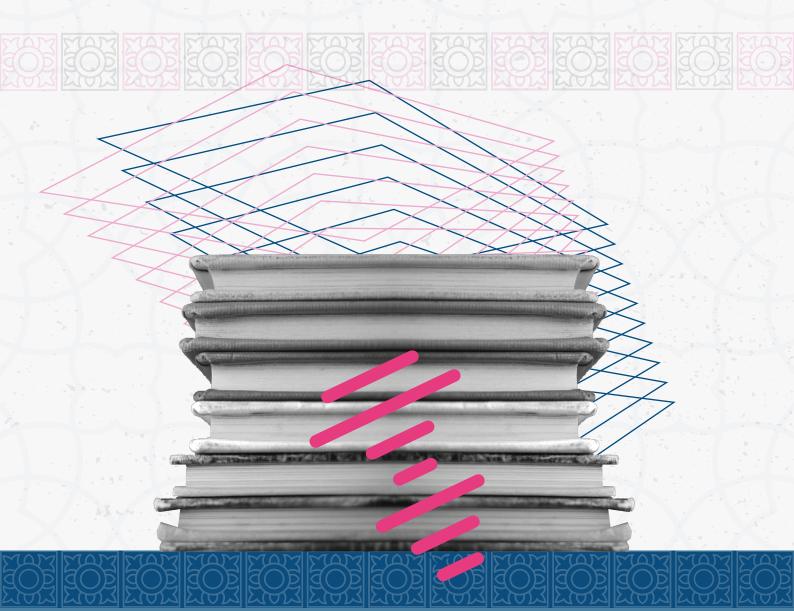
# Teaching Arts in Lebanese Schools: Facts, Obstacles and Expectations



A Policy Paper by Dr. Hicham Zeineddine

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The Samir Kassir Foundation is a Lebanese non-profit organization officially established in Beirut under registry number 30/A.D.On February 1, 2006. It is named after Samir Kassir, a Lebanese journalist assassinated in Beirut on June 2, 2005. It aims to spread democratic culture in Lebanon and the Arab world, encourage new talents in journalism, and build the movement for a cultural, democratic, and secular renewal. These are the conditions required to lift the Arab populations out of their "state of malaise," as described in Samir Kassir's book Being Arab. The Foundation strives to defend freedom of media and culture through its SKeyes Center for Media and Cultural Freedom, which, since its establishment in 2008, has become the largest center monitoring violations against journalists and artists in the Arab Levant, as well as a reference for research on journalism and for training media professionals and enhancing their skills. Since 2008, the Foundation has also organized the annual Beirut Spring Festival; a free-entrance performing arts festival aiming to democratize access to culture and the most avant-garde cultural and artistic experiences from Lebanon and the world.



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**Seeds for Legal Initiatives** provided a study on the legal framework of art education in Lebanon, available in the appendix of the Arabic version of the present document.

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This study sheds light on art education in Lebanese schools and the obstacles it faces. It also explores the reasons behind such constraints and suggests possible solutions. The study aims to reiterate the importance of art education and the necessity for practical and objective findings. Said findings would seek to alter the manner in which art education is perceived by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE) and the Centre for Educational Research and Development, thereby resulting in a shift within the arts curricula. The objectives of the present study are stated below:

- Shed light on arts curricula regulatory framework;
- Determine the educational institutions in charge of training teachers to facilitate art classes;
- Identify the methodology and implementation of arts teaching;
- Detail objective findings and make them available to education officials;
- Delve into the role of arts in education; and
- Contribute towards the development of a research base which serves as a reference for subsequent papers.

In accordance with international conventions that guarantee the right to education, and as a founding member of the United Nations, Lebanon is bound to apply all the provisions of the signed treaties. Art education in schools is in line with Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was signed by most countries including Lebanon and adopted by the United Nations in 1989. It reads as follows: "Education shall be directed to the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential, the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, languages and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilisations different from his or her own." 1

Publications and statistics developed by the Centre for Educational Research and Development (CERD)<sup>2</sup> were utilized in this study. The Centre is the most important entity in charge of educatioal planning and development, including: curricula preparation and amendment, teacher training, as well as textbook assessment, printing and distribution. The study also quotes the articles published in the Centre's magazine. One article in particular, "Arts in Education", published by the researcher in the aforementioned magazine, features extensively. The study also relied on the information gained through experience in the research field. The researcher involved in this study worked as a fine arts specialist at the CERD from 2004 to 2009. These experiences, along with those stated in the short biography above, have allowed him to gather information, acquire knowledge and stay abreast of developments in the field for two decades. Interactive communication

<sup>1-</sup>UNICEF's Convention on the Rights of the Child Text - https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text

with the research community facilitated in-person meetings with several art teachers in both public and private schools, in addition to virtual communication with a hundred other teachers. They answered specific questions about art education in their schools. These teachers were selected as a sample representing the Lebanese private and public schools across the country, and taking into account the differences between schools from an economic perspective.

