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Teaching Peace and Conflict

The Multiple Roles of School Textbooks in Peacebuilding

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We dedicate this book to the teachers and students who take up these textbooks, with all their flaws and opportunities, and use them every day with the intent of teaching and learning to create a more just and peaceful world. We additionally dedicate the book to the teachers and students who lack access to textbooks but who admirably strive to achieve the same goals without these essential resources.

Foreword

Teaching Peace and Conflict: The Multiple Roles of School Textbooks in Peacebuilding is an interesting and valuable scholarly compendium. From the vantage point of the urban global North, where alternative information sources are generally available, it could be tempting to discount the tremendous importance of textbooks as evidence of the intended and the enacted curriculum. Textbooks are, especially in contexts of resource scarcity, shapers of the educational substance delivered to teachers and students, and themselves shaped by an array of national, sometimes provincial or state, and inevitably globalized social-political factors.

Textbooks are tools of hegemony: they represent attempts to instill implicit control, by normalizing a national "common sense" in which the powerful stay powerful, without needing to resort to overt violent repression (see Halilovic-Pastuovic, this volume). The hegemonic interests represented by nation-states, particularly in relation to conflict and social difference, may be most visible in the explicitly "political" texts of civics, social studies, and history books that were selected by most of the chapter authors in this fine volume. At the same time, the rarer mentions here of other subjects including literature, religion, natural sciences, and math indicate that these textbooks, too, maybe powerful indicators of (and contributors to) the conflictual body politic (also Hickman & Porfilio, 2012).

Textbooks, as Russell and Tiplic (2014) articulate, represent "the" knowledge legitimized and valued by the powerful in a society, and they are designed to outline the parameters for citizen identity and action. "Indeed, textbooks may be construed as the authorised version of a society's valid knowledge, a source from which rules of thought and action may be derived" (Russell & Tiplic, 2014, p. 317). The textbook represents the curriculum most likely to be enacted. Based on textual analysis of 528 civics, social studies, and history textbooks from 71 countries (published 1966–2008), just over half of which were coded as affected by armed conflict, Russell and Tiplic show that the textbooks of conflict-affected countries were less likely than those of relatively peaceful countries to include rights-based discourses (2014, pp. 326, 329). So, the violent rule may impede human rights (and related conflict and peace) education; rights-based education does not necessarily cause peace. Whether

recognition of just peace elements is more a cause of change or more an effect of change, textbooks provide evidence of that recognition (or non-recognition).

The paradox is well known: nation-state sponsored education has two faces. In all too many ways, schools, in what and how they teach and operate, often exacerbate inter-group grievances and enmity, systemic and overt violence (Bellino & Williams, 2017; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2011; Matsumoto, 2015; Paulson, 2008). Yet simultaneously, school institutions are sites of encounter and struggle among competing visions—both symbols and resources for people's hopes and dreams for social development and peace (Bellino & Williams, 2017; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2011; Matsumoto, 2015; Paulson, 2008). The symbolic importance of textbooks, inspiring agentic citizen action for or against peace, is especially evident in the Pakistan case, where a textbook's respectful recognition of a Pakistani Nobel Prize winner from a stigmatized minority sect of Islam provoked protests (Kalhoro & Cromwell, this volume), and in the Jordan case, where protests arose over a woman portrayed in a textbook without her head covered (Shahzadeh, this volume). Yet the "better angels of our nature" (Lincoln, 2013, p. 123 [original 1861]) encourage many of us to hope, believe, and work for the transformative peacebuilding potential in education, because nation-state schooling reaches so many people, for such a large proportion of their formative lives. Government-authorized textbooks are a window into the substance of this schooling.

This book applies the **Intersecting Roles of Education in Conflict** (IREC) analytical framework to the pithy qualitative content analysis of textbooks from seven countries on three continents. It thereby illuminates what we need to know next: *How,* in various particular contexts, may school education perpetuate and exacerbate violent conflict, *and* alternatively mitigate and transform it? What factors and actors make a difference—where are the spaces for possible change? It is especially helpful that the book includes two pairs of chapters looking at (different) texts in the same country (South Sudan and Afghanistan), presenting the contexts in complementary but different ways, and includes cases from differing continents and contexts, to illuminate the most relevant actors and actions shaping the textbooks and their war-making (and/or peacemaking) implications under different conditions. There is even a case included, South Sudan, in which no (secondary history) textbooks were distributed at all: this, which apparently left some space for coexisting contrasting historical narratives, even though only one dominant narrative was taught by teachers in the participating schools (Skårås, this volume). Not least, several authors usefully complement the IREC framework with other analytical tools, such as Lynn Davies's (2005) rubric of active or passive as well as negative or positive approaches to conflict (Dunlop, this volume).

The IREC framework helps to make sense of *how* education operates in complex relationship with violent conflict. In most of the cases included in this wonderful book, the textbooks are shown to play multiple roles, simultaneously as **victim** of violence, as **accomplice** (a tool aiding and abetting dominance, intolerance, and other sources of violence), and sometimes, to some degree, as **transformer** (a means for altering the roots of violence and reconstructing the social justice roots of peace).

This is because textbooks, like schools more generally, embody tensions and contradictions: they are written by multiple direct and indirect authors, pushed and pulled by various forces. These complexities and contradictions are crucial: they are the cracks where the light gets in (Cohen, 1992).

