respect for law**; in the interviews, the official at Derna emphasized this point. This finding is in line with Kuwari (2000) and Juma (2013), who asserted that citizenship indicates equality and respect for the law among all people, because law is the embodiment of citizenship (see section 5.2). This view also concurs with the QCA report (1998), which highlighted respect for the law as an essential demand for any social order (see section 5.5) and is consistent with the idea of citizenship as a legal status that confers rights and imposes responsibilities. Respect for the law, as a fundamental responsibility of citizens, can be seen as part of the social contract between citizen and state, which is necessary to the stability of the latter.

Citizenship does not only include determining rights and duties, rather it includes all aspects of life and the surrounding social environment, so citizenship can be considered as a comprehensive status (Reese, 1998) (see section 5.2). The findings indicate that in Libya the concept of citizenship is interpreted in terms of political, social, and cultural dimensions that reflect a legal status with concomitant rights and responsibilities. Citizenship is nested in nature, encompassing different levels of belonging, such as national, tribal, regional, and sectarian, and is characterized by free participation in social and political life, equality, patriotism, and respect for the law. The concept of citizenship as perceived by respondents in this study is multi-faceted.

In summary, Libyan citizenship refers to the legal relationship between a citizen and a state that determines citizen's rights and duties. Therefore, citizenship also means respect for the law. The respondents defined citizenship as the sense of belonging to a country, a tribe, a

region, a specific sect and to the Arab nation. This multi-faceted concept provides an opportunity to develop a form of nested citizenship and to promote its awareness among young people to create a sense of national citizenship identity. The respondents defined citizenship as freedom of participation in political and social life and equal political and social rights. These principles are considered as the desirable foundation of Libyan citizenship. The study responses also indicate that citizenship refers to patriotism.

9.4. Characteristics of an Effective Citizen

As detailed in Chapter Five, ideas about what constitutes the desirable characteristics of a citizen will differ across time and according to the prevailing political, social, and economic order. Citizenship education aims to create citizens who are equipped with the values and skills they need to become effective members of their communities. In answer to research sub-question 6b, this section will discuss how the respondents view the characteristics of an effective citizen in the current Libyan context.

9.4.1. Faith in God

Consistent with Libya's character as a Muslim society, all the participants agreed that an effective citizen should be characterized by **faith in God**. Similar findings are reported in other Islamic societies, for example, Hakem and Hanifa (2006) in Saudi Arabia (see section 5.9). Faith in God is seen as a positive force that induces individuals to follow Islamic teaching; this idea is firmly entrenched among Muslims, who follow the teachings of the Quran and the sayings and deeds of the Prophet. Such values are not inconsistent with loyalty to modern nation states, the Prophet Mohammed encouraged his companions to love their country. He is reported to have said, "Love of a country is part of faith". He

always remembered his hometown Mecca during his stay in Medina, and he urged Muslims to be loyal to their homeland, as declared in the city Constitution, which stipulated the responsibility of all Muslims to defend Medina (Zeila,2006) (see section.5.6.2).

To a Muslim, faith in God is the cornerstone of all other virtues. At the same time, it may restrict other loyalties. Islam advocates loyalty to a community and obedience to a duly constituted authority, subject to the proviso that leaders must rule in a manner consistent with Islam, as a condition of their legitimacy. If there is any conflict between faith in God and other loyalties the former should prevail. Therefore, Islam may imply a distinctive interpretation of citizenship informed by Islamic values.

9.4.2. Loyalty to a Country and Tribe

All the participants in both the survey and interview agreed that **loyalty to a country** is a characteristic of an effective citizen. On tribal loyalty, the findings were more mixed: 54 % of participants viewed the characteristic of tribal loyalty positively, and 35% of participants viewed it negatively, although all three interviewees presented negative views toward tribal loyalty. Many participants placed a high value on loyalty to a tribe alongside loyalty to one's country; again these findings reflect the nested quality of loyalty in Libyan society. Commenting on the delicate balance between these loyalties, Al-Tier (2011) argued that the tribe is not in itself a bad thing. Concern is centred on the degree of tribal belonging and loyalty, especially if it exceeds the sense of national loyalty and belonging, as this could promote factionalism and the partisan behaviours that conflict with the modern sense of belonging and loyalty to a wider polity (see section 5.6.4). The deep sense of feeling for one's tribe, which is a source of identity and pride for many Libyan people, is a lived experience that cannot be ignored. For this reason, it can be argued that to enhance national

citizenship, national unity, and democracy, Libyan citizens should be encouraged to look beyond the tribe, to develop a sense of nested citizenship that extends to their homeland (Heater 1999) (see section 5.4).

9.4.3. Fulfilling Responsibilities, Protecting State Institutions, and Sacrificing for Country

Table 7.11 revealed that 93% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that **fulfilling responsibilities** is a characteristic of an effective citizen. The interview findings corroborated this view. As mentioned in section 5.9, this agrees with Gottlieb and Robinson (2002), who stated that effective citizens understand the difference between rights and responsibilities and fulfil their responsibilities in a democratic society.

These findings reveal an agreement among respondents that an effective citizen should understand their rights and responsibilities and fulfil their obligations as the main precondition of citizenship. Effective citizens respect and care about equal rights and are willing to accept responsibility for their actions and how they effect others, which in turn, enhances communication and benefits wider society (see section 5.5).

The idea of responsibilities or duties was linked to the willingness to make **sacrifice for country**, on which there was an overall agreement among respondents, including the interviewees. These findings are consistent with Hakem and Hanifa (2006) in Saudi Arabia, which confirmed that characteristics of an effective citizen are to serve, and sacrifice for country, and to fulfill responsibilities (see section 5.9). They also closely parallel the earlier responses on the meaning of citizenship.

Also linked with the idea of fulfilling responsibilities was **protecting State Institutions**; this characteristic was also supported by two interviewees: the Minister of Education and the official at Derna. Such a view gives concrete form to the general notion of responsibilities, which recalls the previous discussion on the legal “covenant” between citizen and state. This finding is particularly salient since the data were collected at a time when state institutions had collapsed or were maintaining a precarious existence. Also, these findings may reflect the desire among respondents to create citizens who love and are closely tied to their country and are willing to make sacrifices for it to sustain social stability and peace.

9.4.4. Participation in Voluntary Work, in Politics and Social Life

According to the QCA report (1998) community involvement is one of the main dimensions of citizenship education that enhances democracy. **Participation in voluntary work** offers individuals an opportunity to be involved in their community, helps them to obtain information about public services, organisations and issues arising in their community. As Potter (2002) suggests, voluntary work links people to their local communities and addresses a variety of issues in society. Nelson and Kerr (2005) reported that one of the main contexts for applying citizenship education is the wider community, through engaging students in voluntary work (see section 5.5). Table 7.13 revealed that 52% of respondents agreed that an effective citizen should participate in voluntary work at a local level. The interview data supported this view, with the Minister of Education citing such participation as one of the most important characteristics of an effective citizen. The Australian Curriculum (2012) emphasizes voluntary participation, as do Fraczak-Rudnicka and Torney-Purta (2001) (see section 5.9). However, the findings also show 39% of participants responded negatively towards participation in voluntary work.

These results may indicate that respondents lacked information on the benefits of volunteer work in society, due to the democratic deficit caused by over forty years of authoritarian rule. This negative view may be attributable to tribalism and tribal affiliations, which means individuals are loyal to their tribes and regions rather than their homeland. These prejudicial affiliations took precedence over the state institutions of modern democracy (Abdul Latif, 2012) (see section 4.5.4). The results suggest it would be worthwhile to further investigate the reasons for this negative view if educational policy makers wish to promote links between students and their communities to address social problems.

Whilst 39% of survey respondents attached little importance to voluntary work, they were not rejecting participation and engagement per se. Participation is one of the basic rights of citizenship and a fundamental element of democracy (Hart, 1992). The survey findings revealed that 76%, 71% and 72% agreed that **participation in politics at national and local levels**, and **participation in social life** respectively are the characteristics of an effective citizen (see Table 7.15). The qualitative data revealed a slight difference in viewpoint. For the Minister of Education, an effective citizen should be characterized by *participation in politics at both levels, local and national*”, whereas the two district-level officials referred only to participation in politics at local level. Participation in social life was emphasized by the two local officials only.

This disparity may reflect the positions of the interviewees; the Minister was closer to political decision-making, so his responsibilities might incline him towards a broader national-level perspective. The results may reflect a desire to consolidate the principles of democracy through local and national participation in political and social life

9.4.5. Thinking Critically, Broad-Mindedness and Familiarity with Knowledge and Ability to Quickly Adapt to Changes

The survey findings showed 60% of respondents agreed that **thinking critically about issues in one's community** is characteristic of an effective citizen. The official in El-Qubba asserted that *“the most important characteristics of an effective citizen are **paying attention to issues that faced the community and thinking critically about those issues**”*. A similar emphasis is found in the Australian Curriculum, (2012), in which citizenship education is expected to help students to think critically about social issues and find solutions (see section 5.5.4). Arguably, this characteristic suggests that citizens not only have an ability to research, judge and form opinions about social issues but also the capacity to consider the views of others. This characteristic may help to encourage individuals to gain insight into the issues in their community, and the individuals who are experiencing them.

However, the skills necessary to critical thinking and dialogue are not developed in the educational process. In the Arab countries in general and Libya in particular, the education system is seeking to enhance obedience and submission to the existing political system, rather than seeking to enhance freedom of thought, critical thinking, and dialogue among students (Faour and Muasher 2011:11). Moreover, teaching methods that mostly rely on memorization and indoctrination instead of critical and creative thinking, do not produce independent citizens who are able to research, create and evaluate different sources of knowledge. Faour and Muasher (2011) argue that the existing regimes in Arab countries are reluctant to promote democratic values in their societies as a way of preserving the continuity of their traditions (see section 5.7 &5.9).

Table 7.14 shows that only 22% agreed or strongly agreed with the view that **critical thinking, about issues in other communities** was a valuable characteristic, as they believed it may come conflict with the political, cultural, and religious aspects of society. For instance, if critical thinking explores women’s marginalisation, it is likely that granting equality of rights to women will be contrary to conservative traditions i.e tribal customs and practices which refuse gender parity (see section 4.2). These views are held by fewer respondents, and the Minister of Education firmly believes that effective citizenship requires the ability to make informed judgements about a wide range of issues that are not limited to a local context. Cornwell and Stoddard (2006) reported that citizenship education can encourage students to think critically about issues such as racism, marginalisation and minorities in their own societies and at a global level (see section 5.5.4). For example, the Amazigh minority has been discriminated against for over four decades; this issue is considered one of the main political challenges facing the new Libyan government post-Gaddafi (see sections 3.3& 4.3).

45% of participants thought an effective citizen should be characterized by **broad-mindedness and familiarity with knowledge** and 51% thought that an effective citizen should be characterized by the **ability to adapt quickly to the changes which occur in society**. This view was expressed by the Minister of Education who said that effective citizens should be characterized by *“acceptance of positive changes and keeping up to date, welcoming new ideas and values”*.

Libya is going through a stage of political, social, and economic change, and many respondents recognize that citizens need the ability to adapt by being open to new information, ideas, and practices, to promote and establish the principles of democracy

(Fratczak-Rudnicka and Torney-Purta, 2001; cited in Veldhuis, 2005:19, 20) (see section 5.9). For example, to establish the principle of equal respect, citizens must be willing to accept a society that is culturally diverse. Those who did not value these characteristics, may lack knowledge and experience of the fundamental principles of democracy. This issue can be addressed by increasing the awareness among community members about the importance of these characteristics, for example, by holding seminars, lectures and forums in clubs, mosques, and schools, by publishing articles in magazines and newspapers and through radio and television programs (Al-Riqieai 2011) (see section 5.9).

9.4.6. Supporting Women's Rights

Citizenship education focuses on developing awareness of social and moral responsibilities (QCA, 1998) to make citizens aware of their own rights and those of others (including gender rights (see section 5.5). The quantitative data showed that 50% of respondents believed that an effective citizen should reject stereotypical views of women in society and challenge women's marginalisation. According to the Minister of Education, an effective citizen should be "*willing to help to support these values such as gender equality, and rejection of marginalization of women's role in society*". These findings are consistent with Fratczak-Rudnicka and Torney-Purta (2001), who argued that an effective citizen can handle gender issues (see section 5.9). These findings appear to reveal a willingness to support women's rights amongst respondents. Although more effort is needed to raise awareness of women's rights, as they are negatively affected by the strong social culture, which encourages women's stereotyped role in society (Omar, 2011) (see section 4.2).

Interestingly, 43% of respondents disagreed with this view, arguing that there is still widespread support for a more traditional, limited role for women. Again, this might be

interpreted in the light of the social culture that promotes women's marginalisation and traditional stereotypes, as indicated by Human Rights Watch (2006) (section 4.2). The new Libyan government needs to tackle this problem in all its aspects using whatever means are appropriate.

In summary, the respondents identified several characteristics of an effective citizen: faith in God, loyalty to country and tribe, fulfilling responsibilities to one's country; participation in voluntary work, and in the political and social life of the community; critical thinking and adaptability; and support for women's rights. Notably, a substantial number of survey respondents did not support these characteristics, which indicates a lack of consensus on what constitutes a good citizen, possibly due to the democratic deficit caused by Gaddafi's authoritarian regime. Additionally, there is a persistence of the tribal and traditional culture that is historically rooted in Libyan society, particularly concerning democratic freedoms and the role of women. Libyan women make up only 25% of the workforce (see, Omar ,2011) (section, 4.2). Traditional culture considers girls as a source of honour, so they are responsible for protecting the reputations of families and tribes. If girls depart from these customs, they bring shame to their families and tribes, which means they lack confidence in their behaviour (see section 5.7). Women are traditionally seen as second-class citizens accordingly they are represented by their male relatives (see, Obeidi, 2001) (see section 4.2).

9.5. Aims of Citizenship Education

This section discusses the findings on the aims of citizenship education in answer to research sub-question 6c.