# Teaching Arts in Lebanese Schools

#### Arts Curricula: Before and After the 1997 Plan for Reforming Education

Towards the end of the last century, Lebanon acknowledged the theoretical importance of arts in education. Art classes were thus included in the new curricula implemented by the Centre for Educational Research and Development in 1997. This was a substantial shift in the mind-set regarding art and its importance to the educational process, built on the belief that teaching arts in schools is a necessity. One of the reasons stated for the 1997 educational reform, in its preamble, is the following: "Whoever reviews our current (i.e. old) curricula would be surprised by the quasi-total neglect of fine arts subjects, as if these curricula consider them to be a luxury. Fine arts should play an important role in developing the learner's identity... The proposed curricula aimed at filling this gap through various fine arts teaching classes and activities, including music, drawing and theatre, from kindergarten to third and final year of high school." The section entitled "New Developments in the Proposed Curricula" declares that: "The new curricula have enriched the learner's personality through fine arts." <sup>3</sup>

The new educational curricula in Lebanon highlighted the importance of merging education with the citizen's life by "developing the personality of the Lebanese individual as a productive member within a free, democratic society and a citizen committed to the laws and principles of the nation (...) to build a developed and inclusive society where citizens live in an environment of freedom, justice, democracy, and equality." As part of the marked shift which accompanied the erstwhile new curricula in Lebanon, the arts were adopted as an essential element of the educational process. The avant-garde notions introduced by the new curricula, in 1997, have brought about radical changes. This development is deemed a milestone in modern educational thought. The new curricula are strongly aligned with international experiences in terms of developing the arts and using them for educational purposes. Over the last two decades, there have been several attempts to amend the curricula and update them in line with global developments in the educational field. However, these efforts did not bear fruit because of the lack of political decision-making and the absence of an active education policy.

#### **Institutions in Charge of Training Art Teachers in Lebanon**

Art specialisations, taught in Lebanese schools, are spread across several universities and include majors in teaching or disciplines of fine arts. The universities in charge of art teaching are listed below:

<sup>3-</sup>https://www.crdp.org/sites/default-

files/2020-11/%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%AC%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%85%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A
7%D9%85%20%D9%88%D8%A3%D9%87%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%81%D9%87%D8%A7%20%201997.pdf

<sup>4-</sup>https://www.crdp.org/sites/default/-

- The Lebanese University's Faculty of Pedagogy where specialists in theatre, (fine) arts and music education graduated between 1998 and 2005. The fields of theatre and fine arts education were removed in 2005, while music education continued. Furthermore, degrees in art education at the Faculty of Pedagogy are teaching certificates.
- At the Lebanese University's Faculty of Fine Arts and Architecture, theatre teachers
  graduate from two branches only, Hadath and Furn El-Chebbak, while fine arts teachers
  graduate from all four (Hadath, Furn El-Chebbak, Tripoli and Deir El-Qamar). The latter
  teach art education in schools even though they do not have a teaching degree.
- The Holy Spirit University of Kaslik from which music teachers graduate, although they receive a professional rather than teaching degree.
- The Antonine University's School of Music that grants a teaching degree in music.
- The University of Balamand's Lebanese Academy for Fine Arts from which art education teachers graduate. However, they are awarded a professional rather than teaching degree.
- The international universities from which art teaching specialists graduate after applying for an equivalency certificate at the Ministry of Education and Higher Education.

#### **Art Teaching Staff in Schools**

The statistics compiled every year by the CERD show a certain imbalance in the way art teachers are spread among Lebanese schools and regions, but also in the weekly schedules of art classes. Said statistics clearly show that school administrations place art at the bottom of their priority list compared to science subjects and foreign languages. This indicates that the educational thinking behind the teaching process in schools is still largely traditional and unable to adapt to the changes in the educational setting,

The statistics published by the CERD reveal a discrepancy, among governorates, in the hiring practices of schools with regard to art teachers. Also, this uneven distribution prevents several students from accessing arts in their social and school life, which violates their right to equality and non-discrimination in education. Some schools have no art teachers, while others have only one teacher for a specific art class. In several schools, there are teachers for all three art classes while in others, there are afternoon art activities clubs in addition to art classes. Some schools do not teach art subjects but suggest art clubs as a form of entertainment outside school hours. Others teach one of drawing, music or theatre. Moreover, art teachers are randomly deployed among public schools in a way that prioritises the living and housing conditions of teachers as opposed to the needs of schools. Such practices are generally down to corruption and nepotism within the Lebanese administration.