The **accomplice** concept is an especially useful update to the "negative face of education" framing because it implies actors and action—not passive stasis. An accomplice may at times be diverted or replaced. On the other hand, this book shows that the accomplice role is most prominent in all the textbooks authors analyzed, which indeed "should send a stark warning to those who see education as inherently contributing to peace and social development" (Akseer et al., this volume). This book presents clear evidence of textbook content exacerbating and legitimizing inter-group violence, directly through nationalist enemy discourses and indirectly through myriad erasures, mystifications, and omissions. I especially appreciate the book's concerted attention to the ways textbooks represent the gender dimensions of culture, reinforcing or mitigating masculine aggression and domination. Violence ideologies and practices are gendered, which deserves far more careful study.

The **transformer** analyses are enticing, because they embody hope but also because reasonable people may disagree about whether any particular incremental change in a textbook—such as rhetoric of tolerant inter-group coexistence or including images of women in leadership (or at least non-servitude) roles—is a building block for "small steps toward transformation" (Akseer et al., this volume), or a diversion or impediment to substantial transformation. In particular, several chapters describe textbook discourses that seem to advocate peace, but in such generalized abstract terms that all of the causes of un-peace are silenced or ignored. Conflict is inevitable (though violence is not): it cannot be transformed by being censored.

Stepping back for a moment to put ourselves in the picture: the authors illustrate a range of interesting roles played by **transnational actors** in these armed conflict zone textbook production, distribution, and change processes, somewhat paralleling the IREC framework. Sometimes, international forces are clearly accomplices, using textbooks to naturalize enmity and war, as in the classic example of a math textbook, produced in Nebraska, USA, inviting students to calculate the timing of a bullet's trajectory toward an enemy's head (Kovinthan Levi, Introduction, this volume; Akseer, this volume). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, many educators rejected transnational involvement in textbook writing (Halilovic-Pastuovic, this volume). Yet at times, transnational actors—including the scholars writing in this book, as well as democratic peace-oriented international governmental and non-governmental organizations described in the Pakistan and Afghanistan chapters—seem to have encouraged, informed, and offered technical assistance for the inclusion of transformative peacebuilding ingredients in some textbooks. So, each of us reading this book has a role to play, too, as national and global citizens contributing to the (re)production and dissemination of textbooks and other aspects of education near and far. This book helps to inform that future action, to make way for building peace.

Toronto, Canada Kathy Bickmore

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About This Book

This book illustrates the multiple roles of school textbooks as victims, transformers, and accomplices to conflict. It introduces the Intersecting Roles of Education in Conflict (IREC) framework in the analysis of primary and secondary school textbook development, production, distribution, and use. The framework illustrates that, within conflict-affected societies, textbooks often take on victim, accomplice, and transformer roles simultaneously. Country case studies from Asia, Europe, and Africa analyze textbooks from various methodological and theoretical approaches, showing how conflict discourse circulates in educational systems and learning materials in a range of conflicts, including protracted, armed, structural, and socio-political conflicts. They demonstrate that the complex relationship between textbooks and conflict is not unique to one culture, region, or type of conflict. The collection illustrates that textbooks usually reflect a dominant status quo, reproducing divisions and tensions between groups, but that they can create spaces that challenge and transform conflict.

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Chapter 1
Introduction: The Intersecting Roles of Education in Conflict

Thursica Kovinthan Levi

Abstract This chapter introduces the Intersecting Roles of Education in Conflict (IREC) framework and illustrates the overlapping roles of education in conflict through the case of textbooks for peace in conflict-affected societies. The literature on education and conflict often presents education and schooling as a force for peace or conflict. The IREC framework disrupts this polarized narrative by demonstrating that the complex contexts of conflict-affected societies necessitate an approach that takes into consideration that aspects of education can take on multiple roles including victim, accomplice, or transformer of conflict. The classification into the different roles underscores how education is being engaged with by stakeholders, i.e., is it being destroyed, victim, is it being used as a weapon of war, accomplice, or as a tool for social justice, transformer. The overlap between roles, however, emphasizes that education often simultaneously plays more than one role in relation to conflict, and that these can exist in tension with each other. This chapter presents the theory and concepts within the IREC framework in detail. It then provides an overview of its use in a series of diverse country case studies through summaries of subsequent chapters that use the IREC framework to analyze the role of primary and secondary school textbooks. Through this application, the introduction demonstrates that the multiple roles of textbooks do not take place in isolation, often intersecting in unique ways within any given conflict. The dynamics of these intersections require close examination by researchers and practitioners if textbooks are to effectively promote values of peace in conflict-affected societies.

Keywords Conflict · Education · Peace education · Peacebuilding · Textbooks

As researchers and practitioners grapple with implementing best practices for promoting peace through schooling in a world where conflicts are becoming increasingly complex, textbooks and textbook research have become a central focus in education for peacebuilding. School textbooks are considered the most crucial medium for

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knowledge transmission in schools globally (Fuchs & Bock, 2018). They are reliable sources of information that pass on notions of national identity, the state, and its relationship with citizens (Williams, 2014). Thus, textbooks have the potential to be powerful contributors toward education for sustainable development through the inclusion of content that reflects values of peace, human rights, and global citizenship (UNESCO, 2017).