9.5.1. Provide Students with Information

The survey revealed that 77% of respondents believe citizenship education should aim to provide students with **information and knowledge related to government institutions and functions**. There was an overall agreement that citizenship education should aim to provide students with information about the history of their country and the social structure of society. The qualitative data supported these results; the official at Derna stated that *“citizenship education should aim to supply students with information about the main government organizations in their society that would help them in their life”*. Also, the official at El-Qubba stated that *“citizenship education should aim to provide students with information about their country from several aspects: socially, culturally, politically, and historically”*. Similar views have been found in other Arab contexts, as mentioned in section 5.7. For example, the Ministry of Education in Saudi Arabia is quoted as saying that citizenship education aims to provide students with information about governmental institutions and their functions and about the history of their society. Abo Al-Ftoh and Mubarak (1990; cited in Al-Maliki, 2008) also reported that citizenship education aims to provide students with information about the social structure of their society (see section 5.7).

As noted, citizenship education is developed to meet the needs of the specific context. An education system must adapt to meet the challenges of political, social, economic, and

cultural changes. The results reflect this awareness among the respondents, who were clear that citizenship education should provide students with information related to the historical, political, social, and cultural development of their society, and the role of governmental institutions and their importance. This may be considered an optimistic view of how citizenship education can be improved post-Gaddafi, as previously it focused solely on providing students with political information, which was intended to support the old regime (see section 5.8).

The survey and interview findings also revealed support for the view that citizenship education aims to provide students with **knowledge about human rights**. 84% agreed or strongly agreed with this aim. Both western and Arab authors including Butts (1988) and Falata (2010), have suggested that citizenship education aims to supply students with information about human rights and International Human Rights Organizations (see section 5.5.1, 5.5.2). These results show that the respondents are keen to support citizenship rights in the new Libya by introducing citizenship education, which includes information on the principles and practices of human rights.

The results also revealed that 84% and 86% of respondents expected citizenship education to clarify the meaning of civil society and to provide students **with information about the organizations of a civil society** and their functions. The quantitative and qualitative data were consistent in this respect. These findings align with Howard and Patten (2006), who pointed out that citizenship education aims to help students to understand the meaning of civil society and its role in the protection of their political rights and to facilitate self-development (see, section 5.5.2). Al-Boury (2009) calls for the building of the constitutional legal dimension of civil societies, to determine and protect the rights and

duties of citizens and above all preserves the principles of justice and equality i.e the positive aspects of tribes without prejudice (see section 5.6.4). These findings appear to reveal the aspiration for a democratic society, which guarantees political participation through the institutions of civil society.

9.5.2. Strengthening Patriotism and Loyalty to a Country

The respondents believe that citizenship education should aim to **strengthen patriotism and loyalty** only to a country and not to tribes or territories. As noted in an earlier topic, such a view is still highly contested and reflects controversy over the other loyalties held by Libyan citizens. The Minister of Education explained his strong stance on this matter with conviction:

The violence and destruction that happened in the Revolution of 17th February in Libya 2011, and all the ruin and loss of money and lives, would not have happened if the people had a great deal of national awareness.

For this reason, he appeared to reject a more multi-faceted, nested view of citizenship, appearing to believe that local loyalties would inevitably interfere with national unity.

These findings align with Alayan et al., (2012) and Arnot and Dillabough (2000), who reported that citizenship education aims to enhance patriotism and loyalty to a country. Similarly, the Minister of Education in Saudi Arabia (1997; cited in Al-Maliki, 2008) has asserted that citizenship education aims to foster loyalty to a country among students (see sections 5.5.3 & 5.7).

As previously acknowledged, in Libyan society there are competing loyalties, such as loyalty to tribe and region, which cannot be neglected because they are historically rooted.

Traditionally, Libyan tribes have controlled the areas they inhabit, through the social and political role given to tribe members, who in return give loyalty to their tribe. Consequently, it can be said that the tribe plays a major role in shaping a form of citizenship at the local level (tribal and regional level) which has not reached the national level yet; notably, these loyalties have strengthened throughout the ages. Thus, it can be argued that national loyalty can be strengthened through these sub-loyalties, by strengthening the idea of nested citizenship among individuals. On a nested model their sense of loyalty and belonging should start with family and be extended to include tribe, city, or region, to homeland, and then to the whole world, as advocated by (Heater, 1999, Durose et al., 2009, and Najam, 2011) (see section 5.4).

9.5.3. Enhancing Democratic and Virtuous Social Values and developing political literacy

The findings revealed an overall agreement that citizenship education aims to enhance awareness of democratic values: equal rights and social justice among students. Consistent with the survey data the official at Derna also said, “*Citizenship education should aim; to create a democratic citizen, to **instil democratic values** among students, such as social justice and equality*”. Schulz et al., (2011) also proposed that citizenship education should aim to foster democratic values among students (see section 5.5). Justice and equality are considered indicators of a social democracy. Citizenship education should aim to enhance these values in addition to promoting social justice between cities and regions in terms of appointing state leadership positions so that one region does not benefit over another (see section 3.4).

Citizenship education should aim to instil “**virtuous social values**” among students. The interview data provided examples of what such values encompass. The Minister of Education highlighted “*honesty and fidelity*”. Whilst Abo Al-Ftoh and Mubarak (1990 cited in Al-Maliki, 2008) identify cooperation and integration among students as examples of good social values (see section 5.7). The values of co-operation and integration are held particularly strongly in collectivist societies (as Arab states tend to be) and are promoted by Islam. These are necessary aims as they are consistent with Islamic and social values in society, not surprisingly the data revealed widespread acceptance among respondents.

In connection to the aspiration for democracy and national unity, there was a widely held view that citizenship education aims to develop political literacy among students. The interview data elaborates on this theme. The Minister of Education stated that “*citizenship education can equip students with information about democratic processes, such as the voting process and encourage them to participate in the voting process*”. He added, “*Citizenship education should aim to provide students with information about the **political order in their society***”. Indeed, this is one of the aims of citizenship education in Western societies, such as the UK. The QCA (1998) reported that citizenship education aims to foster political literacy among students by providing them with skills and knowledge about democratic processes, such as elections and voting processes (see section 5.5). The respondents agreed that citizenship education should aim to develop political literacy among students; this is especially significant in Libyan society with its history of authoritarianism.

9.5.4. Encouraging Participation and Critical Thinking

The findings showed an overall agreement with the claim that citizenship education should aim to encourage students to participate effectively at national level; 81% of respondents also saw a role for citizenship education in encouraging students to participate at the local level. The interview data supported the survey findings. The official at El-Qubba stated that “*citizenship education should aim to encourage students to engage in social activities at local and national levels*”. These findings in support of active citizenship align with Wood (2006), who stated that citizenship education focuses on participation in order to enhance democracy. Nelson and Kerr (2005) and Lawton (2005) also reported that citizenship education should provide students with the skills and knowledge that enables them to participate effectively in a democratic society (see section 5.5). Ahmad (1990) pointed out that citizenship education can help students to participate in activities at a local and national level (see section 5.7). The respondents did not extend their view of participation to a global level (see section 5.5.4), perhaps because local and national issues in Libya are currently so pressing.

Freedom of participation in all political and social activities is considered a basic principle of democracy. The findings appear to reflect a desire to support and establish the basic principles of democracy. The citizenship education they want to see developed is one that reflects the society they wish to see established.

The respondents believe citizenship education has a responsibility to help students critically engage with the contemporary issues facing society. The interviewees suggested that such thinking would be manifested in active contributions to debates, and they highlighted the types of issues that would confront students. The official of education at Derna stated that

citizenship education should aim to “*motivate [students] to freely contribute to discussions on the social and political issues, which challenge their society*”. The Minister of Education argued that “*citizenship education should aim to encourage students to follow up and to take part in debates on the social, political, and economic issues that face their community*”. These findings concur with international practice in citizenship education, such as the Australian Curriculum Authority (2012) and authors, such as Cornwell and Stoddard (2006) (see section 5.5.4). Overall, developing critical thinking skills among students helps to create citizens who are not only aware of social issues but also able to discuss, judge and reflect on those issues whilst respecting the views of others. However, in Arab countries in general, the existing education system focuses on memorization, indoctrination and repetition instead of critical and creative thinking.

The forgoing discussion has revealed an overall convergence between the literature on the aims of citizenship education, and the perceptions of the respondents.

In summary, in Arab countries in general, and Libya specifically, there was a reliance on traditional education systems focused on religious education (Kutabb) until the post-independence period, where modern education was introduced. However, such education did not include a citizenship education curriculum (see Chapter 2). More recently, citizenship education was introduced into Arab education systems; however, it was not implemented correctly due to the social, religious and political factors that negatively influence education in general and citizenship education in particular. The study findings revealed how the respondents view the aims of citizenship education in Libya after the Revolution of 17th February. The respondents view citizenship education as the means to teach students the principles and practices of democratic citizenship. However, these

educational aims cannot be achieved unless a form of democracy is established in Libyan society to meet the demands of the 17th February Revolution. As this study makes clear, citizenship education in Libya must be responsive to the specific Libyan circumstances, for example, by using a nested model of citizenship.

9.6. Issues that might influence Citizenship Education in Libyan society post-Gaddafi

Table 7.40 shows the respondents perceived that citizenship education was influenced by **the social, political, religious, and tribal issues** in Libyan society post-Gaddafi. The qualitative data supported this perspective. This section will provide some answers to research sub-question 6d. All three interviewees emphasized that **political issues** had an influence on the meaning of citizenship and on citizenship characteristics. For example, the Minister said that citizenship education might be influenced by “*the political order and its aims, which is responsible for determining the nature of citizenship in society and the citizen it aims to create*”. The official at El-Qubba elaborated on the impact of the **political order** with specific reference to “*the drafting of the constitution, which concerns legislation and determining the relationship between citizens and their state and defines their rights and responsibilities*”. The current concern in Libya was to move towards a democratic order. Faour and Muasher (2011) contend that in the Arab world, citizenship education has been influenced by dictatorial regimes, which seek to create citizens who serve and sustain the power and stability of the regime, rather than creating citizens who serve and are loyal to their country: such citizens have been taught the knowledge and skills they need to function effectively in a democratic society. Alayan et al., (2012) support the

view that Arab countries can perpetuate this political use of citizenship education due to the centralisation of their education systems (section 5.7).

Citizenship education in Arab countries is unlike that in Western countries. Due to the centralization of the education system, the textbooks on citizenship education tend to be ambiguous about the meaning and practice of citizenship. The topic is either hidden or ignored. In the absence of democracy, citizenship education has been used to serve the regime. For example, in Libya, citizenship education was designed to support tribalism among students, which impacted both a sense of national belonging and discriminated against minorities like the Amazigh. A similar situation occurred in Iraq where the Kurds were discriminated against. Citizenship education cannot be correctly taught and practiced where there is an absence of democracy. Therefore, citizenship education should be developed to meet the current demands and needs of Libyans and raise awareness of democratic principles and practices among students.

The interviewees emphasised the influence of **social and tribal aspects** on citizenship education. The official at Derna stated that *“the tribe is the main social organization, which shapes the social culture in general, that is represented in social values, tribal culture, and all ideas, which are inherited in Libyan society”*. He also offered the following examples of how tribal culture affects citizenship in Libyan society: *“discrimination against women, such as considering that women have only one role, to breed and care for children, and tribal loyalty that negatively impacted national sense among young people”*. The official at El-Qubba emphasized the impact of **social culture** on citizenship education, and on minority rights, he said *“negative social beliefs such as the Amazigh discrimination”*, which he saw as a legacy of Gaddafi. The Minister of Education argued

that it was necessary to counter such negative influences through “*a focus on changing the social system with the requirements of the times*”.

The participants’ views on social and tribal influences align with Khoury and Kostiner (1991) cited in section 5.7, who argued that Arab citizenship education is influenced by a social culture that is based on tribal customs and traditions rather than laws. A study by Yaqub et al., (2012) in Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon also contended that citizenship education has been influenced by political, social and cultural issues in these countries. They note that as a result, important topics, such as public participation, critical thinking, and women’s rights are neglected in the citizenship curricula. Alayan et al., (2012) reported similar findings in Oman where citizenship education is influenced by the social culture, especially in terms of women’s rights (see section 5.7). A large proportion of respondents displayed conservative attitudes towards such issues, which suggests that social and cultural norms in Libya might have a similar impact. Religion was one aspect that was highlighted by all three interviewees, they stressed that citizenship education might be influenced by **religious aspects**. For instance, the Minister of Education underlined that “*religious aspects influence citizenship education in terms of some concepts related to women’s rights in particular*”. Certain interpretations of Islam may partly explain the high level of conservatism concerning women’s rights. The survey data suggests that in an Islamic state, citizenship education may view the rights and roles of women differently from the way they are presented in Western societies. These findings concur with Faour and Muasher (2011), who pointed out that in Arab countries, citizenship education is strongly affected by religion, especially in terms of moral values and norms (see section 5.7). Accordingly, citizenship education in Libya is likely to take a different path and face different challenges from those it faces in the West, particularly the rights and role of

women, which are subject to the interpretations of religious men, hence their continuing marginalization.

In summary, there is an overall agreement that citizenship education in Arab countries in general, and in Libya in particular, is influenced by political, social, and religious values, as indicated in the literature. Consequently, aspirations towards democracy and “modernity” are constrained by strongly rooted norms and values, such as tribalism, tribal influence on political thought and religious interpretations; these factors cannot be neglected in the Libyan context. Taking these issues into consideration is a crucial step towards developing a culturally appropriate citizenship education.