Figures show that there are approximately 3,800 drawing teachers, 900 music teachers, 550 theatre teachers and an unspecified number of teachers that fall in the category of "various types of arts and activities" teachers. It is worth noting that theatre is not part of the officially approved classes but is rather taught as an artistic activity. Many among the "various types of arts and activities" category of teachers are not specialised in art and struggle to teach it. They hold a degree in other educational subjects. Said teachers do not teach within their area of expertise for various

reasons, including: health issues, incompetence, insufficient hours for the required subjects or inability to be transferred to other schools.

There are 2,861 schools in Lebanon (1,235 public schools and 1,626 private schools) and around 5,250 art teachers. It is difficult, nevertheless, to determine the exact number of teachers because some of them teach in more than one school. According to these figures, there could be approximately two art teachers per school covering all Lebanese regions. This number is enough to deploy in all Lebanese schools drawing, music and theatre teachers, while taking into account that each teacher can be in more than one school. Much of the problem lies in the inequitable distribution of the aforementioned teachers.

The art teaching process in Lebanese public and private schools is best described as random. Historically, there were two art subjects in public schools: "drawing" and "music." With the 1997 Plan, the name changed to "art education" and "music education," while "theatre education" was added. Even though the arts curricula were not implemented in accordance with the 1997 education reform, several public schools included theatre in their curriculum, naming it "art education." In private schools, theatre classes spread widely and almost every theatre education department graduate was recruited (about 100 graduates), along with the majority of the Faculty of Fine Arts and Architecture's theatre department. Therefore, there are different art classes under different names in Lebanese schools. There is no system, law, curriculum or programme to harmonise them. Several schools even invented the name "Various arts and activities," an undetermined subject that is not included in the curriculum. This confusion in the designation of art subjects shows that there is a real problem in art teaching management within Lebanese schools, one that needs methodological and legal solutions.

Furthermore, there are notable differences between public and private schools. Statistics show that there are twice as many music teachers, three times more theatre teachers, and slightly less than the double the fine arts teachers in private schools compared to public schools. This discrepancy in the number of teachers inevitably impacts the quality of education. Schools that include art in their curricula provide better quality of education than the ones with no or incomplete art classes. The loose commitment to art education in schools stems from the lack of strict standards. Some public schools teach arts according to textbooks published by the CERD and recognise their importance in the students' educational assessment. Others do not have art teachers and devote time for classes under names that are not officially approved (various types of arts and activities). This contradiction applies to private schools as well. Some of them adopt art education in their three subjects as part of the curriculum. Other well-known private schools ignore art and only offer extracurricular drawing classes.

These inconsistencies show that teaching arts in public and private schools depend neither on the parents' social and financial situation nor on the school's logistical capacities, nor even on its location, but rather on the administration's decision. The administration is not governed by the mandatory educational rules but depends on the whims of each school's director.

### Teaching Arts in Schools: Problems and Failures

#### Official Decisions Related to Teaching Arts in Schools

Decree 5698 was issued on June 15, 2001. It aimed at organising the official exams for the intermediate and general secondary certificates, including all four branches (Humanities, General Sciences, Life Sciences, and Sociology and Economics), according to the new 1997 curricula. The decree did not include art, technology and sports subjects, which meant that those were considered as secondary subjects in the school curriculum. Also, MEHE at the time refused to agree on hiring the required teachers for said subjects, which was the final blow. Some private schools, and very few public schools, decided to disregard the State's decision and include art education in their curricula, at their own expense. They recruited specialised teachers and introduced weekly classes of various art subjects, believing in their positive educational and psychological impact.

#### **Disagreement over Authority in Charge of Training Teachers**

Training art teachers for public schools has primarily been a product of two official authorities: the Lebanese University's Faculty of Pedagogy, from which teachers graduate with teaching certificates in various disciplines, and the CERD, which has been in charge of training teachers at the elementary and intermediate level in public schools since 1970s. This prerogative was recently taken away from the Centre under Article 5 of Law 344/2001 and exclusively given to the Faculty of Pedagogy, in line with modern education requirements that require teachers to obtain a degree in their specialisation, from kindergarten to high school.