The peacebuilding role of textbooks is particularly salient in countries affected by fragility and conflict, where it has been established that education and learning materials can contribute to peace or further exacerbate existing tensions (Greaney, 2006). Furthermore, schools in conflict-affected contexts often have limited instructional resources and teacher training, resulting in textbooks becoming the de facto curriculum (Greaney, 2006; Smart et al., 2020). In many of these cases, learning is textbook-centered, whereby student and teacher choices are limited, and therefore textbooks drive both the content and processes of teaching and learning (Smart et al., 2020). As a result, textbooks have become a central focus of researchers and practitioners in various disciplines, and it is often noted that the field of textbook studies is both broad and interdisciplinary (Fuchs & Bock, 2018). Consequently, this book's conceptual focus is on the role of textbooks in peace education and conflict studies. In doing so, it utilizes a definition of conflict that recognizes its complex nature in the twenty-first century and includes contexts of both overt armed conflict and latent violence. The inclusion of latent or structural violence in this definition recognizes that the root causes of all forms and levels of violence ultimately begin with social injustice and that the mere absence of personal violence is a limited form of peace (Galtung, 1969). Thus, in thinking about the role of education in conflict, this book includes various forms and types of conflict, including social and historical conflict, with a recognition that these are very much interrelated when it comes to the transmission of knowledge through education and schooling.

The interdisciplinary nature of textbook studies has resulted in its theorization from a multitude of theoretical and methodological perspectives, particularly as it relates to a textbook's potential to contribute to peace. For example, a social psychological analysis by Psaltis et al. (2017) notes that history education can be manipulated to promote singular narratives that negatively portray other groups as something to be feared. A colonial lens informs Cajani's (2013) observation of Italian secondary school textbooks as perpetuating Eurocentric perspectives that minimized the voices of colonized people. The role of gender and gender equality has also become a central focus in textbook research. Representations of gender in textbooks and its intersection with conflict have been explored by Sarvarzade and Wotipka (2017) in their analysis of Afghan textbooks and Sadker et al.'s (2007) framework for identifying gender bias in textbooks. These authors use feminist theory to examine how norms of masculinity and femininity, transmitted through textbooks, contribute to challenging or further exacerbating social inequities and violence. Similarly, Naseem (2014) examines the normalization of military violence in Pakistan using discourse analysis informed by poststructuralist theory and notes that the consistent juxtaposition of nationalism and religion in textbooks contributes to a notion of an ideal

citizen as one that unwaveringly supports the military and is nationalistic, patriotic, and religious.

Whether it is an examination of the ethnic, colonial, religious, or gender differences, a common thread across all of these works, including this book, is the critical exploration of how the self and the other are represented or, in many cases, omitted within textbooks and the resulting impact of these choices on peace. The term Other is commonly used in textbook research and warrants close examination; as a discursive process by which a dominant group constructs and depicts both itself and the Other, it has far-reaching implications for peace. Within a society, the construction of identity differences that constitute a self and other are often based on differences related to gender, race, religion, ethnicity, ability, or a combination of these categories and this process of differentiation is always rooted in unequal power relationships. Bauman (1991) notes that these power differentials often occur dichotomously with respect to the notion of the Other and the process of Othering:

> In dichotomies crucial for the practice and the vision of the social order, the differentiating power hides as a rule behind one of the members of the opposition. The second member is but the other of the firsts, the opposite (degraded, suppressed, exiled) side of the first and its creation. Thus abnormality is the other of the norm woman the other of man, stranger the other of the native, enemy the other of friend, 'them' the other of 'us', insanity the other of reason, foreigner the other of the state subject, but the dependence is not symmetrical. The second side depends on the first for its contrived and enforced isolation. The first depends on the second for its self-assertion. (p. 14)

The resulting hegemonic relationship implicit in Otherness, and Othering is a form of social injustice and a contributor to conflict. Whether the difference is ethnic, linguistic, religious, or gender-based, the inclusion and representation of the Other in the content, research, development, production, distribution, and dissemination of textbooks often mirror power differentials in society. Consequently, if and how the Other is included in the process of textbook development and their representation in the content is an area in need of further research, particularly in conflict-affected contexts (Emerson, 2018; Vanner et al., 2017). Through diverse theoretical and methodological approaches, the chapters of this book engage in examining these processes and their implications for peace.

Much of the research on the role of textbooks in peace is informed by the literature on education and conflict, which frequently depicts education dichotomously, either as a force for peace or conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2003). From Galtung's works (1969, 1976, 1985, 1990) on structural and cultural violence, negative and positive peace, and peacebuilding in the context of education to Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) The Two Faces of Education in Conflict, the widespread assumption that education is always a force for good continues to be dismantled. Researchers recognize the multiple possible relationships between education and conflict, noting the potential of education to be a perpetrator and/or victim of conflict. The chapters in this book examine the multiple roles of education in relation to textbooks in conflict-affected contexts by applying the Intersecting Roles of Education in Conflict (IREC)

framework. The IREC framework considers the intersecting and potentially contradictory nature of education to best reflect and plan for the complexity of conflict-affected contexts. This focus reflects the observation made by Roldán Vera and Fuchs (2018) and Ide et al. (2018) that there remain relatively few studies that examine the relationship of educational media—such as textbooks—within contemporary politics, and they call for additional research and theorizing that applies a critical approach to examine the relationship between such materials and their broader social context.

The IREC framework has been used in textbook research to consider that aspects of education can assume multiple roles, including victim, accomplice, or transformer, and that these roles often intersect and overlap (Vanner et al., 2017). Kovinthan Levi (2021) notes that the classification into the different roles underscores how education is being engaged with by stakeholders, i.e., is it being destroyed—victim (Tawil, 1997)—is it being used as a weapon of war—accomplice (Tawil, 1997)—or as a tool for social justice—transformer. The emphasis on the intersecting roles highlights that education often simultaneously plays more than one role in relation to conflict and that these roles often exist in tension with each other. The following section explicates the three roles and their intersections with a focus on textbooks.