9.7. Potential of Citizenship Education to Reinforce Citizenship Values

9.7.1. Students’ awareness of their Rights and Responsibilities

This sub-section addresses research sub-question 7a. As indicated in the literature review **the awareness of rights and responsibilities** is a precondition of citizenship; therefore, students should understand the nature and meaning of rights and responsibilities, how to apply them, and how those rights and responsibilities change with age (QCA,1998). There is an overall agreement that citizenship education can teach students to understand the meaning of rights, to identify different types of rights, and provide them with information about international organizations, such as those dealing with child rights and the United Nations intergovernmental organisation. The interview data confirmed the survey findings. The Minister of Education said, “*Citizenship education can help students to know the meaning of rights, types of rights*”. The official in El-Qubba noted that citizenship

education “*can help to provide students with information about **International Human Rights Organizations**, such as the United Nations Organization*”. The official at Derna believed that “*citizenship education can provide students with information **about the nature of their responsibilities toward themselves, their family and toward their country***”. These findings also concur with the Qualification and Curriculum Authority (2007) and Falata (2010) (see sections 5.5.& 5.5.1).

In summary, Libya is undergoing political and social transformation, with attempts being made to reconfigure a ‘proper’ citizenship, based on equal rights and responsibilities, which reflects the relationship between individuals and their state. Education is the crucial tool for raising awareness of democratic principles and practices through a citizenship education curriculum, as reflected in the findings.

9.7. 2. Democratic Values among Students

This sub-section addresses research sub-question 7b. Political literacy is a core element of citizenship education that aims to facilitate participation in public life (QCA, 1998). The findings encompassed several sub-categories.

The survey results showed that 78 %, 86% and 83% of respondents thought that citizenship education can **provide students with knowledge and skills** that are required for the practice of democracy, freedom of expression, and an understanding of the voting process respectively (see Tables 7.23 and 7.26). The interview results supported these views. The Minister of Education specifically noted that “*citizenship education can **equip students with information about democratic processes, such as the voting process and encourage them to participate in the voting process***”. The official at Derna said, “*Citizenship*

education can help to provide students with skills that... enable them to express their opinions freely". These findings align with the QCA (1998) and the Qualification and Curriculum Authority (2007) on the role of citizenship education in teaching students about democracy, voting and election processes. Nelson and Kerr (2005) and Cornwell and Stoddard (2006) added that citizenship education can help students to freely express their views on various issues (see sections 5.5& 5.5.4).

After the Libyan Revolution of 17th February there was a wish to establish a democratic society, but democracy needs citizens who can participate effectively in democratic processes. The findings assert that citizenship education could help to improve the democratic process in Libyan society. It was also widely believed that citizenship education could encourage the translation of such knowledge into action.

The survey findings showed that 79% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education **has the potential to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on political issues** at the local and national levels. Table 7.24 showed that 77% and 78% of respondents respectively, agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help to **reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on social issues** at the local and national levels. The interview data confirmed these results. The Minister of Education noted that citizenship education can help students to acquire "*skills that enable them to take part in political and social debates at national and local levels in their society*". The official at Derna said, "*Citizenship education can help to provide students with skills that help them to contribute positively in political debates and social negotiations in their society*". These findings concur with the QCA report (1998) and Williams and Humphrys (2003) on the role that citizenship education can play in helping

students help students to acquire the knowledge and skills that enable them to participate in addressing and resolving issues at local and national levels in their society (see section 5.5).

There was complete agreement regarding the possibility of citizenship education and participation fostering notions of **social justice** and **equality**. According to the official at Derna, *“Citizenship education can help to strengthen democratic principles among students, such as social justice and equality, respect for others’ rights”*. Oxfam (2006) shared similar aims, advocating that citizenship education can help students to understand the meaning of social justice and the causes of inequalities and poverty (see section 5.5).

Libya is a tribal society by nature. As noted, a tribe with the largest number of males has the largest share of opportunities for appointments to state leadership positions in the state, as well as influence in the regions or cities that this tribe inhabits. Large tribes attract greater attention from the state than smaller tribes, which is an issue that should be taken into consideration. Citizenship education can inform students about this issue to encourage them to participate in discussions and to resolve problems, as in the case of gender equality. The respondents expressed the view that citizenship education can help to promote such participation.

The findings showed that 81% and 86% of respondents respectively, agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education has potential to encourage young people to join social clubs and to engage **in charity work** in the local community. The interview data supported these results. The official at Derna noted that citizenship education can help to *“encourage [students] to join social clubs in their community and to engage in charity work and voluntary work in their local society, such as collecting bins”*. These findings concur with

the QCA report (1998) and Hammett and Staeheli (2009), who argued that citizenship education can motivate young people to engage in voluntary work (see section 5.5.2). Arthur et al., (2000) and Ireland et al., (2006) add that citizenship education can offer students the opportunity to engage in charitable work (see section 5.5). Awda (2000) expressed a similar view (see section 5.7). The respondents agreed that citizenship education can encourage students to engage in social activities, which strengthens their involvement with the community.

The practice of democracy is a right of citizenship and Libyan society is in need of citizenship education to address its historic democratic deficit by instilling democratic values and practices into the younger generation, thereby helping create the desired democratic society in line with the aims of the 17th February Revolution.

9.7.3. National Awareness among Students

This sub-section addresses research sub-question 7c. The findings in Chapter Seven showed that citizenship education can teach students to understand **the meaning of belonging to their country, allegiance to their country, national unity, and patriotism**, and it can help to enhance national cohesion among tribes. Similar views were expressed by the interviewees. The Minister of Education clearly stated that citizenship education can help “*to explain the **meaning of belonging and loyalty** to a country, it can help to reduce tribalism in society, and help students to understand the negative impacts of tribalism on a national sense in their society*”. The official at El-Qubba believed that “*citizenship education can help to explain the meaning of **national unity** and can help to foster **national cohesion** in society*”. These findings concur with Arnot and Dillabough (2000), who mentioned that citizenship education can help to enhance patriotism and national loyalty

among students. Butts (1988) also stated that citizenship education can help to provide students with knowledge and values, such as patriotism (see sections 5.5.3& 5.5.2). These values may be considered to have a particular salience in Libya, a country that is striving to build a new national identity after a regime in which tribal and regional factionalism were encouraged.

Consistent with this repeated emphasis on national unity, the findings also showed support for its symbolic manifestations. 73% of respondents thought citizenship education should provide students with **information about national symbols**, such as the national flag, the national anthem, and jihad. The three interviewees reflected the same view. The Minister of Education noted that citizenship education can foster a sense of patriotism among students by “*providing them with national information, for example, **the national anthem, national flag, national holidays, and national symbols, such as Omar El-Moukhtar***”. According to Lin and Huang (2001) a similar approach has been adopted in the USA, where education has been used to foster patriotism and belonging to a country by teaching students about the history of patriotic symbols, arranging national activities and celebrations, and promoting respect for the national flag and anthem (see, section 5.5). In the USA, such an emphasis may be considered a way of creating a unified national identity out of the diverse ethnic groups in the population. In Libya, there is similar concern with promoting an overarching national identity to overcome the destructive impacts of extreme and historic tribalism, and to foster a cohesive identity that encompasses minorities, such as the Amazigh.

9.7.4. Women’s Rights and their Role in Society

Research sub-question 7d is explored in this sub-section relating to women’s rights. The QCA report (1998) reported that citizenship education can help to promote equal rights,

including gender equality, among students. The respondents had divergent views on this matter. Chapter Seven showed 51% of respondents thought citizenship education **can provide a clear picture of women's struggle for their rights**. All three interviewees supported this view, which was given clear expression by the official in Derna who said, "*Citizenship education can help to provide students with a clear idea about women's rights in their society and other societies and also about women's struggle for their rights*".

53% of respondents believed citizenship education can teach students how to **address the stereotyping** of women's role, whilst 54% thought it can increase the **ability to defend** women's rights among students. The Minister of Education said,

*Citizenship education can provide students with information that enables them to **participate in social debates about women's rights and their role in local society**, and citizenship education can help to reinforce students' capabilities to **protect women's rights anywhere***

51% of survey participants considered that citizenship education can help to increase the student's **ability to support** women's participation in political life and economic life. The official of education at Derna reinforced the importance of such support by asserting that "*citizenship education can help to **support women's participation in political and economic life in their society***". Similarly, the Minister of Education stated that, "*Citizenship education can motivate students to **support women in their struggles for their rights in participation in political and economic life***". In the UK Claire and Holden (2006) advocated a similar role for citizenship education, suggesting that students may be given data about high paid jobs and low paid jobs and encouraged to discuss what they think about the existing disparities between males and females and to suggest possible solutions

to this issue (see section 5.5.4). On a practical level, schools can also offer opportunities for girls to participate in school councils and the like.

The above responses reveal high levels of disagreement on these issues. Moreover, only 45% of respondents supported the view that citizenship education **can help to explain the relationship between traditional culture** and women's rights and **Islamic culture** and women's rights in society. Whilst 41% thought citizenship education can help to enhance **gender equality**, this result implies that more than half disagreed, which really brings into focus the issue of women's marginalisation. The justification and recommendations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2009) reported that women's marginalisation in Libyan society was due to the government's failure to provide adequate support for the rights of women to expand their roles (see section 4. 2).

However, the interview results revealed that the three officials were inclined to reject traditional, conservative views of women' role. The Minister of Education noted that *“citizenship education can help to provide students with information about **the negative impacts of traditional culture in regard to women's rights and role in society**”*. Notably, a crucial distinction was made between traditional views that devalue women, and Islam, which was seen as promoting a positive view of women. The Minister of Education specifically referred to the potential for citizenship education to clarify the position of women in Islam *“by providing some articles from the **Quran** and from the sayings of the **Holy Prophet Muhammad**, which indicate how women are respected in our religion”*. Islam does see different (albeit equal and complementary) roles for men and women. Therefore, the participants might express a belief that citizenship education can promote gender equality, without necessarily favouring identical roles for men and women, or

subscribing to a “Western” feminist discourse. Indeed, all the interviewees emphasised that citizenship education can contribute to fostering gender equality among students. For instance, the official at El-Qubba stated that equal values, including gender equality, should be taught from childhood.

In summary, there were mixed views on the role of citizenship education in teaching students about gender equality and encouraging them to support women’s rights. One reason for this may be differing interpretations of Islam on this matter. Those respondents who rejected such a role for citizenship education may have equated women’s rights with the Western conception, which some see as contrary to Islamic values. So clearly, there are different views on what constitutes acceptable behaviour. Therefore, it can be argued that religion is an important and influential part of education, particularly citizenship education. This could be due to education beginning at the hands of religious men (Kuttab) as mentioned in chapter two. As a result, religion is an important facet of culture in Arab society in general, and especially in Libyan society, where it is regarded as a source of morals. Unlike western countries, religion cannot be overlooked. As an integral aspect of society, religion has a general impact on citizenship and a particular impact on citizenship education. However, democracy is being demanded by individuals, which may lead to reforms of citizenship education in Arab countries, especially in regard in women’s rights and their roles in society. Hence, educators and policy makers must be responsive to these potentially conflicting issues

9.7.5. The Rights of the Amazigh Minority

This section discusses the findings on how citizenship education has the potential to reduce discrimination using three subcategories: information about **the Amazigh community**,

Tamazight language, and cultural diversity. This section deals with the final research sub-question, 7e. The literature identifies fostering **cultural diversity** as one of the main dimensions of citizenship education, as citizens must learn to respect cultural diversity. Citizenship education can teach students about the structure of their society to build a common understanding between the various identity groups (QCA, 1998) (see section 5.5).

Table 7.36 showed that 68% of survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can help students to **recognize the Amazigh community**, 66% agreed or strongly agreed that citizenship education can **identify the Libyan cities** in which the Amazigh live, whilst 54% thought it can teach students about **Amazigh history**. Similarly, the Minister of Education said, “*Citizenship education can help students to know who the Amazigh people are, what is their culture and language, where they live in Libya, and can teach them the Amazigh history*”. These findings concur with the recommendation of the QCA (1998) regarding the role of citizenship education in creating a common understanding among various ethnic and religious groups, for example, by supplying students with information about social minorities, how to respect minority and majority laws and codes, as well helping students to understand the nature and history of their society (QCA, 1998) (see, section 5.5). These results indicated a positive support for Amazigh cultural rights.

In Libya, issues regarding minority rights are currently strongly focused on **the Amazigh for recognition of their language**. Table 7.38 showed that 53% of respondents thought citizenship education could **provide students with information about the Tamazight language**. The interviewees agreed but added that although the Amazigh are free to use and teach their language to their children in private schools, this does not give Tamazight equal

status with Arabic, which remains the official language. The Minister of Education justified his view by arguing that **maintaining a single official language was necessary for the “sake of preserving the country’s unity from division to a state within a state”**. The official at Derna concurred with this view. Another justification was given by the official at El-Qubba, **Arabic is the language of the Quran**, so the Amazigh will continue to learn it for religious reasons, he added the *“Tamazigh language is a local dialect that the Amazigh use among themselves”*. While the findings do show a level of support for the Tamazight language, this appears to be outweighed by considerations of national and religious identity.

On **cultural diversity**, Table 7.39 showed that 79% of respondents thought that citizenship education can teach students how **to respect cultural diversity in their society**. The interviewee results supported the quantitative findings and referred to respect for the Amazigh culture. They thought it important that citizenship education addresses this issue. The official at Derna noted that *“citizenship education can help to encourage students to strengthen their relationships socially and **culturally with the Amazigh through cultural exchange**”*. Additionally, all the interviewees asserted that in post-Gadafi Libyan society the Amazigh are **free to practise their cultural and traditional rights similar to the Arab Libyan tribes**. These findings align with Davies (2006) and the QCA (1998) who noted that citizenship education can teach students about living in a pluralist society, how to understand cultural diversity, how to recognise and practice equal respect (see sections 5.5&5.5.4). These findings concur with Hebert and Sear (2001), who pointed out that in multicultural societies, citizenship education can foster respect for social minorities by building a common culture (see section 5.5.4).

Generally, the respondents supported the role of citizenship education in teaching students to respect other cultures. On the Tamazight language issue, the mixed responses suggest an assimilationist view whereby, notwithstanding the right of the Amazigh to use and teach their language, they are expected to accept an overriding Arabic identity, expressed through the superior status of Arabic as the official language.