The dispute over which authority is qualified to train teachers persists today within the relevant official departments such as the General Directorate of Education, the Education Inspectorate, the CERD, and the Lebanese University's Faculty of Pedagogy. For instance, it was debated during the panel discussion of the Parliamentary Committee on Education, while examining the 2003 Educational Inspectorate annual report. The Faculty of Pedagogy was eventually named as the authority in charge of training teachers for all educational levels. However, the financial and administrative challenges of the Faculty and the Lebanese State's economic and financial conditions prevent the required number of teachers from being employed. In fact, specialists in all subjects are graduating from the Faculty but working in the private sector because the State is unable to employ them. After theatre education and art education were suspended in the Faculty of Pedagogy, and music education graduates ceased to be employed in public schools, graduates shifted towards private schools while others joined public schools as individual contractors.

The Teacher Training College, founded in 1953, was affiliated with the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts until the creation of the CERD in 1972, to which the Training College was attached. Curricula development, textbook writing and primary education teacher training became the core of the Centre's work. As for high school teaching, it still required a teaching certificate from the Faculty of Pedagogy, or at least a bachelor degree from a private university. "Between the date of the Centre's creation and 2002 (the year the Teacher Training College was closed), 12,121 elementary and intermediate level teachers graduated in several disciplines such as French, English, kindergarten teaching, arts, sports, sciences and mathematics. They were spread across all Lebanese regions." <sup>5</sup> Thanks to the Teacher Training College graduates of the final quarter of the last century, art education spread to all Lebanese public schools (particularly drawing and music). It was given a fair share of attention. Private schools even recruited Teacher Training College graduates.

In the last couple of decades, the number of Teacher Training Colleges reached 34 across Lebanon, six of which were supposed to be in charge of implementing the continuous training programme that started in 2005. Art subjects were also part of the programme. Drawing, music and theatre teachers were trained to use different teaching methods. However, these training classes were not enough in both form and content. They neither included all art teachers nor were they based on the official curriculum approved by MEHE. The lack of specialists and the political bickering over the CERD within the Lebanese government paved the way for the chaos, which engulfed the teaching of arts in schools. The absence of a head of the arts department within the CERD, after all the previous heads retired, perfectly encapsulates the farcical depths to which the Centre has plummeted. The lack of staff in the arts department, and the lack of interest in appointing qualified specialists to restore art subjects in the learning process, reflect value placed upon the arts by successive governments.

## Introduction and Cancellation of Art Teaching Majors at the Lebanese University's Faculty of Pedagogy

With the launch of the new curricula in 1997, the Faculty of Pedagogy established an art education department with three majors: art education – theatre, art education – music and art education – fine arts starting from the 1997-1998 academic year. University curricula were developed while criteria for student admission were set. Also, several teachers holding Ph.Ds in the aforementioned disciplines were recruited. Dozens of students joined the department over five years. After the second class graduated, a decision to stop taking in students in the art education – theatre major was issued. It was later followed by a similar decision for the art education – fine arts section. Students continue to graduate from the music education department.

According to the decision-makers in the Faculty of Pedagogy at the time, the reasons for suspending the two new majors were based on:

- The Minister of Education's decision to put an end to art education in schools;
- The duplication of disciplines: art education in the Faculty of Pedagogy and the different art specialisations in the Faculty of Fine Arts (theatre, fine arts); and
- The lack of job opportunities for this department's graduates because of the Minister's decision to stop art education in schools.

Art education experienced a major setback in Lebanese schools because of the Minister of Education's ill-advised decision without consulting the relevant specialists.

First: The Minister of Education's decision to cancel exams for subjects such as arts was not aiming at completely removing art subjects from schools. This decision was taken due to the lack of logistical support in schools. Removing art subjects was therefore due to financial rather than pedagogical reasons. Also, the CERD had developed curricula, books and teacher's manuals for all classes and subjects. The Minister's decision was random and unilateral.

Second: Specialists confirm that there is no such thing as duplication of disciplines (theatre and fine arts) in the Faculty of Pedagogy and the Faculty of Fine Arts. At the Faculty of Pedagogy, the art education major aims at training educators specialised in art teaching and not artists (actors, directors and painters), as is the case at the Faculty of Fine Arts. The same goes for chemistry or physics for example, which are taught as scientific disciplines at the Faculty of Science but as teaching specialisations at the Faculty of Pedagogy. This also applies to other majors such as geography, history, but also Arabic, French and English literature at the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences.