1.1 Victim

In order to understand the extent to which educational policies and systems reflect broader sociopolitical tensions in society, Tawil (1997) noted the need to "distinguish between education as an accomplice to rebellion and to the outbreak of conflict, and education as a victim of destruction when the origin of conflict lies elsewhere" (p. 8). The emphasis on conflict stemming from outside education and contributing to its unintentional destruction defines the victim's role. The victimization of education can occur through the destruction of educational infrastructure (inadvertent bombing of schools), limiting access to schools (unsafe to travel to school for teachers and students), and reduced quality as a result of limited expenditure and insufficient capacity in the case of protracted conflicts (Jones & Naylor, 2014). Secondary impacts that further victimize education by restricting access include the loss of qualified educators and community supports (Cervantes-Duarte & Fernández-Cano, 2016), sexual harassment on the way to and from school (Davies, 2010), reduction in school enrollment and attendance (Seitz, 2004), and the military use of schools (GCPEA, 2014). These examples of reduction in quality and access arising from incidences of violence are common ways in which conflict victimizes education and where education is not a direct source or instrument of violence, as is the case in its accomplice role.

Many of the challenges noted above can be remedied with infrastructure and capacity building during the cessation of conflict. However, conflicts are rarely simple, and in many cases, the victim role of education overlaps with the accomplice role. The intersection of the victim and accomplice role is evident in instances where stakeholders intentionally destroy education due to its perceived role in society, often

linked to religious, political, ethnic, and other ideological affiliations (GCPEA, 2018). Thus, even in some cases where education may not be a root cause of conflict, it is intentionally destroyed for its symbolic role in society. This intersection between the victim and accomplice role may take the form of non-state groups targeting government-run schools to delegitimize the state (GCPEA, 2018). Similarly, the state can intentionally victimize education by using divisive forms of resource allocation between groups, as noted by Bush and Saltarelli (2000) in Serbia and Palestine. The reduction in quality and access may appear to place education in the victim role; however, closer examination of stakeholders' divisive practices demonstrates that understanding the intent to destroy education is as important as determining how to reconstruct education systems that have been victimized by conflict.

Textbooks and their role in conflict commonly occupy this space of intersection. Access to and quality of textbooks are often victimized by conflict, particularly in protracted conflicts where there is low government expenditure on education resulting in the lower capacity to produce, distribute, or replace quality textbooks. In Syria, an extreme shortage of textbooks due to ongoing conflict has forced students to share textbooks or rely on using second-hand textbooks from upper-grade levels (Briggs, 2017). For children in Iraq, ongoing security concerns have resulted in significant shortages of textbooks, with instances of one textbook being shared among ten students (IRIN, 2004). Although the impact of these direct forms of victimization of textbooks is damaging to education systems, it is further exacerbated when it intersects with the accomplice role. Knuth (2006) points out that the central role that textbooks play in nation-building and forming a national identity makes them frequent targets of violence. One of the most famous incidences of this targeting is the 1933 book burnings of university texts that were viewed as opposing German ideology in Nazi Germany (Fishburn, 2008). Over the years, the deliberate destruction of books has continued in conflict situations. For example, in South Sudan, two containers of school textbooks were opened and destroyed during heavy fighting in 2015 (GCPEA, 2018). Similarly, in 2014, Al-Jihad not only destroyed 150 textbooks in Pakistan but they left behind pamphlets for schools with warnings "not to teach Western education in English" (GCPEA, 2018, p. 188). The resulting weakened state of education systems, including in relation to the production, distribution, and use of textbooks, that have been impacted by the intersecting victim and accomplice roles become more challenging to rebuild, and efforts to do so are often diluted due to conflicting agendas among stakeholders.

1.2 Accomplice

Both Tawil (1997) and Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) working on the negative impact of education in conflict have contributed to a considerable shift in the literature to focus on the role of education as an accomplice to conflict. The accomplice role of education in conflict reflects the ways in which education systems, including their governance, curriculum, and policy, foster and amplify identity-based social

divisions and become a contributing factor to the breakdown of social cohesion and a root cause of societal conflict (Tawil, 1997; Tawil & Harley, 2004). A key aspect of the accomplice role of education is the intentional legitimization of direct and structural forms of violence, described by (Galtung, 1990) as cultural violence. In these cases, education is weaponized against particular groups through segregation, uneven distribution, the destruction and closure of schools, and the reinforcement of social, political, and economic privileges for other groups (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Nicolai, 2009).

Schools themselves also have the potential to foster violence by promoting obedience to authority figures through the use of corporal punishment, practices that normalize violence and conflict (Bickmore, 2014). However, these practices can be difficult to discern or challenge because they are usually done under the guise of the transformative role of education through the promotion of tolerance. Education is often complicit in promoting passive forms of conflict resolution such as tolerance rather than approaches that actively identify the root causes of conflict and transform social injustice (Davies, 2006). The decision to teach tolerance in contexts where education has openly promoted hate and division is undoubtedly a transformative step; however, it intersects with the accomplice role when initiatives fail to go beyond tolerance. Although it signifies an important beginning, an exclusive focus on teaching tolerance ultimately promotes complacency to the status quo if students are not simultaneously provided with the knowledge and skills to analyze and challenge inequities that are the root causes of the conflict (Davies, 2006). Nowhere is this more apparent than in the short-term impact of encounter and dialog programs that fail to address the inequities and privileges among different groups which led to conflict in the first place (Kupermintz & Salomon, 2005; Suleiman, 2004).