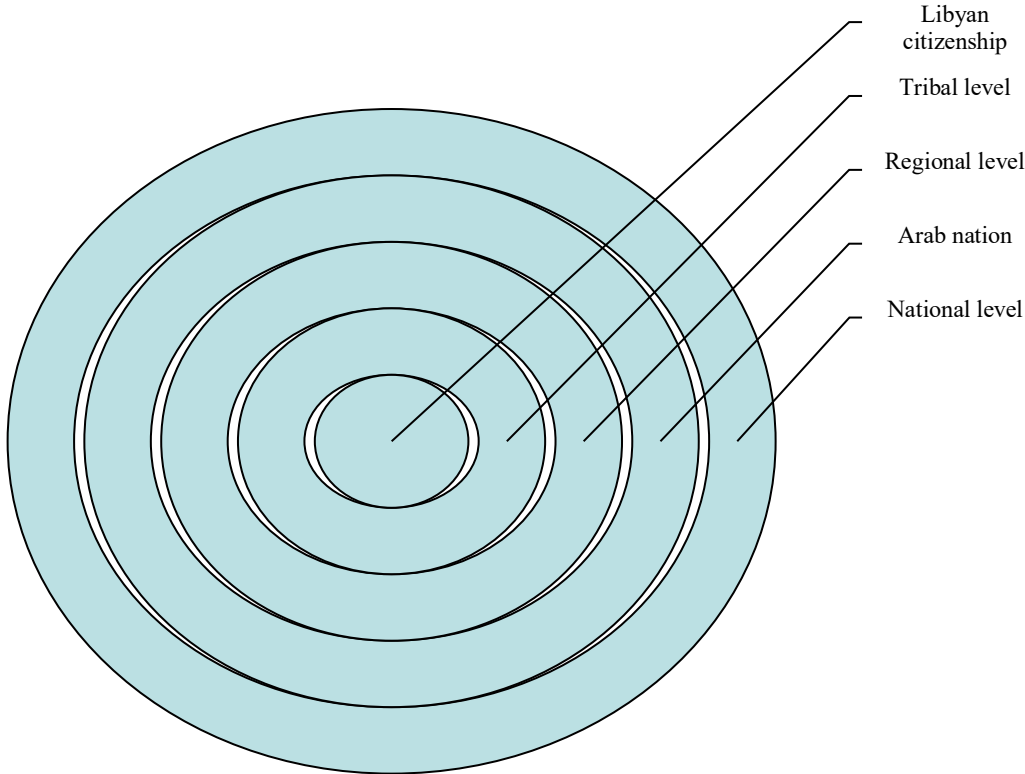
9.8. Summary

This chapter has interpreted the qualitative and quantitative data results and addressed the research questions and sub-questions in turn. The results were discussed with reference to the literature-based conceptual framework presented in chapter five.

The findings revealed substantial levels of agreement on the major themes related to the importance of citizenship education post-Gaddafi, the meaning of citizenship, the desirable characteristics of citizens, the aims of citizenship education and its potential role in fostering certain values. There were common threads running through the views of respondents, including an aspiration towards democracy, and a concern for national unity. Certain issues remain sensitive and controversial, due to the pervasive influence of deeply-embedded cultural norms and values, such as tribal belonging and loyalty. In their extreme manifestations tribal belonging and loyalty have had negative impacts but nevertheless, historically they have provided an important source of identity and security that has not yet been superseded. In this regard, the findings revealed that tribes still play a role in the shaping of Libyan citizenship, whereby Libyan citizenship identity remains at a local level and does not move to a national level, as individuals are loyal and belong to their tribe and region. Therefore, it can be argued that this situation offers the possibility of developing a

form of a nested citizenship in Libyan society (Figure 9.1) to foster a sense of national belonging and loyalty, nested citizenship encourages individuals to retain their sense of belonging and loyalty to their tribes, and regions before extending it towards their country. So, citizenship education can help to promote a nested citizenship for Libyan young people.

Figure 9. 1: levels of Libyan citizenship (Nested Citizenship)



Womens rights and their social roles is another sensitive issue, with the campaign for women’s rights existing in a delicate balance with conservative traditions related in part to interpretations of Islam. The Amazigh minority and their campaign for linguistic and cultural rights is another sensitive issue: Arabic is not only official language in Libya but also the language of the Quran. For these reasons, citizenship education in Arab countries

including Libya is quite different from Western citizenship education in terms of the political environment and the absence of democracy and the sociocultural context. The Libyan context is shaped by a traditional and religious culture with a long history, where every aspect of daily life (including education) is subject to the interpretations of clerics. These specific circumstances make it difficult to introduce a national curriculum of education as it is conceived in the West. The next chapter will discuss the implications of the study for further research.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1. Introduction

The main aim of this study was to investigate the views of selected stakeholders on the key areas for citizenship education in relation to some of the demands of the February 17th Revolution in Libya post-Gaddafi. An extensive literature review coupled with a detailed exploration of several key issues emerging from the February 17th Revolution were used to establish the theoretical framework of this study. A mixed methods design based on a questionnaire survey triangulated with interviews was used to investigate the views of selected stakeholders on the key areas for citizenship education. The study utilized this method to obtain deeper insights into the current situation of citizenship in general in the Libyan context and the possibility of introducing citizenship education within the Libyan curriculum. The aim is to address the issues and challenges that have faced the new Libyan government. The previous three chapters have presented the data analysis and discussion of the study findings.

The Main Research Question of this study was the following:

How do key stakeholders view the development of Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi in the context of some emerging Middle Eastern educational systems, tribalism, and understandings of Citizenship Education in an Arab/Islamic context?

The findings provide the following answers to this question.

In the four Arab countries Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Oman, there were no differences in education during the first stage of development. Muslim children attended the mosque for education that called Kutabb and were taught the Arabic language, the Quran, and Islamic studies. Consequently, citizenship in general and citizenship education has been influenced by religion, especially women's rights and gender equality. During the colonial era, Arab education in all four countries was influenced by the Ottoman Empire; Turkish schools were established in these countries, but as Turkish was the official language, few Arab students attended these schools. Arab education was also influenced by Western (British and Italian) thought during the occupation. Saudi Arabia is the exception as it was only occupied by the Ottoman Empire.

Libyan education has been impacted by several factors: social, political, and economic. Despite globalization and the modernization of several aspects of life, Libya remains a traditional and tribal society. People have greater loyalty to the region and the tribe than to any larger entity, and their values have been underpinned in part by these loyalties, not least because the tribe provides social, political, and financial support for its members. Consequently, the tribes play a dominant role in the whole society. Citizenship identity, which has been influenced by tribal social aspects, therefore remains at a local level, and does not extend to the national level; this has a negative impact by restricting a national sense of identity among individuals. Furthermore, as an Islamic society, within a particular interpretation of Islam, Libyan men and women are assigned very different roles, against which many women are now protesting.

During and after Gaddafi's regime, Libya faced challenges. Firstly, the dominance of tribalism which had contributed to shaping the socio-cultural framework. The strong influence of has had a negative impact on individuals and on education. There is bias in the selection process for appointments to leading positions in education at the local and national levels.

Secondly, the rights of women and their stereotyped role in society; Libyan women continue to suffer discrimination despite several laws being issued to redress these inequalities. The socio-cultural and religious framework in Libya embeds discrimination, which puts women under multiple forms of pressure.

Thirdly, discrimination against the Amazigh minority; the Libyan population consists of Arab tribes and the Amazigh minority, who speak the Tamazigh language. Arabic remains the only official language; Tamazigh was banned by the previous government not only in education but also in all Libyan institutions. The Amazigh feel discriminated against and there is a lack of the knowledge and experience required to peacefully transform Libyan society to a democracy. This situation opens the possibility for citizenship education to address these key challenges through a form of nested citizenship (Figure 9.1).

Arab citizenship in general is different in nature and character from Western models of citizenship. Citizenship education in Arab countries is seen primarily as an abstract concept due to the different historical, political, and religious influences that shape the sociocultural context when compared to the West. Citizenship education that is focused on democracy, equality and diversity cannot be anything other than an abstract concept in the absence of a democratic context; nor can it be considered successful in fostering citizenship values such

as equal rights (including gender equality) and a sense of nationhood among young people. Although citizenship education has been introduced in many Arab countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Sultanate of Oman, it is shaped by their social, political, and religious contexts. In Libya, there is no citizenship education as it is known in other countries; citizenship existed to promulgate Gaddafi's beliefs and to serve his regime by supporting the role of tribes. Such education was successful in promoting tribalism, increasing women's marginalisation, and increasing discrimination against the Amazigh.

This chapter will highlight the theoretical, practical, and methodological contribution of this research, followed by reflections and recommendations on the issues emerging from the study. Finally, the chapter concludes with suggestions for further research.

10.2 Contribution of the Study

This study contributes to knowledge by filling a gap in the literature on citizenship and citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The study provides answers to how the selected stakeholders view key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The contributions of this study are theoretical, practical, and methodological.

10.2.1 Theoretical Contribution

This study can make a claim to originality, as it is the first to investigate the issue of citizenship and citizenship education in Libyan society in general and in Libyan society post-Gaddafi. The main theoretical contribution is to provide a deeper understanding of the significance of citizenship and the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi by focusing on several key issues raised by the February 17th Revolution. The findings

revealed that the democratic deficit, women's marginalization, and discrimination against the Amazigh minority are major reasons for the growing significance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The findings also revealed positive views on the role of tribal leaders in society, which indicates that tribal loyalties cannot be neglected or dismissed as an enduring, historical relationship exists between individuals and their tribe in the Libyan context.

This study increases understanding about what citizenship means in Libyan society where it is a polysemous concept. The stakeholders understand citizenship as a legal status, which determines the relationship between citizens and their state in terms of equal rights and responsibilities, freedom of participation in social and political life, patriotism, and respect for the rule of law. These aspects correspond with how western conceptions of citizenship are understood. On a sense of belonging, the quantitative findings pointed towards the idea that Libyan citizenship refers to multiple levels of belonging: to a tribe, to a country, to a region, and to the Arab nation. Against such a background, the study proposes a nested view of citizenship which extends upwards from its tribal and regional foundations, before extending towards the country (Figure 9 1). This model of citizenship can lead to a greater emphasis on the new national priorities.

On the characteristics of an effective citizen, many respondents cited faith in God, fulfilling responsibilities, protecting state institutions, sacrificing for country, and participation in social and political life. Interestingly, the findings on loyalty revealed loyalty to a country as well as to a tribe as a characteristic. These results concur with the suggestion that Libyans experience a form of nested citizenship, with loyalty to groups at different levels. A small proportion of respondents emphasised the value of critical thinking in relation to

issues in other societies. The responses show a relatively low level of support for critical thinking in relation to issues in other communities, participation in voluntary work, broad-mindedness, familiarity with different sources of knowledge, an ability to adapt quickly to social changes and a rejection of female stereotypes.

On the aims of citizenship education, the respondents were positive about teaching students the function of government institutions (including Human Rights Organizations), the history, social and political structure of their country, and the knowledge and skills that will enable them to become effective participants in political and social debates. They also supported teaching students to think critically about social issues. These findings largely agree with the literature, and it is significant that the same views are held by Libyans.

On the issues that might influence citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi, the study provides a detailed explanation of how political social, tribal and religious issues influence citizenship education in Libya, the interpretations of qualitative data were particularly useful in this respect. The findings revealed that citizenship education is influenced by social, political, religious, and tribal issues, and hence citizenship education in Arab countries in general and in Libyan society is unlike that in Western countries.

Citizenship education aims to foster citizenship values in Libyan society, through a focus on moral and social responsibilities, community involvement, and political literacy as suggested by QCA (1998). The results have strengthened our understanding about the potential of citizenship education to increase awareness of rights and responsibilities, to foster a sense of national belonging among individuals, to instill democratic values, and to

encourage support for women's rights and to support the participation of women in all aspects of society, to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority.

The findings showed divergent views on women's rights and role in a society; around 50% of respondents agreed that citizenship education has potential to address the stereotyping of women's role by defending women's rights and increasing the ability of students to support women's participation in political and economic life. Regarding whether citizenship education can explain the relationship between women's rights and traditional culture, and women's rights and Islamic culture thereby raising awareness of gender equality, a low percentage of respondents agreed. Yet the data gathered from the interviews supported the view that citizenship education had the potential to support women's rights and their role in society. This divergence is partly due to religion. Some clerics consider citizenship education to be affiliated with Western thought, and contrary to the Islamic religion, which is seen as the main source of morality and a criterion for determining acceptable behavior in society. Hence, it can be argued that citizenship education in Libyan society differs from that in Western societies, especially concerning women's rights and their roles in society; this influence of religion cannot be overlooked. These divergent views are also reinforced by social and tribal culture, which perpetuates women's marginalisation and supports sociocultural stereotyping. Therefore, this matter should be acknowledged and responded by policy makers and educators.

The findings showed negative views towards the Amazigh minority, notably their Tamazight language. Whilst the respondents may not have objected to the Amazigh using Tamazight, they held the view that national language is Arabic, which is necessary for reading the Quran.

10.2.2 Practical Contribution

The findings of this study offer several new ideas and perspectives on citizenship education for the new Libyan government, educational policy makers and scholars in Libya. In developed countries, citizenship education has been used to raise awareness of rights and responsibilities, to foster democracy and to promote cultural diversity. To achieve the same ends in Libya would necessitate taking into consideration both the Islamic culture of the country and the tribal background which has been so influential over decades. The practical contribution of this study is twofold: firstly, it has raised awareness of the importance of citizenship education; secondly, the study has identified that citizenship education has the potential both to overcome, and to a degree, accommodate the challenges of tribalism in the Libyan context, by promoting a nested approach to citizenship among students. A model of nested citizenship encourages students to retain but look beyond their immediate tribal loyalties towards the nation state and beyond.

This study explains how citizenship education has the potential to enhance democracy, through fostering political literacy among students. This information will be of use to educational policy makers looking for ways to promote democracy among students. The study identified several methods for raising awareness amongst students: providing them with information about how democracy works through the voting process, and freedom of expression, as well as encouraging them to exercise their freedom of participation by contributing to political and social debates in their society.