Third: A lack of job opportunities for graduates has not been firmly established. The majority of art specialisation graduates work in private schools. The demand increases yearly because MEHE has stopped recruiting the Faculty of Pedagogy graduates for public education. This applies to their fellow graduates in all majors at the Faculty of Pedagogy who join private schools and not public ones.

Cancelling art majors at the Faculty of Pedagogy is a step backward in the process to teach art classes in schools. It is an obstacle to the significant leap towards modernisation made by the 1997 new curricula.

#### Random Application of Art Teaching in Schools

A questionnaire on the matter of teaching the arts in schools was sent to a sample of 100 art teachers specialised in fine arts, music and theatre in public schools (elementary, intermediate and high school) and private schools (of different economic levels) across Lebanon. The questionnaire included the following questions:

- 1- What art subjects are taught in your school?
- 2- What is the number of weekly assigned hours for each subject?
- 3- What is the methodology used for teaching?
- 4- Are art subjects taught in your school as part of the curriculum or to achieve other goals such as publicity or filling free time?
- 5- How are art subjects selected in your school and who is responsible for this task?

The collected data showed that the art subjects taught at schools are randomly selected, with the most important reason behind that being the availability of teachers. The selection process depends on the principals' will to promote their schools based on modern international education

quality standards that include arts. Most schools teach at least one art subject, usually drawing, as it is the oldest one in the school institution. Nearly half of the schools teach two art subjects: either drawing and music, or drawing and theatre. Few schools teach all three subjects, and fewer still adhere to the curriculum which includes all three basic subjects and additional ones such as folklore, handicrafts and dance. These significant differences in the choice of art subjects in schools reflect the randomness in the art teaching management, as well as the unequal opportunities for students. These discrepancies also show the lack of diligence when dealing with art subjects and how they are deemed unworthy of attention. More than half of the schools consider art classes as "rest periods" for students and replace them with scientific or foreign languages subjects, if needed. Often (particularly in public schools), art subjects are taught by educators who are not specialised in arts for them to fill their teaching hours. This is a result of the rampant nepotism policy in government departments and particularly in public schools when it comes to staffing and personnel selection.

The data analysis showed that the quality of art teaching in private schools is better than public schools with few exceptions. On the one hand, this is encouraged by the free decision-making, the available financial resources and the ability to keep abreast of the modern pedagogical developments, which allow any private school to easily amend its curriculum and add art hours. Private schools can also quickly hire contractual teachers without any administrative or financial obstacles. On the other hand, the idea of modernising the curriculum goes hand in hand with the financial interest of the private school to ensure its continuity as it is de facto obliged to keep pace with global educational developments that are of vital importance to parents. The private school administration is thus always keen on fulfilling the parents' wishes within the pedagogical framework. Given that both parents and students favour art classes, private schools adopt art teaching in varying proportions.

Over the last decade or so, foreign cultural centres in Lebanon, several private pedagogical associations and MEHE started organising art exhibitions as well as competitions and festivals. However, the overall conclusion is that randomness and chaos control art teaching in both public and private schools because there is no officially-approved, and required, curriculum by MEHE.

#### Teaching Arts in Vocational and Technical Schools

Vocational and technical education is managed by the Directorate General of Vocational and Technical Education under the authority of MEHE. Every year, it attracts large numbers of students, most of whom were unable to graduate from academic high school. Vocational and Technical education schools and institutes are spread across Lebanon. They offer many technical specialisations and grant technical degrees, a technical baccalaureate, as well as primary and secondary vocational certificates. Each level of education offers dozens of disciplines, including those relaed to arts such as:

- Technical licence: decorative arts, advertising, and graphic art;
- Technical excellence: advertising and graphic art, decorative art, audiovisual, fashion design;

- Technical baccalaureate: advertising, music, fashion, graphic production and printing;
- Primary vocational education: no art majors; and
- Secondary vocational education: no art majors.

The teachers of the above specialisations hold art degrees from Lebanese or foreign universities. Most of them are contractual teachers. Art is also taught in other disciplines such as kindergarten teaching at the technical excellence level where there is a theatre class of puppetry and basic theatrical performance. This class is taught without any specific curriculum approved by the Public Administration. Teachers rely on their own knowledge and skills.