Within textbooks, the accomplice role of education is often reflected in the engagement and representation of the Other in the textbook development, content, distribution, and dissemination processes. Greaney (2006) noted that textbook content mirrored and reinforced societal inequities by teaching values associated with "narrow nationalism, religious bias, omission, imbalance, historical inaccuracy, treatment of physical force, and militarism, use of persuasive techniques, and artwork" (p. 51). One of the most famous examples of the accomplice role is the promotion of militarism and violence through textbooks published by the University of Nebraska for Afghan refugees in Pakistani refugee camps in 1984. These USAID-funded textbooks were complicit in promoting warfare. For example, a math textbook asks primary school students to calculate the time a bullet would take to strike a Russian soldier, illustrating how the textbooks simultaneously promoted militarism and demonization of the Other (Burde, 2014; Spink, 2005). Additionally, textbooks can contribute to ongoing divisions, either in the reinforcement of a national identity through the construction of an enemy other or through the construction of a historical narrative that may not explicitly demonize another group, but that still contributes to the continuation of conflict by including only one perspective of the conflict (Roldán Vera & Fuchs, 2018). In other cases, textbooks may foster negative forms of peace by omitting mention of the conflict and structural violence altogether (Cajani et al., 2019; Davies, 2010; Salmi, 2000). This practice of demonization and omission was

apparent in secondary school textbooks in British Columbia, Canada, from 1920 to 1970 that engaged in negative depictions of Indigenous peoples as violent and inferior while omitting any mention of the gross violence against them by European settlers (Carleton, 2011).

Although there are many examples of these overt accomplice roles, textbooks more commonly contribute to conflict in subtle ways. These covert forms of the accomplice role often appear under the guise of passive approaches to peace and consequently overlap with the transformer role. The intersection between the accomplice and transformer role occupies spaces where changes are made to promote peace and inclusion at the interpersonal level, such as incorporating multiculturalism and interpersonal conflict resolution content into textbooks while ignoring systemic forms of injustice. In the case of gender equality, Sadker and Sadker's (2005) framework refers to the tokenistic inclusion of women, which is commonly used to create the illusion of gender transformation while actively ignoring the inequities and challenges women experience, as cosmetic bias. In other contexts, some forms of inequity are recognized and addressed in textbooks, while others are discounted, as in the case of primary school textbooks in South Africa, which focused on racial injustice while omitting gender, class, and ability issues (McKinney, 2005). These selective practices contribute to the exclusion of particular groups and their experiences, even though they may also be transformative to some degree.

1.3 Transformer

Education can play an essential role in transforming societal divisions and conflict; however, in order for education to be a transformer of conflict, the content, pedagogy, and governance of education must first meaningfully acknowledge conflict and injustice and foster values of critical thinking, dialog, and relationship-building to challenge and change the status quo. The emphasis on democratic and collaborative processes to foster critical thinking and action to transform social injustice is a precept of Galtung's (1969) concept of positive peace, which is the absence of structural and cultural violence achieved through social justice, and Freire's (1970/2000) critical consciousness, which is the ability to analyze systems of inequality within society and take action against it. Both authors stress the need for education to engage learners in participation and co-decision-making through dialog and communication that requires schooling to become more egalitarian and grounded in relationships based on mutual respect and equality (Freire, 1970/2000; Galtung, 1969). Thus, education's transformative role is contingent on its capacity to address conflict—which is ever-present in society—in a constructive and just manner through democratic structures and relationships (Cremin et al., 2012). The centrality of democratic processes for conflict transformation was evident in El-Bushra and Smith's (2016) study of peacebuilding in Uganda. They noted the importance of participants having the opportunity to reflect on issues, debate, and assert their agency on topics related to

curricula, training, and leadership. This message is echoed in Davies's (2006) Birmingham International Security Index, where she argues for greater engagement in positive conflict in the classroom through active teaching about conflict at the local, national, and global levels in order to prepare young people to develop the skills and agency to challenge and hold their governments accountable. Bickmore (2014) refers to this as active democratic peacebuilding and strongly advocates for learners to engage in discussions on controversial issues to develop the capacity for "constructive engagement with unfamiliar 'Others' and their conflicting perspectives" (p. 574).

In order to promote critical thinking and conflict resolution among young people, education systems must first acknowledge cultural and structural forms of violence. Failing to do so is in itself a form of cultural violence or, as Davies (2010) and Salmi (2000) call it, violence by omission. The importance of acknowledgment and redressing past wrongs for education to transform conflict is evident in Novelli et al. (2017) 4Rs framework (recognition, redistribution, representation, and reconciliation) for education's contribution to sustainable peacebuilding. Of particular relevance for curriculum and textbooks is the fourth R, which focuses on how education addresses economic, cultural, and political inequity both historically and in the present day (Novelli et al., 2017). Crucial to reconciliation is the role of education in negotiating and teaching about the past with an eye to historic memory, truth and reparations, transitional justice, and bringing communities together (Novelli et al., 2017). The content of textbooks must meaningfully reference past and current injustices and inequities and ways for the future so that teachers can explicitly teach about these difficult topics. Furthermore, reconciliation is contingent on recognizing cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity through the curriculum (Novelli et al., 2017).