This study has clarified how citizenship education can promote diversity by recognizing social, ethnic and gender differences. The study highlights the importance of community

involvement as a way of strengthening the links between students and minority groups and developing common understandings: in this case between the Amazigh minority and the majority of the Arabs in Libyan society. For example, teaching students about the history and sociocultural origins of the Amazigh can facilitate recognition of their rights. On the potential of citizenship education to reduce women's marginalization, the findings revealed that encouraging students to think critically and to participate in discussions about the role of women in Libyan society, not only raises awareness of gender inequalities but also encourages students to think about possible solutions.

10.2.3 Methodological Contribution

A mixed methods approach was judged as the most appropriate methodology to meet the main study aim: to investigate how selected stakeholders view the key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. There were a number of reasons for this approach: firstly, this is one of the first studies on this subject to use a mixed methods approach in the context of Libyan education; secondly, the survey made it possible to obtain a large research sample and to generalise the results; and lastly, to avoid the disadvantages of each individual method. The use of quantitative and qualitative methods through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews is described in Chapter Six. After collection, the quantitative data was triangulated with the qualitative data, to enrich and add depth to the quantitative data. This is an important methodological contribution as this approach is rarely used in the Libyan context, especially in educational research, as many researchers prefer to utilize qualitative or quantitative methods individually.

The interview with the Minister of Libyan Education at the national level is the most significant contribution of this study for two reasons. Firstly, to obtain an interview with a

person in a leading governmental position is no easy matter, not just in Libya, but in all the Arab countries, especially as this interview was conducted during a politically insecure situation in Libya. Secondly, in the Libyan context, in most educational research, the interviews are usually conducted with students, head teachers, teachers, and developers.

10.3. Reflections

The aim behind this study was to gain a deeper understanding of citizenship and key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. Since this study is among the first academic efforts to investigate this topic in Libya, the researcher wanted to share her experience and her findings with other colleagues in the educational field.

Although the findings of this study offered a wide range of information about citizenship and citizenship education, and clarified the potential of citizenship education to tackle challenges that faced the new Libyan government, nevertheless, this study is not devoid of limitations. Firstly, in terms of literature, the researcher faced a shortage of Arabic literature on the topic of citizenship and citizenship education in general and in Libya in particular. Therefore, the researcher depended mostly on Western literature in building the theoretical framework of this study, for instance, the meanings and concepts of citizenship, the definition of citizenship, and the aims of citizenship education.

In regard to data collection, in this study the questionnaire was administered personally by the researcher herself, sometimes, for cultural reasons, with her husband or her brother. This is because there are long distances between the schools inside each city and its surrounding areas. Also, if the participants were men and as the researcher is a woman, it

was unacceptable to sit and talk with them alone in a closed room. Also, the unstable and insecure situation in Libya posed difficulties with travel. Therefore, under these circumstances the researcher faced challenges to complete all the questionnaires on time.

In respect of the topic of this study and the relationship between the researcher and participants, this study raises a very sensitive topic in Libyan society, which is tribalism in terms of the political and social role of tribal leaders in society. Naturally, in this study, each of the participants belonged to a certain tribe, were very proud of belonging to their tribe, and respected and appreciated their tribal leaders. Therefore, the researcher faced challenges with some of the participants, especially with those whose fathers are tribal leaders. In such cases the researcher tried to encourage the participants by showing respect for their views, in order to avoid researcher bias. Therefore, the researcher challenged bias and at the same time learned how to engage with the participants and attract them to the study.

With regard to the interviews, this was the first experience of conducting interviews for the researcher. However, by doing so, she gained skills and experience, such as controlling time, taking notes quickly, directing the interviews, recording the interviews, transcribing, coding and categorizing, and interpreting the interviews. The next section presents recommendations based on the study findings.

10.4 Recommendations

According to what is mentioned above, there are some recommendations that are worded in general for the new Libyan government and the Ministry of Libyan Education, especially

educational policy makers and developers of curricula, to be aware of the reality of citizenship issues and to bring about the development of citizenship in general and citizenship education in particular in Libya post-Gaddafi. This in turn will contribute to meeting the aims of the Revolution of 17th February. These recommendations are developed based on the empirical evidence obtained from the quantitative and qualitative data analysis, as presented below in Table 10.1.

Table10. 1: Recommendations and Supporting Empirical Evidence obtained from Data Analysis

Recommendations	Supporting empirical evidence
1-Promote a nested understanding of citizenship	The findings showed that all respondents defined citizenship as a sense of belonging to a country. 59% of respondents supported a sense of belonging to a tribe, while 48% of them viewed citizenship as a sense of belonging to a particular region. 96% thought citizenship refers to the Arab nation (see section 9.3.2). The findings also showed that 54% of participants viewed tribal loyalty as a positive characteristic (see section 9.4.2) 42% of respondents did not support citizenship education in seeking to diminish tribal loyalty and to reduce the political and social role of tribes (see section 9.2). As their importance cannot be denied, It is recommended that educators and policy makers help to promote and develop a nested understanding of citizenship.
2-Encouraging voluntary work	The Minister of Education emphasized the characteristic of voluntary work (see section 9.4.4). Volunteering was supported by 52% of survey respondents. Educational policy makers should take this aspect into their account when introducing citizenship education.
3-Support a characteristic of broad-mindedness and familiarity with new knowledge among students	The Minister emphasized that an effective citizen should be broad-minded and familiarity with new knowledge. However, this was supported by only 45% of the respondents to the survey (see section 9.4.5). It is a recommended that educational planners to introduce citizenship education that can help to promote this characteristic.

<p>4- Support a characteristic of ability to adapt quickly to the changes</p>	<p>The findings revealed that 51% of the respondents thought that an effective citizen should be characterized by the ability to adapt quickly to changes (see section 9.4.5). Since 49% of respondents did not support this, it is recommended that educational planners to provide citizenship education that can help to foster this characteristic in society.</p>
<p>5- Promote critical thinking about issues in other communities</p>	<p>The findings showed that the Minister of Education emphasized that an effective citizen should be characterized by critical thinking about issues in other societies (see section 9.5.4). Since only 22% of the respondents support this aim, it is recommended that educational planners and policy makers to develop citizenship education that helps to foster this characteristic among young people.</p>
<p>6- Ongoing support for women’s rights and role in society</p>	<p>The findings showed that the Minister of Education emphasized that an effective citizen should be characterized by support for women's role and gender equality in society. While 43% of respondents did not support this characteristic (see section 9.4). The findings also showed that 45% of respondents considered that citizenship education can help to explain the relationship between traditional culture and women’s rights, and Islamic culture and women’s rights in society. 41% thought it can help to enhance gender equality (see section 9.7.4). A recommendation for educational planners is to develop citizenship education that helps to support women's rights and their role in society and to provide students with information about women's position in Islam and how Islam treats this issue.</p>
<p>7-Give special attention to the Tamazight language</p>	<p>The finding showed that 53% of participants believe citizenship education can provide students with information about the Tamazight language. The interview data confirm Arabic should remain the official language in Libya (see section 9.7.5).</p>

10.4.1-Promote a Nested Understanding of Citizenship

The quantitative findings of this study indicated that the tribal nature of Libyan society plays a vital role in shaping the identity of individuals and the sociocultural context of society. For this reason, it is suggested that citizenship education can help to promote the concept of nested citizenship among students to encourage them to look beyond their immediate tribal allegiances by promoting a nested approach to citizenship among students. The aim of nested citizenship is to assist in creating multiple levels of belonging to include tribe, region, local civil society and nation, thereby avoiding the conflicts of loyalty that arise when tribal allegiances come into opposition with civic and national aims.

10.4.2-Encouraging Voluntary Work

The findings revealed that 39% of respondents did not view participation in voluntary work as a desirable characteristic of citizenship. The recommendation is for educational planners to provide citizenship education that promotes voluntary work among students. Students need to be informed about the social issues that face their communities and encouraged to find solutions. Students should also be well-informed about the Islamic call for social solidarity through “Zakat”, which is considered one of the five principles of Islam. They have a duty to tackle the social disparities which cause many problems for the poor. Islam has established that the poor have an equal right to riches as stated in the Quran Chapters for instance, “And those within whose wealth is a known right for the petitioner and the deprived” (The Quran Chapter “ELMaraj”, Verse No (24).

10.4.3-Support a Characteristic of Broad-mindedness and Familiarity with Knowledge among Students.

Young people need to be equipped with the knowledge and skills they need to become effective citizens in a context of rapid social, economic, cultural, political and technological changes. Only 45% of respondents agreed with the importance of this characteristic, which was emphasized by the Minister of Education. A suggested recommendation is for educational planners to promote the value of new knowledge and open-mindedness in their citizenship education. Encouraging students to be open to equal rights (including gender and ethnicity) might also make them more receptive to the concept of nested citizenship.

10.4.4-Support a Characteristic of Ability to Adapt Quickly to the Changes

51% of respondents thought that an effective citizen should be characterized by the ability to adapt quickly to the changes (see section 9.4.5). As noted above, in a rapidly changing environment adaptability is a highly valuable characteristic of effective citizenship. This skill is crucial in Libya as the country is going through political, social and economic changes. Libyan citizens need to be open-minded to absorb new information quickly, and to respond. This adaptability is necessary to achieving the aims of the Revolution of 17th February. For example, this characteristic might help to citizens to accept the increasingly plural nature of their society, as well as helping to foster nested citizenship in Libyan society. Since 49% of respondents did not view this as a necessary characteristic, a suggested recommendation is for educational policy makers to provide citizenship education which promotes this characteristic among young people.

10.4.5-Promote Critical Thinking about Issues in Other Communities.

The ability to think critically is a valuable skill in a democracy, where citizens are required to make judgments, to reflect their views freely and to respect the rights and views of others. The Minister of Education emphasized that an effective citizen should be characterized by critical thinking about issues in other societies (see section 9.5. 4), which 22% of respondents did not support. A suggested recommendation is for recommending educational planners and policy makers to develop these skills in their citizenship education curricula. Students should be encouraged to ask questions, to understand the logical relationship between ideas, to question received opinions and to formulate their own arguments and views.

The value of critical thinking cannot be over-estimated in an age when the internet bombards us with information, concepts, terminology, and facts and opinions that are not based on evidence to prove their validity by scientific experiment or analogy.

10.4.6-Ongoing support for Women's rights and Role in the Society

Only 43% of respondents supported the idea that citizenship education should support women's rights and promote gender equality (see section 9.4). The findings also showed that 45%, 46% and 41% of respondents thought that citizenship education can explain the relationship between traditional culture and women's rights, Islamic culture and women's rights in society, and 41% thought it can help to enhance gender equality respectively (see section 9.7.4). A suggested recommendation is for educational planners to focus on teaching students about women's rights and roles in society. Students can be taught about women's position in Islam and how Islam treats this issue with reference to the Quran's

Chapters. They can learn about how Islam granted women's rights in marriage and divorce as well as how God emphasizes equality between men and women in the five pillars of Islam, which are Shahada (Testify), Salah (Prayer), Seyam (Fasting), Zakat (Charity), and Hajj (Pilgrimage). This approach could provide an opportunity for students to practice their critical thinking skills by debating the issue from different perspectives.

10.4.7-Give Special Attention to the Tamazight Language

The findings showed that 53% of participants thought citizenship education can provide students with information about the Tamazight language. The interview data supported the view that Arabic is the only official language in Libya (see section 9.7.5). However, as Arabic is the language of the Quran it is widely accepted that it should remain the official language of Libya.

10.5. Suggestions for Further Research

This study aimed to develop a deeper understanding of citizenship and the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi; the findings raise a number of interesting issues that call for further studies (Figure10.1). Future studies should use a wider range of respondents in the qualitative phase, for example, parents, tribal leaders and classroom teachers; this approach was beyond the practical constraints upon the present researcher. The researcher sought to investigate the key areas of citizenship education from the perspectives of head teachers and deputies of primary and secondary schools. Due to practical considerations at the time of this study, other stakeholders, such as teachers, students and parents were excluded. Steps could be taken to widen the sample base in

future studies. The study was conducted in two cities located in the eastern part of Libya. Further studies are required to investigate key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi from the perspectives of teachers, students, and parents, and in other Libyan cities located in the western, southern or central parts of Libya.

Another important issue for further research is the issue of the Amazigh minority in Libyan society. This study was conducted in the eastern parts of Libya, so the sample was limited to Arabs, whereas the Amazigh live in remote areas in the western and southern part of Libya. As a result, this study suffered from a lack of information, which should ideally have been obtained from the Amazigh themselves. Consequently, this study could be considered as discriminating against the Amazigh, even though it sought to reduce such discrimination. It is particularly necessary to conduct a similar study in the Libyan cities in which the Amazigh live. Such a study could bring twofold benefits by decreasing feelings of discrimination among the Amazigh, and by obtaining in-depth information about the Amazigh issue.

Another vital issue for further research concerns the data analysis, in particular the gender demographic data. In this study the analysis of demographic data has been limited on the types of schools and cities, which showed that there is no significant difference between them. It is necessary to explore if there are any significant differences between genders. The overlap between “tribal identity” and national citizenship in Libyan society has been explored in this study. Further qualitative research should be conducted to examine, in depth, the complexity the concept of citizenship and to offer a better understanding of key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. In summary, this study is not expected to be the last word on this topic, but it could be considered a starting point for

further studies of citizenship in general and citizenship education in particular in post-Gadafi Libya.