According to several teachers and administrators contacted as part of this study, the most crucial obstacle is the manner in which these subjects are disparaged. This has repercussions on the teachers' and students' performance.

# Aspirations and Prospects for Proper Art Education in Lebanese Schools

#### **Curriculum Amendment and Development**

Most of the people who work in the arts field agree that the 1997 education reform plan that was not implemented for the aforementioned reasons could be a solid basis for any further curricula modernisation process because it includes considerable art knowledge, activities, and culture for all levels of education. The 1997 curricula should of course be updated, especially when it comes to the pedagogical approach, provided that art subjects are included in the curriculum and within the weekly education programme for at least one hour per week for each art subject. Also, new subject, in line with new and more modern aspect of arts could be added. These new subjects could be related to the art of photography, media, montage and filmmaking, in line with the latest developments worldwide. This would allow the curricula to keep step with new realities, as video art is one of the most frequently used activities among youth today.

Amending the curricula is a basic and central requirement to save art education in schools. It should definitely be followed by a textbook writing and teacher's manual workshop. Hard and soft copies must be made available and sent to both public and private schools. After the 1997 curricula amendment, private schools included most of the books and teacher's manual produced by the CERD in their curricula because they were the best available. Private schools did not develop curricula and books for art subjects on their own because, as mentioned, such subjects are not prioritised.

#### Implementation Decrees and Binding Laws

This study emphasises the need to reconsider the decision to cancel art classes in public and private schools. Such subjects ought to be included in the curriculum, graded, assessed and constantly amended. Art education within schools do not require large and costly equipment. Art activities such as theatre, music and fine arts can be carried out at a very low cost in the school theatre or even in the classroom according to art education experts .6

The study also stresses the importance of issuing the necessary legislation to consider university degrees in theatre, music and fine arts as teaching degrees, and inciting graduates to attend teacher training courses before joining schools (the Teaching Proficiency Certificate for example).

#### Restoring Art Education at the Faculty of Pedagogy.

The art education departments in the two majors (art education - theatre and art education - fine

arts) at the Faculty of Pedagogy should resume their work. An annual or five-year plan should be developed to train art teachers in all Lebanese schools without any distinction based on the regions or other considerations.

We also recommend restoring the Teaching Proficiency Certificate (one year) at the Lebanese University's Faculty of Pedagogy that is granted to those holding an art degree from the Lebanese University or other private universities. This certificate will allow hundreds of graduates who have great skills in the field of arts to turn to the public and private education systems after one year of university studies. This step will secure hundreds of job opportunities for these graduates, improve the quality of education in schools, and spread art teaching within all Lebanese schools across the country.

#### Strengthening the Role of Teacher Training Colleges

The activity of Teacher Training Colleges should resume in the regions to train existing art teachers, as well as the contractual ones in public schools and private schools within joint activities. The Teacher Training Colleges should also organise art activities to compensate for the lack of art classes, especially in regions that are far from the capital. It is important to note that one of the main reasons for the existence of schools in modern societies is their involvement in the nurturing and societal integration processes through art, social and awareness activities. The Teacher Training Colleges could therefore play this bridging role between the school and the society. The school's social function and its interaction with its surroundings is one of the most important modernisation contents pointed out by the 1997 new curricula that were not implemented.

#### **Equitable Distribution of Teachers among Schools**

To ensure that the principle of equity between students who benefit from art education in the public sector is fully respected, it is important to make sure that art teachers are spread among all schools by putting an end to nepotism. It is also essential for teachers to give art classes in several schools within the same region. A music teacher, for example, should be allowed to teach in three or four schools that are geographically close. On the other hand, it is necessary to recruit teachers for all art classes. Music, fine arts and theatre teachers should be recruited and spread among schools. Issuing binding laws to adopt a unified curriculum in all Lebanese schools will provide job opportunities to university graduates and contribute to the social, economic, and cultural development of the Lebanese society as a whole.

## Strengthening Art Education in the Directorate General of Vocational and Technical Education

Art specialisations in the Directorate General of Vocational and Technical Education play an important role in supporting the art movement within Lebanon. The arts have a positive impact on learners' personalities outside the public education framework, particularly within the less privileged or working classes. Developing the curricula, issuing binding implementation decrees for the teaching of the aforementioned subjects, and producing adequate textbooks are key factors to support art education in Lebanon. This support for art education will, in turn, create job opportunities for a large number of Lebanese art graduates, given the significant number of vocational and technical centres in the public and private sectors.

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