Textbooks with content that is relevant to societal concerns and strong pedagogy are central to peacebuilding (Smart et al., 2020). Strong pedagogy provides guidance for teachers and students to develop social and emotional skills, such as respect for the Other, empathy, cooperation, conflict resolution, and reconciliation (Smart et al., 2020). Further, textbooks can transform conflict when their development, distribution, and application adopt a positive peace approach, whereby the direct and indirect causes of structural and cultural violence are addressed through participation, decentralization, and joint decision-making. However, given that education is one part of a larger social agenda for peacebuilding and studies have shown that textbooks, and education more broadly, often fail to transform conflict, the role of textbooks as a transformer of conflict is best approached from an incremental perspective (Kovinthan Levi, 2021; Maclure, 2017). An incremental perspective also brings to light the way that the transformer role frequently intersects with both the accomplice and victim roles. The overlap between the two roles is apparent in debates and resistance to textbook revision, which can be viewed as a barrier to peacebuilding (accomplice role), or a starting point of the democratic processes required for transformation. For example, after analyzing the different forms of resistance to textbook revision in Cyprus, Christodoulou (2018) argues that examination or deconstruction of the discourse surrounding resistance to textbook revisions is a means to understand

and address concerns and potentially transform them. Public debate about textbooks and their content is a sign of peace and democracy (De Baets, 2015). Addressing and working through differences brings the development of textbooks into the realm of conflict consciousness and conflict participation, a necessary step before these values can be embedded in the curriculum. At the same time, studies on textbooks in conflict-affected societies have revealed that governments often choose the goal of national unity over meaningful recognition and discussion of a country's conflicts (Cunningham & Ladd, 2018).

The choice to avoid recognizing and teaching about the violent past is often due to the fear of reigniting conflict, a common challenge faced by many conflict-affected countries (UNESCO, 2011). An underlying factor for this omission is that parties rarely agree on a single narrative of what took place. Several authors have argued for multi-narrative or multi-perspective approaches to recognize the inherent dangers of imposing single narrative textbooks in deeply divided societies (Adwan & Bar-On, 2004; Barton & Mccully, 2005; Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2018; McCully, 2012; Stradling, 2003). Rather than forcing a single narrative that often acts as an accomplice to conflict, these multi-narrative/perspective texts capitalize on the sources of conflict within society and seek to foster conflict consciousness among students in and through the textbooks. In practice, the approach has had limited success, particularly in their uptake by mainstream education systems, and in contexts experiencing protracted conflicts such as Israel and Palestine (Eid, 2010). The difficulty in successfully implementing multi-perspective approaches is illustrative of the tension between the transformer and accomplice role when it comes to recognizing conflict and diverse perspectives in and through textbooks.

The chapters of this book illustrate that these complex intersections are the norm rather than the exception when it comes to the role of textbooks in conflict. By closely mapping the contribution of textbooks to peacebuilding from an intersectional lens using the IREC framework, researchers and practitioners can develop a more nuanced understanding of their impact. This analysis would be the first step toward mitigating the victim and accomplice roles while amplifying the transformative elements in any given context. The authors of each chapter make this very endeavor by applying the IREC framework in conjunction with other theories and approaches reflective of the rich multidisciplinary field of textbook studies. The collection demonstrates the uptake of the IREC framework for researchers seeking to deconstruct the role of textbooks in relation to conflict and peacebuilding and its potential for policymakers and textbook producers who seek to develop textbooks that contribute to peace, social justice, equality, and inclusion. The chapters of this book examine textbook content and, in some instances, their use, concretely demonstrating the symbiotic relationship between learning materials, critical pedagogy, and school environment. We include a variety of subject textbooks in our analysis with the understanding that how conflict is recognized and dealt with and its relationship to peacebuilding go beyond history textbooks. Common to all the different contexts is the demonstration that the role of education, whether victim, accomplice, or transformer, rarely occurs in isolation. The book is divided into three sections based on the following broader themes linked to education and peacebuilding: (1) Democratic values and processes, (2) Equality

and inequality, and (3) Historical narratives and competing truths. The first section highlights the importance of ensuring both textbook content and the process of its development are grounded in principles of democracy and egalitarianism. The second section examines how social inequality, particularly gender inequality, is recognized and negotiated in textbooks and the consequent relationship to conflict. The last section examines the role of textbooks in the transmission of narratives and truths about a conflict, both historical and present day, as many of the countries examined continue in a state of conflict.

1.4 Democratic Values and Processes

Foundational scholars on the relationship between education, democracy, and peacebuilding, such as Freire (1970/2000) and Galtung (1990), stress the importance of education's role in promoting the knowledge and skills to develop egalitarian relationships based on mutual respect and equality. This pivotal role is also highlighted by the authors of the chapters on textbooks in Burundi and Sri Lanka, both of whom note that the state's transformative efforts to promote messages of peace, multiculturalism, and reconciliation through school textbooks are undermined by content that focuses on obedience to authority. Emily Dunlop's chapter, "From Peace Agreement to Textbook: Education Content for Peacebuilding in Post-War Burundi" argues that, although the textbooks analyzed reflect policy goals of promoting peace and positive social change, they are done through passive approaches that focus on interpersonal conflict resolution rather than by addressing the root causes of conflict at the societal level. Similar patterns of omission are noted in Thursica Kovinthan Levi's chapter titled, "The Multiple and Intersecting Roles of Civics Textbooks in Conflict-Affected Sri Lanka." Kovinthan Levi found that, although the civic textbooks in Sri Lanka focused on conflict resolution and peace, this was always at the interpersonal level, mainly through an emphasis on maintaining inner peace through tolerance and controlling one's emotions during conflict. As a result of the focus on obedience to authority and discipline in both contexts, there are few opportunities for students to develop skills required for democratic engagement, such as deliberation and dialog or agency to challenge social injustice. Dunlop argues that the content of the textbooks in many ways mirrors the increasingly authoritarian government, while Kovinthan Levi notes that belligerent approaches to citizenship in Sri Lanka take away from the textbooks' capacity to promote democratic peace. The intersection between the accomplice and transformer role also overlaps with the victimization of textbooks in Sri Lanka due to reduced capacity of the Ministry of Education resulting from decades of conflict. A similar intersection is featured in Javed Kalhoro and Alex Cromwell's chapter titled "Musharraf's Enlightened Moderation Program: An Attempt at Transforming Education in Pakistan," where a victimized education system, due to frequent regime changes, in conjunction with a leader's authoritarian approach to curriculum revision, failed to produce textbooks. Despite General Musharraf's goal to make the Islamiyat curriculum more inclusive by promoting interfaith harmony, his inability