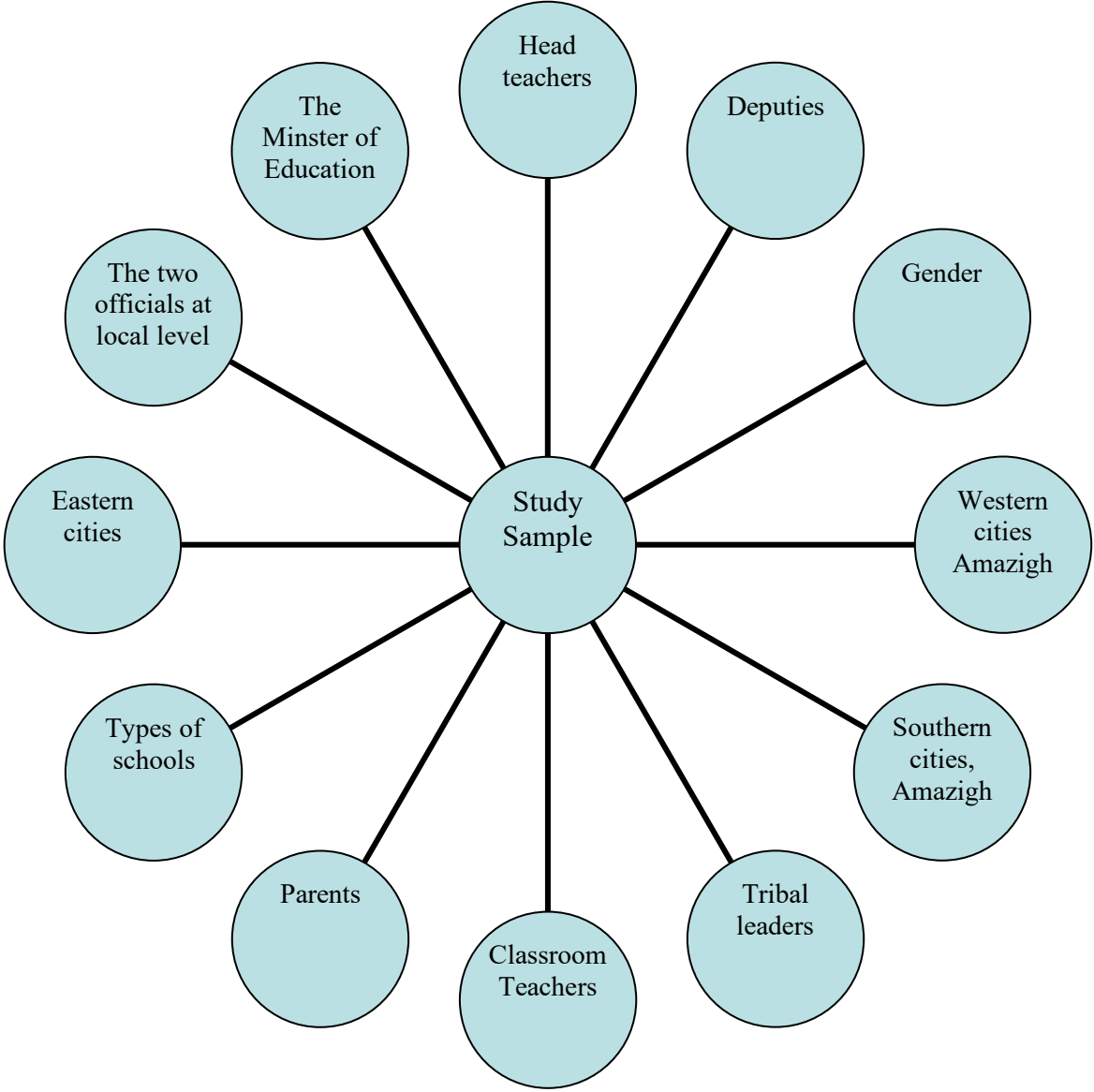


Figure10. 1 Suggestions for Further Research

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Approval Letter from the Ethics Committee in Faculty of Education at the University of Hull



Centre for Educational
Studies
T 01482 465988
E j.lison@hull.ac.uk

ETHICAL PROCEDURES FOR RESEARCH AND TEACHING
IN THE
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

PERMISSION TO PROCEED WITH RESEARCH: ETHICAL APPROVAL

Reference Number:	12/166
Name:	Gamela F I Faitur
Student No:	200917994
Programme of Study:	PhD
Research Area/Title:	Stakeholder's views of key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi
Image Permission Form	N/A
Name of Supervisor:	Nigel Wright
Date Approved by Supervisor:	24 January 2013
Date Approved by Ethics Committee:	5 February 2013



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Appendix 2: Approval Letter from the Researchers' Supervisor to Libyan Embassy- Cultural Attaché in London



The Cultural Attache,
The Libyan Embassy
61-62 Ennismore Gardens,
LONDON SW7 1NH

24th January 2013

Dear Sir,

Re: Gamela Fatur, ref 6776

Gamela is making very good progress with her research towards her PhD and will need shortly to return to Libya to conduct her empirical fieldwork data collection. She would need to be back in Libya between March 1st and 1st July 2013 for this. I am writing as her supervisor to ask if you would facilitate this for her through obtaining the necessary permissions she will need to contact schools and relevant key people.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Nigel Wright".

Nigel Wright

Senior Lecturer and Supervisor.



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Appendix 3: The Permission Letter from Libyan Embassy- Cultural Attaché in London

Cultural Attaché - London
Libyan Embassy



المحقية الثقافية - لندن
سفارة ليبيا

وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
Ministry of Higher Education & Scientific Research

التاريخ : 30-01-2013
الرقم الاشاري : 2013-01-6790
رقم الملف : 6776
رقم قرار الإيفاد:
01/11/2008 : بداية الصرف
28/02/2014 : نهاية الصرف
48 : اشهر المنحة

اسم الطالب : جميلة فتح الله ابراهيم فيتور
الدرجة العلمية : دكتوراة
التخصص : تربية وعلم نفس

السيد / مدير إدارة البعثات الدراسية

بعد التلية ،،

الموضوع / دراسة حقلية

تقدمت إلينا المعنية بطلب لموافقكم على إجراء دراسة حقلية في ليبيا وذلك لجمع بعض البيانات و المعلومات المتعلقة بدراستها، حسب رسالة الاستاذ المشرف المرفقة.

الرجاء موافقتنا بالخصوص.

شاكرين حسن تعاونكم معنا.

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ،،

د. عبد الباسط قحور
المستشار الثقافي



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61-62 Ennismore Gardens, London, SW7 1NH. T: +44(0)20 3006 9801. E: info@libya.gov.uk

Appendix 4: Permission Letter from the Ministry of Education at the National Level

وزارة التربية والتعليم
ديوان الوزارة



المؤتمر الوطني العام
الحكومة الليبية المؤقتة

التاريخ: 27 ربيع الثاني 1434 هـ
الموافق: 4 مارس 2013 م

الرقم الإشاري: 1990-1-2013

السيد /مسؤول التربية والتعليم القبة
السيد /مسؤول التربية والتعليم درنة
بعد التحية...

نأمل منكم تقديم المساعدة للباحثة جميلة فتح الله فيتور في إجراء دراستها
الحقلية بمدنيتي القبة ودرنة .

شاكرين حسن تعاونكم

م. مصطفى فرج عجاله

مدير مكتب وزير التربية والتعليم



صورة إلى
السيد/ وزير التربية والتعليم والقانون
السيد/ وكيل وزارة التربية والتعليم والنظام
السيد/ مدير مكتب السيد
العلف الدوري العم

صارة 2013/03/04

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4440455 - 444055 - 4440560 - 4440677 شارع ميزران - طرابلس - ليبيا

Appendix 5: Permission Letter from the Official of the Department of Educational Affairs in Derna



المجلس المحلي المؤقت درنة
قطاع التربية والتعليم درنة
مكتب الخدمات التعليمية درنة



التاريخ : 2013-04-07 م

الرقم الاشاري: م. ا. د. ... 13

السادة الافاضل / مدراء المدارس ومساعدى المدراء بمكتب الخدمات التعليمية درنة

السلام عليكم ..

أحيل .. إليكم الاستبيان الخاص بمدراء المدارس ومساعدي المدراء وذلك لتعنيته فـ
مدة لا تتجاوز الأسبوع من تاريخ هذا الكتاب بشأن الدراسة الحقلية للمؤسسات التعليمية التابعة لمكتب
الخدمات التعليمية درنة للأخت الباحثة / جميلة فتح الله فيتور . حسب ما ورد بكتاب مدير مكتـ
وزير التربية والتعليم . إجراءاتكم بالخصوص .

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته
عاشت ليبيا حرة موحدة

عمر سليمان الأسطى عمر
مدير مكتب الخدمات التعليمية درنة

إلى :
الملف الدوري.

عائل المجلس . 07-04-2013

Appendix 6: The Permission Letter from the Official of the Department of Educational Affairs in El-Qubba


الحكومة الليبية الانتقالية
وزارة التربية والتعليم
قطاع التربية والتعليم بالمجلس المحلي القبة

التاريخ: 9 / 4 / 2013 م الرقم الاشاري: 2 / 736 / 2013 م

السادة الأفاضل / مدراء مكاتب الخدمات التعليمية

بعد التحية و،

أحيل إليكم كتاب السيد / مدير مكتب وزير التربية والتعليم رقم 1990 . 1 . 201 والمؤرخ في 4 . 3 . 2013 م بشأن مساعدة الباحثة / جميلة فتح الله فيتور في إجراء دراستها الحقلية بمدينة القبة ودرنة .

وذلك للتعميم على المؤسسات التعليمية .

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ،،،


(مصطفى المبروك السيد)
مسؤول قطاع التربية والتعليم - القبة



*تفعل على مدراء المؤسسات التعليمية
وذلك للتعميم على كافة
المؤسسات التعليمية
بمدينة القبة ودرنة*


مكتب المتابعة بالقطاع التربوي
الملف الكوري العام
..... فرج / عائشة

Appendix 7: Cover Letter of the Questionnaire: English Version

**The University of Hull
The Centre for Educational Studies**

Stakeholders' views of key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi

Dear head teachers and deputies

Introduction

I am a PhD student at the University of Hull in the Centre of Educational studies in the UK. The purpose of this study is to investigate stakeholders' views of key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

Achieving the goals of this investigation depends on the extent of your interest and your answers to the questions included in the questionnaire. I guarantee your responses will be treated in confidence and will be integrated into the concluding report for this investigation. In other word, your responses will be used only for the purposes of the study; individuals will not be identified with their responses in the reported findings of the study. Also, you are free to withdraw at any time during the study.

Yours sincerely.

Gamela. F. Faitur.

PhD. Student.

For further information please contact to the researcher on the mobile phone No:
0927465926

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix 8: Last Version of Questionnaire (after pilot study): English version

Part 1: Demographic data (please tick in the appropriate box)

Type of school: Basic Secondary

Part 2: Meaning of citizenship

Q1. In your view, what is citizenship?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

<i>Citizenship is</i>		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	A legal status that determines rights of individuals in society.					
02	A legal status that determines responsibilities of individuals in society.					
03	A legal status that determines the relationship between citizen and state.					
04	Equality of political rights.					
05	Equality of social rights.					
06	Individuals' awareness of their rights.					
07	Individuals' awareness of their responsibilities.					
08	A sense of belonging to a specific tribe.					
09	A sense of belonging to a particular region for example, district\ city\ village.					
10	A sense of belonging to a specific country for example, Libya.					
11	A sense of belonging to a specific nation for example, the Arab nation.					
12	A sense of belonging to a specific sect.					
13	Free participation in a political life.					
14	Free participation in a social life.					
15	Respect to law.					

16	Patriotism.					
----	-------------	--	--	--	--	--

Others, please identify.....

Part 3: Characteristics of effective citizen

Q2: in your view, what are the characteristics of a citizen which citizenship education can reinforce?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

<i>Characteristics of effective citizen</i>		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	Faith in God.					
02	Loyalty to a country.					
03	Loyalty to a tribe.					
04	Fulfilling of responsibilities.					
05	Protecting state institutions.					
06	Participation in politics at the national level.					
07	Participation in politics at the local level.					
08	Participation in voluntary works at the local level.					
09	Thinking critically about issues in one's own community.					
10	Thinking critically about issues in other communities.					
11	Effective participation in social life.					
12	Broad-mindedness and familiarity with knowledge.					
13	Ability to quickly adapt to the changes which occur in society.					
14	Rejecting stereotypical views of women in society.					
15	Willingness to sacrifice for country.					

Others, please identify.....

Part 4: Aims of citizenship education

Q3. In your view, what are the aims of citizenship education?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

Citizenship education aims		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	To provide students with information about the history of their country.					
02	To implant the virtuous social values, such as devotion in work/ honesty/ seeking knowledge.					
03	To provide students with information and knowledge related to government institutions and functions.					
04	To provide students with information on the social structure of society.					
05	To enhance democratic values such as equality and social justice among students.					
06	To develop political literacy among students.					
07	To enhance students' loyalty to their country.					
08	To encourage students to participate effectively at the local level in their society.					
09	To encourage students to participate effectively at the national level in their society.					
10	To help students to think critically about contemporary issues that face their society					
11	To supply students with essential knowledge about human rights.					
12	To foster patriotism among students.					
13	To clarify the meaning of a civilian society.					
14	To provide students with information about organisations of a civilian society and their functions.					

Others, please identify.....

Part 5: Significance of citizenship education in Libya post- Gaddafi

Q4. In your view, what are the main reasons behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post- Gaddafi?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

the main reasons behind the growth in significance of citizenship education in Libya post- Gaddafi		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	Absence of democracy.					
02	Need to build a modern society.					
03	Need to strengthen national unity.					
04	Need to build a democratic society.					
05	Need to diminish tribal loyalty.					
06	Need to reduce the political role of tribes in society.					
07	Need to reduce the social role of tribes in society.					
08	Need to minimise regional loyalty.					
09	Need to enhance citizenship values in society, such as social justice and equality.					
10	Discrimination against the Amazigh minority as regards their cultural rights.					
11	Discrimination against the Amazigh minority as regards their linguistic rights.					
12	Increased call for supporting of women’s rights and their role in the society.					
13	Need to strength national cohesion.					

Others, please identify.....

Part 6: Citizenship education and students' awareness of their rights and responsibilities in society

Q5. In your view, how can citizenship education help to increase students' awareness of their rights and responsibilities?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

Citizenship education can		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	Help to understand the meaning of right.					
02	Help students to identify types of rights.					
03	Provide students with information about the International organisations such as Child Rights Organisation, The United Nations Organisation.					
04	Provide students with knowledge about the basis and nature of their responsibilities toward themselves.					
05	Provide students with knowledge about the basis and nature of their responsibilities toward their families.					
06	Provide students with knowledge about the basis and nature of their responsibilities toward their countries.					

Others, please identify.....

Part7: Potential of citizenship education to help to foster democratic values

Q6. In your view, how can citizenship education help to foster democratic values among young people?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

Citizenship education can help to foster democratic values		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	Can provide students with knowledge and skills required for democratic practice.					
02	Can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on social issues at the local level.					
03	Can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on political issues at the local level.					
04	Can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on social issues at the national level.					
05	Can help to reinforce students' capability of participation in debates on political issues at the national level.					
06	Can help to foster notion of social justice among students.					
07	Can help to foster notion of equality of rights among students.					
08	Can help students to understand the voting process.					
09	Can help to encourage students to join social clubs.					
10	Can help to encourage students to engage in charity work in the local community.					
11	Can provide students with skills required for free expression practice.					

Others, please identify.....

Part8: Potential of citizenship education to help to reinforce a national sense among young people.

Q7. In your view, how can citizenship education help to foster national sense among young people?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

<i>Citizenship education can help to foster national sense among young people</i>		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	Can help students to understand the meaning of belonging to their country.					
02	Can help students to understand the meaning of allegiance to their country.					
03	Can help students to understand the meaning of national unity.					
04	Can help students to enhance national cohesion among tribes.					
05	Can help students to understand the meaning of patriotism.					
06	Can provide students with information about some national symbols such as the national flag and the national anthem.					
07	Can provide students with information about symbols of jihad for the sake of the homeland such as Omar EL- Moukhtar.					

Others, please identify.....

Part 9: Potential of citizenship education to help to support women’s rights in society

Q8. In your view, how can citizenship education help to support women’s rights and their role in society?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

<i>Citizenship education can help to support women’s rights</i>		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	Can provide a clear picture of women’s struggle for their rights.					
02	Can help to explain the relationship between traditional culture and women’s rights in society.					
03	Can help to explain the relationship between traditional culture and women’s role in society.					
04	Can help to explain the relationship between Islamic culture and women’s rights in society.					
05	Can help to explain the relationship between Islamic culture and women’s role in society.					
06	Can help to enhance the accepted values religiously and socially among students, such as gender equality.					
07	Can teach students how to address stereotyping of women’s role in society.					
08	Can teach students how to bring about social change regards women’s rights and role in society.					
09	Can help to increase students’ ability to defend women’s rights in society.					
10	Can help to increase students’ ability to support women’s participation into political life.					
11	Can help to increase students’ ability to support women’s participation into economic life.					

Others, please identify.....

Part 10: Citizenship education and discrimination against the Amazigh (Berber) minority in Libyan society

Q9. In your view, how can citizenship education help to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh minority in society?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ticking in the appropriate boxes.

Citizenship education can help to reduce discrimination against the Amazigh (Berber) minority in society		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	Can help students to recognize the Amazigh community.					
02	Can identify the Libyan cities in which they live.					
03	Can provide students with information about the Tamazight language.					
04	Can teach students how to respect cultural diversity in their society.					
05	Can provide students with information about the Amazigh history.					

Others, please identify.....

Part 11: Issues influencing citizenship education in Libyan society

Q10. In your view, what are the issues that influence citizenship education in Libyan society?

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate your views by ranking them according to the degree of their influence on citizenship education

Issues influencing citizenship education in Libyan society		Extremely important	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not at all important
Items No	Statements	05	04	03	02	01
01	Political issues.					
02	Religious issues (Islamic Issues).					
03	Social issues (customs and traditions).					
04	Tribal issues (dominant tribal culture).					

Others, please identify

*Thank you for your response to this questionnaire.
Your participation in this study will be valuable.*

Appendix 9: Cover Letter of the Questionnaire: Arabic Version

جامعة هَلْ مركز الدراسات التربوية الاعزاء مدراء المدارس والوكلاء

أنا طالبة دكتوراه بمركز الدراسات التربوية في جامعة هَلْ بالمملكة المتحدة البريطانية. الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو "التحقيق في وجهة نظر ذوي الاختصاص في المجالات الرئيسية للتربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي".

تحقيق أهداف هذه الدراسة يعتمد علي مدى اهتمامكم وإجاباتكم عن الأسئلة الموجودة في هذا الاستبيان. وتؤكد الباحثة بأن إجاباتكم سوف تعامل بكل سرية وستساهم في التقرير الختامي لهذه الدراسة. بعبارة أخرى، إجاباتكم سوف تستخدم فقط لأغراض هذه الدراسة ؛ وسوف تكون الاجابات غير معروفة المصدر في عرض النتائج النهائية للدراسة. وأيضاً لكم الحرية في الانسحاب في أى وقت خلال الدراسة.

جميلة فتح الله فيتور
طالبة دكتوراه

لمزيد من المعلومات يرجى الاتصال بالباحثة علي رقم المحمول التالي :

0927465926

الجزء الثالث: صفات المواطن الفعال:

س2: من وجهة نظركم، ما هي الخصائص المميزة للمواطن التي يمكن أن تعززها التربية الوطنية؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والإشارة إلى وجهة نظركم وذلك بوضع علامة (✓) في المربعات المناسبة.

صفات المواطن الفعال.....					البند
غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا ادري	موافق	موافق بشدة	
01	02	03	04	05	البيانات
					01 الولاء للوطن .
					02 الولاء للقبيلة .
					03 الوعي بالحقوق.
					04 احترام حقوق الاخرين.
					05 الوفاء بالمسئوليات.
					06 المشاركة في الحياة السياسية علي المستوي الوطني.
					07 المشاركة في الحياة السياسية علي المستوي المحلي.
					08 المشاركة في العمل التطوعي علي المستوي المحلي
					09 التفكير بشكل نقدي في قضايا مجتمعه.
					10 التفكير بشكل نقدي في قضايا المجتمعات الاخرى.
					11 المشاركة الفعالة في الحياة الاجتماعية.
					12 احترام التنوع الثقافي في المجتمع.
					13 دعم حقوق المرأة في المجتمع.
					14 رفض وجهة النظر التهميشية للمرأة في المجتمع.
					15 الاستعداد للتضحية من أجل البلاد.

أي ملاحظات أخرى، من فضلك حدد.....

الجزء الرابع : أهداف التربية الوطنية :

س3. من وجهة نظركم، ماهي أهداف التربية الوطنية؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والاشارة الى وجهة نظركم وذلك بوضع علامة (✓) في المربعات المناسبة.

غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا ادري	موافق	موافق بشدة	التربية الوطنية تهدف الى.....
01	02	03	04	05	البينات
					01 الي مساعدة الطلبة علي ان يكونوا علي علم بحقوقهم .
					02 الي مساعدة الطلبة علي ان يكونوا علي علم بمسئولياتهم.
					03 الي تزويد الطلبة بالمعلومات والمعارف المتعلقة بالمؤسسات الحكومية ووظائفها.
					04 الي تزويد الطلبة بمعلومات عن البنية الاجتماعية للمجتمع.
					05 الي تعزيز القيم الديمقراطية مثل المساواة والعدالة الاجتماعية بين الطلبة.
					06 الي تنمية محو الامية السياسية بين الطلبة.
					07 الي تعزيز ولاء الطلبة لبلادهم.
					08 الي تشجيع الطلبة على المشاركة الفعالة على المستوى المحلي في مجتمعهم.
					09 الي تشجيع الطلبة على المشاركة الفعالة على المستوى الوطني في مجتمعهم.
					10 الي مساعدة الطلبة على التفكير بشكل نقدي في القضايا المعاصرة التي تواجه مجتمعهم.
					11 الي تزويد الطلبة بالمعرفة الأساسية حول حقوق الإنسان.
					12 الي تعزيز حب الوطن لدي الطلبة.

أي ملاحظات أخرى، من فضلك حدد.....

الجزء الخامس : أهمية التربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي

س4: من وجهة نظركم، ما هي الأسباب الرئيسية الكامنة وراء الاهتمام المتزايد التربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والاشارة الى وجهة نظركم وذلك بوضع علامة (✓) في المربعات المناسبة.

غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا ادري	موافق	موافق بشدة	الأسباب الرئيسية الكامنة وراء الاهتمام المتزايد بالتربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي ...	البند
01	02	03	04	05	البيانات	
					غياب الديمقراطية.	01
					الحاجة إلى بناءمجتمع متمدن.	02
					الحاجة إلى تقوية الوحدة الوطنية.	03
					الحاجة إلى بناءمجتمع ديمقراطي.	04
					الحاجة إلى الحد من الولاء القبلي.	05
					الحاجة الي الحد من الدور السياسي لقبيلة في المجتمع.	06
					الحاجة الي الحد من الدور الاجتماعي لقبيلة في المجتمع.	07
					الحاجة إلى الحد من الولاء الجهوي.	08
					الحاجة إلى تعزيزقيم المواطنة في المجتمع.	09
					التمييز ضدالأقلية الأمازيغية فيما يتعلق بحقوقهم الثقافية	10
					التمييز ضد الأقلية الأمازيغية فيما يتعلق بحقوقهم اللغوية.	11
					زيادة المطالبة بدعم حقوق المرأة ودورها في المجتمع.	12
					الحاجة الي تقوية اللحمة الوطنية بين القبائل.	13

أي ملاحظات اخرى، من فضلك حدد.....

الجزء السادس : التربية الوطنية ووعي الطلبة بحقوقهم ومسؤولياتهم في المجتمع :

س5: من وجهة نظركم، كيف يمكن التربية الوطنية ان تساعد في زيادة وعي الطلاب بحقوقهم ومسؤولياتهم؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والاشارة الي وجهة نظركم وذلك بوضع علامة (✓) في المربعات المناسبة.

غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا ادري	موافق	موافق بشدة	التربية الوطنية يمكن ان ...
01	02	03	04	05	البينات
					01 تزويد الطلبة بمجموعة من المعلومات حول حقوقهم.
					02 تزويد الطلبة بالمعرفة حول أسس وطبيعة مسؤولياتهم اتجاه أنفسهم.
					03 تزويد الطلبة بالمعرفة حول أسس وطبيعة مسؤولياتهم اتجاه أسرهم
					04 تزويد الطلبة بالمعرفة حول أسس وطبيعة مسؤولياتهم اتجاه وطنهم.
					05 تزويد الطلبة بالمهارات والمعارف اللازمة لممارسة حقوقهم
					06 تعليم الطلبة كيفية احترام حقوقهم.
					07 تعليم الطلبة كيفية احترام حقوق الآخرين.
					08 تزويد الطلبة بمعلومات حول واجباتهم في المجتمع.

أي ملاحظات أخرى، من فضلك حدد.....

الجزء السابع: امكانية التربية الوطنية في المساعدة علي تعزيز القيم الديمقراطية:

س6: من وجهة نظركم، كيف التربية الوطنية يمكن ان يساعد في تعزيز القيم الديمقراطية بين الشباب؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والاشارة الى وجهة نظركم وذلك بوضع علامة (✓) في المربعات المناسبة.

غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا ادرى	موافق	موافق بشدة	التربية الوطنية يمكن ان تساعد في تعزيز القيم الديمقراطية:
01	02	03	04	05	البند
					01 يمكن ان تزويد الطلبة بالمعارف والمهارات اللازمة لممارسة الديمقراطية.
					02 يمكن أن تساعد في تعزيز قدرة الطلبة علي المشاركة في مناقشات القضايا الاجتماعية على المستوى المحلي.
					03 يمكن أن تساعد في تعزيز قدرة الطلبة علي المشاركة في مناقشة القضايا السياسية على المستوى المحلي.
					04 يمكن أن تساعد في تعزيز قدرة الطلبة علي المشاركة في مناقشات القضايا الاجتماعية على المستوى الوطني.
					05 يمكن أن تساعد في تعزيز قدرة الطلبة علي المشاركة في مناقشات القضايا السياسية على المستوى الوطني.
					06 يمكن أن تساعد في تعزيز مفهوم العدالة الاجتماعية بين الطلبة.
					07 يمكن أن تساعد في تعزيز مفهوم المساواة في الحقوق بين الطلبة.
					08 يمكن أن تساعد الطلبة على فهم عملية صنع القرار.
					09 يمكن أن تساعد في تشجيع الطلبة علي الانضمام الي النوادي الاجتماعية.
					10 يمكن أن تساعد في تشجيع الطلبة علي الانخراط في العمل الخيري في المجتمع المحلي.
					11 يمكن أن تزود الطلبة بالمهارات اللازمة لممارسة حرية التعبير.

أي ملاحظات اخري، من فضلك حدد.....

الجزء الثامن: امكانية التربية الوطنية في المساعدة في تعزيز الشعور الوطني لدى الشباب

س7. من وجهة نظركم، كيف التربية الوطنية يمكن ان تساعد على تعزيز الحس الوطني لدالشباب؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والاشارة الى وجهة نظركم وذل كيوضع علامة (✓) في المربعات المناسبة.

غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا ادري	موافق	موافق بشدة	التربية الوطنية يمكن ان تساعد في تعزيز الحس الوطني لدى الشباب	البند
01	02	03	04	05	البيانات	
					يمكن أن تساعد الطلاب على فهم معنى الانتماء إلى بلادهم.	01
					يمكن أن تساعد الطلاب على فهم معنى الولاء لبلادهم .	02
					يمكن أن تساعد الطلاب على فهم معنى الوحدة الوطنية	03
					يمكن أن تساعد الطلاب في تعزيز اللحمة الوطنية بين القبائل.	04
					يمكن أن تساعد الطلاب على فهم معنى حب الوطن.	05

أي ملاحظات اخري، من فضلك حدد.....