to make the process democratic and address oppositional voices through dialog and consensus meant that his reforms to education were never implemented. Consequently, no new textbooks were created. This failure demonstrates that, in addition to the importance of the content of textbooks promoting values of democracy, the process of curriculum revision and implementation also needs to be democratic and include the perspectives of the Other. Further, teachers' strict adherence to the existing curriculum, which focuses exclusively on a Sunni narrative, out of fear of repercussions from security officials, school administrators, and community members, perpetuates the textbooks' accomplice role by excluding non-Muslim and non-Shia others. In all three contexts, we see a disconnect between progressive policies for peace and the resulting school textbooks' focus on passive approaches or, as in the case of Pakistan, no textbooks, contributing to conflict rather than transforming it.

1.5 Equality and Inequality

Many of the chapters highlight the reinforcement and, in some cases, the challenging, of longstanding social inequalities, with several paying particular attention to representations of gender equality and/or inequality. Societies that experience significant and ongoing conflict generally have longstanding patterns of gender inequity and discrimination (Caprioli, 2000). If and how societies choose to address gender (in)equality permeates politics and security at the national and international level. As Hudson et al. (2012) argue,

> … efforts to establish greater peace and security throughout the world might be made more effective by also addressing the violence and exploitation that occur in personal relationships between the two halves of humanity, men and women. (p. 5)

Countries with high levels of gender equality are often more democratic, stable, and prosperous (Hudson et al., 2012); thus, the level of gender equality is a litmus test—or what Davies (2010) describes as the canary in a mine—test of peace.

There are three chapters in this volume in which this relationship between gender and conflict/peace is particularly prominent. Although neither author of the two Afghanistan chapters seek to directly examine gender equality and conflict, both of their findings point to the parallels between these two constructs. The chapter, "A Post-9/11 Analysis of Civic Education Textbooks Used in Public Schools in Afghanistan" by Noorin Nazari, notes that post-Taliban ideologies have resulted in discursive attempts that position the textbooks as a transformer of conflict at the normative level while simultaneously acting as an accomplice at the pragmatic level. The manifestation of this dynamic in the civics secondary school textbooks Nazari analyzes is the promotion of totalitarian democracy, a moderate but anti-West form of Islam, negative peace, a nominal concept of human rights, and a surface-level approach to gender equality. Nazari argues that the textbooks say all the right things on these topics at the surface level but rarely address the root causes of injustice in these areas in a way that could disrupt the status quo. For example, gender

equality is constructed as a social asset legitimized by history, Islam, and democracy in Afghanistan without meaningfully acknowledging the ongoing challenges that women face or their contributions to society. Similarly, Spogmai Akseer's chapter titled "Reproducing Inequalities through Social Studies Textbooks in Afghanistan" also notes the ways that primary school textbooks reflect broader patterns of exclusion that contribute to conflict in their representation of women and girls. Despite an apparent effort that places women in the public sphere, including leadership roles in the family, these changes are add-ons to women's already heavy burden in the domestic sphere. Further, they are undermined by language and images that are predominantly intended for a status quo male reader. Akseer argues that women and girls, like other minorities, are excluded in order to portray a unified and homogenous Afghanistan that is Muslim and male.

Gendered language and visual representations biased toward men are also highlighted in Yasmeen Shahzadeh's chapter titled "Reproducing Gender Identity in Jordanian Civic Education Textbooks." Through an intersectional analysis of citizenship and gender in conflict, Shahzadeh argues that civic education, both in relation to civics textbooks and in some cases civics teachers' pedagogy, is complicit in erasing the contributions of women, Christians, Palestinians, Syrians, Circassians, and other minorities living in Jordan. Of note is her focus on the textbooks' promotion of the ideal citizen as both male and militaristic, illustrating the intersection between gender and conflict. Although the findings generally point to the accomplice role of textbooks in conflict, Shahzadeh does note that some teachers are challenging the status quo through active pedagogical strategies that foster critical conversations about gender roles and responsibilities in the classroom. Like the two chapters analyzing textbooks in Afghanistan, Shahzadeh's findings illustrate how commonly and deftly the transformer and accomplice role intersect in the relationship between gender and conflict.