الجزء التاسع: امكانية التربية الوطنية علي المساعدة في دعم حقوق المرأة في المجتمع:

س8: من وجهة نظركم، كيف التربية الوطنية يمكن ان تساعد في دعم حقوق المرأة ودورها في المجتمع؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والاشارة الى وجهة نظركم وذلك بوضع علامة (✓) في المربعات المناسبة.

غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا ادري	موافق	موافق بشدة	التربية الوطنية يمكن ان تساعد الطلاب علي دعم حقوق المرأة	البند
01	02	03	04	05	البيانات	
					يمكن أن تقدم صورة واضحة لنضال المرأة من أجل حقوقها.	01
					يمكن أن تساعد على تفسير العلاقة بين الثقافة التقليدية وحقوق المرأة في المجتمع.	02
					يمكن أن تساعد على تفسير العلاقة بين الثقافة التقليدية ودور المرأة في المجتمع.	03
					يمكن أن تساعد على توضيح العلاقة بين الثقافة الإسلامية وحقوق المرأة في المجتمع.	04
					يمكن أن تساعد على توضيح العلاقة بين الثقافة الإسلامية ودور المرأة في المجتمع.	05
					يمكن أن تساعد على تعزيز القيم الحديثة بين الطلبة، مثل المساواة بين الجنسين.	06
					يمكن ان تعليم الطلبة كيفية معالجة تهميش دور المرأة في المجتمع.	07
					يمكن ان تعليم الطلبة كيفية إحداث التغيير الاجتماعي في المجتمع.	08
					يمكن أن تساعد علي زيادة قدرة الطلبة في الدفاع عن حقوق المرأة في المجتمع.	09
					يمكن أن تساعد علي زيادة قدرة الطلبة في دعم مشاركة المرأة في الحياة السياسية في المجتمع.	10
					يمكن أن تساعد علي زيادة قدرة الطلبة في دعم مشاركة المرأة في الحياة في الاقتصادية في المجتمع.	11

أي ملاحظات اخري، من فضلك حدد:

الجزء العاشر: التربية الوطنية والتمييز ضد الأقلية الأمازيغية (البربر) في المجتمع الليبي :

س9. من وجهة نظركم، كيف التربية الوطنية يمكن ان تساعد على الحد من التمييز ضد الأقلية الأمازيغية في المجتمع؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والاشارة الى وجهة نظركم وذلك بوضع علامة ✓ في المربعات المناسبة.

غير موافق بشدة	غير موافق	لا ادري	موافق	موافق بشدة	التربية الوطنية يمكن ان تساعد علي الحد من التمييز ضد الأقلية الأمازيغية (البربر) في المجتمع الليبي
01	02	03	04	05	البيانات
					01 يمكن أن تساعد الطلاب على التعرف على المجتمع الأمازيغي.
					02 يمكن ان تساعد في التعرف على المدن التي يعيشون فيها.
					03 يمكن ان تزويد الطلاب بمعلومات حول اللغة الأمازيغية.
					04 يمكن ان تعليم الطلاب كيفية احترام التنوع الثقافي في مجتمعهم.
					05 يمكن ان تزويد الطلاب بمعلومات حول تاريخ الامازيغ.

أي ملاحظات اخري، من فضلك حدد:

الجزء الحادي عشر: القضايا التي تؤثر في التربية الوطنية في المجتمع الليبي ما بعد القذافي:

س10: من وجهة نظركم، ما هي القضايا التي تؤثر في التربية

الوطنية في المجتمع الليبي ما بعد القذافي؟

الرجاء قراءة العبارات التالية بعناية والاشارة الى وجهة نظركم بترتيبها وفقاً لدرجة تاثيرها على التربية الوطنية وذلك بوضع علامة (✓) في المربعات المناسبة.

القضايا التي تؤثر في التربية الوطنية في المجتمع الليبي					
ليس مهماً علي الإطلاق	ليس مهماً	مهم الي حد ما	مهم جداً	في غاية الأهمية	
01	02	03	04	05	البيانات
					01 قضايا سياسية.
					02 قضايا دينية (اسلامية).
					03 قضايا اجتماعية (العادات والتقاليد).
					04 قضايا قبلية (الثقافة القبلية السائدة).

أي ملاحظات اخري، من فضلك حدد:

أشكركم على ردكم على هذا الاستبيان
ومشاركتم في هذه الدراسة سوف تكون ذات قيمة

Appendix 11: Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

Interviewees	The main themes in the schedule	Collected data
The Minister of Libyan Education at the national level	<p>The meaning of citizenship.</p> <p>The characteristic of an effective citizen. Kind of citizen who need to create.</p> <p>The aims of citizenship education.</p> <p>The importance of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. Or</p> <p>The reasons behind developing citizenship education in Libya post- Gaddafi.</p> <p>The type of society should the citizenship education aim to build.</p> <p>The extent to which syllabuses of citizenship education should cover the following key areas of citizenship;rights and responsibilities, a national sense , democratic values, women’s rights and their stereotypical role, and the Amazigh minority as regards their linguistic and cultural rights.</p> <p>Issues influencing citizenship education in Libya Post-Gaddafi.</p>	Basic
The officials of Educational Affairs at the local level (in the two cities Drena and EL-Quba)		Basic

Appendix 12: Interviews Introduction: English Version

The University of Hull The Centre of Educational Studies

Stakeholders' views of Key areas for Citizenship Education in Libya post-Gaddafi

Introduction

I am a doctoral student in Education at the University of Hull and now am in the third year. My study is stakeholders' views of key areas for citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi.

I would like to collect my research data from stakeholders for this, as you are in a main position that responsible for education policy in Libya, so I would like to explore your views and opinions about key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi. The information from this interview will be united with that from the other stakeholders.

All information will be treated confidentially and will be used only for the purposes of the study. I can assure that individuals will not be identified with their responses in the reported findings of the study. So, please, express your views honestly and freely. The interview will last approximately 50 minutes.

Participation in this research is voluntary; so you are free to take part in this research or withdraw at any time during the study.

For further information please do not hesitate to contact Faculty of Education Ethics Committee, Mrs J. Lison, by email: J. Lison@hull.ac.uk or on tel.01482-465988.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESPONSES

Yours sincerely.

Gamela .F. I. Faitur

PhD. Student.

Centre for Education Studies, University of Hull, Cottingham Road, Hull, HU6 7RX. The UK.

Appendix 13: Interviews Guide: English Version

Semi-Structured Interview Transcription the Minister of the Education at the National level

A. Interview guide with the Minister of Libyan Education at the national level, and the two officials of the Department of Educational Affairs at Derna and El-Qubba

Q1. How do you define citizenship?

Q2. What are the characteristics of an effective Libyan citizen?

Q3. Could you please tell me about the aims of citizenship education in general?

Q4. Why is citizenship education growing in significance in Libya post- Gaddafi?

Q5. From your point of view, what sort of society should citizenship education aim to build?

Q6. What do you think should be the key areas of citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

Q7. What about women's rights in the new Libya?

Q8. What about the cultural and linguistic rights of the Amazigh minority in Libya post-Gaddafi?

Q9. What are the issues that might negatively impact citizenship education in Libya post-Gaddafi?

Appendix 14: Interviews Introduction: Arabic Version

جامعة هَلْ

مركز الدراسات التربوية

وجهة نظر ذوي الاختصاص حول المجالات الرئيسية للتربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي

أنا طالبة دكتوراة "الاجازه دقيقه" متخصصة في التعليم بجامعة هال، وأنا الآن في السنة الثالثة. دراستي تعنى بوجهات نظر ذوي الاختصاص حول المجالات الرئيسية لتعليم التربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي. وأود أن أجمع بيانات هذا البحث من ذوي الاختصاص، وبما انكم تتصدرون منصب يعتبر ذو مسنوليه عن السياسة التعليمية في ليبيا، لذلك أود أن استكشف وجهات نظركم وآراءكم حول المجالات الرئيسية للتربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي. سيتم توحيد معلومات هذه المقابلة مع مقابلات ذوي الاختصاص الآخرين. وسيتم التعامل مع جميع المعلومات بسرية تامة، وسوف تستخدم لأغراض الدراسة فقط. كما يمكنني التأكيد بأنه لن يتم الإفصاح عن الأفراد واجاباتهم في النتائج المعلن عنها في الدراسة. لذلك يرجى التعبير عن وجهات نظركم بكل صراحة وحرية. المقابلة ستستغرق حوالي 50 دقيقة. المشاركة في هذا البحث هو امر تطوعي لذلك لكم الحرية في المشاركة في هذا البحث أو الانسحاب في أي وقت أثناء الدراسة.

لمزيد من المعلومات لا تترددوا في الاتصال بكلية التربية، جامعة هل، السيدة J. Lison، عن طريق

البريد الإلكتروني: Lison@hull.ac.uk

أو على رقم الهاتف: 01482-465988

شكرا لكم على ردودكم

تفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام.

جميلة فتح الله فيكتور

طالبه دكتوراه

مركز الدراسات التربوية، جامعة هال

العنوان: Cottingham Road, Hull, HU6 7RX, UK

Appendix 15: Interviews Guide: Arabic Version

س1: كيف تعرف المواطنة؟

س2: ما هي صفات المواطن الليبي الفعال؟

س3: من فضلك، هل تستطيع أن تعلمني عن اهداف التربية الوطنية بوجه عام؟

س4: لماذا زادت أهمية التربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي؟

س5: من وجهة نظركم ما هو نوع المجتمع الذي ينبغي ان تهدف التربية

الوطنية الي بنائه ؟

س6: في اعتقادك ما هي المجالات الرئيسية للتربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي؟

س 7: ماذا عن حقوق المرأة في ليبيا الجديدة؟

س8: ماذا عن الحقو الثقافية واللغوية للاقلية الامازيغية في ليبيا ما بعد القذافي؟

س 9 : ما هي القضايا التي يمكن أن تؤثر سلباً علي التربية الوطنية في ليبيا ما بعد

القذافي؟

Appendix No.16: The Summary of the main Themes obtained from the Semi-Structured Interviews

Themes	Codes	Categories and subcategories	Codes	Supported by the Interviewees
1-Meaning of citizenship	MC	A relationship between an individual and a state A Legal Status, Respect law	L1 L2	All the officials at Derna
		A Sense of Belonging and Loyalty to a country Belonging to the Arab nation	B1A B2B	All the official at Derna
		Freedom of participation	FP	All
		Equality	Q	All
		Patriotism	P	All
		Rights and responsibilities	R	All
2- Characteristics of an effective citizen	CEC	Faith in God Good ethic	FA FB	All The Minister
		Loyalty only to a country	L	All
		Participating in political debates	P	All
		Fulfilling responsibilities and doing duties	F	All

		Patriotism,	PA	The Minister and the official at Derna
		Willingness to sacrifices for the country	PB	All
		Maintains and respect government organizations	PC	The Minister and the official at Derna
		Willing to engage in voluntary work	DA	The Minister And the official at Derna
		Critical thinking skills	DB	The Minister And the official at El-Qubba
		Supports gender equality	DC	The Minister and the official at El-Qubba
		Supports democratic values	DD	All
		Welcomes new ideas and values	DE	The Minister
3-Aims of Citizenship Education	ACE	To create effective citizens	CE	The Minister
		Strengthen patriotism and national	SN	All

		awareness,		
		Teach democratic values	ID1	The Minister and the official at Derna
		Encourage participation in debates,	ID2	
		Enhance social values	ID3	The Minister and the official at El-Qubba All
		Provide information about the political order	PIA	The Minister and the official at
		Social and political knowledge	PIB	Derna The official at El - Qubba
		About Human Rights Organisations	PIC	
		Governmental institutions	PID	The two officials
		Provide information about civil society	PIE	The official at Derna
		Provide information about a country	PIF	The Minister
				The official at El Qubba
4-Significance of citizenship education	SCE	Raise awareness of rights and responsibilities	AA	The Minister and the official

				at El-Qubba
		To promote democracy	D	All
		To adress tribalism To minmise the social and political role of the tribe	TA	The official at El-Qubba
		The political role of tribe	TB	The Minister and the official at Derna
		Democracy		All
		Discrimination against the Amazigh minority	DM	All
		Women’s marginalization	DM	All
		National Unity	NV	The Minister and the official at Derna
		National Cohesion.....	NV	The official at El Qubba
		5-Citizenship Education and Democracy	CED	A Sort of Society “ democratic society”
		Providing information and skills about the voting process	PS	The Minister and the official at El-Qubba
		Freedom of expression	DVA	All
		Charity, Voluntary work	DVB	The Minister and the official at Derna
		Joining social clubs	DVC	The official

				at Derna
		Participation in political and social	DVD	All
		Human Rights	DVE	The official at El-Qbba
		Enhancing democratic values	DVF	All
6-Key areas of Citizenship Education	KAC E	Rights and Responsibilities,	RS	All
		A Sense of Belonging and Loyalty to a Country	NS	All
		National Awareness	NS	All
		Democratic Values	DV	All
7-Women's Rights	SWR	Women's rights and Social Culture	WRA	The Minister and the official at El-Qubba
		Women's rights and Islam	WRB	The Minister and the official at Derna
		Support for women's rights	WRC	The Minister and the official at Derna
		Support for social justice and gender equality	WRD	All
		Support for women's participation	WRE	All
		Encouraging participation in debates about women's issues		The Minister
8-The Amazigh minority	RDA M	Official language in Libya post-Gaddafi (Arabic)	OLA	All
		Cultural diversity	CDB	The Minister and

				the official at Derna
		Respecting the rights of others	CDC	The official at Derna
		Cultural exchange	DC	The official at El-Qubba
		Providing information about the Amazigh community	PID	All
		The Amazigh cultural and linguistic rights	CDE	The Minister and the official at Derna
9-Issues that influence Citizenship Education	IICE	Political aspects		All
		Social and tribal aspects		All
		Religious aspects		All