1.6 Historical Narratives and Competing Truths

One of the many challenges of meaningfully engaging with conflict to achieve lasting peace is the difficulty of agreeing on a single narrative or truth of what took place and the root causes of conflict. While teaching and learning about history may be important for sustainable peacebuilding (Jovanovic & Maric, 2020), discussing history often involves addressing forms of "difficult knowledge" (Britzman, 1998), that is not easy to talk about due to the ongoing fears, anxiety, and potential negative effects (Riyani et al., 2021). Britzman (1998) describes difficult knowledge as representations of social and historical traumas in the curriculum; the learner's encounter with these may be challenging to manage under certain social and political conditions. Ahonen (2017) explains that narratives are common forms of knowledge that help make sense of the past but are also "socially exclusive" making them socially unsustainable and thus a challenge to peacebuilding. Likewise, Bentrovato (2017) points out that narratives may become one-sided or compete with each other for certain

versions of truth. Rarely do the different parties of a conflict agree on what took place, and even rarer is the inclusion of a single version of that truth successfully documented and taught in school textbooks. As noted earlier, in some contexts, deeply divided societies have chosen to accept this ambiguity formally through the development and publication of textbooks that incorporate a multi-narrative or multi-perspective approach (Adwan & Bar-On, 2004; Barton & Mccully, 2005; Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2018; McCully, 2012; Stradling, 2003). These formal approaches are intended to allow students to read both versions to understand the perspectives of others even when they differ or contradict their own.

The authors of the chapters on South Sudan and Bosnia Herzegovina explore the role of textbooks and education in conflict when there are no formal means or opportunities to implement a multi-narrative/perspective approach. Merethe Skårås's chapter titled "No Textbooks, No Peace? Historical Narratives in South Sudan" looks at how the absence of textbooks, due to the victimization of the education system by conflict, contributes to its accomplice role and also offers spaces for transformation. Skårås's study reveals that when there is a lack of textbooks and teachers promote a single narrative, possibilities for transforming historic narratives are obstructed, particularly when students have limited opportunities to engage in critical reflection and participate in classroom discussion. As a result, students in her study were mostly left with biased, unquestioned historical narratives that maintained divisiveness among ethnic groups and communities. Despite these limitations, Skårås noted that the lack of a formal textbook also created a space where a diversity of narratives co-existed, as students and teachers were not subjected to a single version of the conflict. Thus, in this case, the victimization of the textbooks through low capacity contributed to both the accomplice and transformer roles of textbooks. Catherine Vanner, Spogmai Akseer, and Thursica Kovinthan Levi's chapter also analyzes textbooks in South Sudan, focusing on Grade 4 textbooks where, unlike the secondary school context analyzed by Skårås, textbooks have been distributed to students, although not nearly enough for all. Similar to Skårås's analysis, however, the textbooks they analyze promote a single narrative of a unified South Sudan in opposition and contrast with an enemy other, glorifying violence and conquest while glossing over tensions within South Sudan and the devastating effects of decades of civil war. Nonetheless, they also point to attempts made in the textbooks to recognize multiple narratives and diverse perspectives, creating openings that could be built upon in the future.

Maja Halilovic-Pastuovic highlights how different kinds of narratives and truths exist between various groups as a result of segregated schooling in her chapter titled "Textbook Politics: Education in Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina." Her analysis of history and geography textbooks found that the production, distribution, and content of textbooks in Bosnia have undergone a process of ethnicization since the Dayton Agreement ended the conflict. The segregation of curricula between different groups reflects students' physical segregation in the two schools under one roof (TSUOR) model, which Halilovic-Pastuovic argues acts as an accomplice to conflict. These divisions mirror broader patterns of ethnic polarization in post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. In both the South Sudan and the Bosnia and Herzegovina contexts, it is apparent that, even though multiple narratives and truths are allowed to exist,

they fail to play a transformative role when there are limited opportunities to learn about the Other's truth, leading education to contribute to further division and play an accomplice role in conflict.

The analysis and conclusions drawn from the authors' application of the IREC framework to these various contexts demonstrate the important links between education's contribution to peace through practices that promote gender equality, democracy, and opportunities to learn about different forms of truth. The authors show that the roles of textbooks need to be examined with careful consideration of the sociopolitical context of each country to fully grasp the strengths and challenges of education's capacity to contribute to peacebuilding. While the majority of chapters included in this volume use the IREC framework to analyze history or social studies textbooks, the framework could also be applied to analyze textbooks in other subject matter; for example, in the analysis of Grade 4 English textbooks in South Sudan in the chapter by Vanner, Akseer, and Kovinthan Levi. Our contributors have given this work a Global South focus; however, the IREC framework is adaptable to education contexts in any country experiencing some form of conflict. This includes looking at how mainstream education systems in the Global North are incorporating the views and experiences of various groups such as advocates of Black Lives Matter, Indigenous knowledge systems, or right-wing movements. Collectively, the volume provides a pathway for the study of the relationship between textbooks and conflict by applying a conceptual framework that builds upon existing literature in the fields of education, conflict studies, and curriculum theory. The IREC framework can also be used to identify the mechanisms by which education more broadly can intentionally contribute to long-term peace embodied by principles of inclusion, equality among all social groups, and active citizenship.

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Part I
Democratic Values and Processes

Chapter 2
From Peace Agreement to Textbook: Education Content for Peacebuilding in Burundi Post-War

Emily Dunlop

Abstract Recent policy on education in conflict argues that it is important to include education in peace agreements to promote peace after violence. However, little is known about the effects of such inclusion on peace or how such provisions would be implemented in classrooms. This chapter looks at their implementation in textbooks, using the case of Burundi's social science textbooks from years 7 to 9. Burundi's *Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement* (APRA) mentions education 24 times—far exceeding any other African peace agreement from 1975 to 2017. The APRA has explicit mandates to address educational causes of violence including clauses for peace, national unity, democracy, ethnic tolerance, and human rights education. Through a content analysis applying the IREC framework and exploring active/passive approaches to conflict and peace, I find that education alternates between serving as a transformer of, and accomplice to, violence in these books. I argue that while the textbooks do address several clauses in the peace agreement, they also provide contradictory messages relating to peace building after violence. This contradictory nature is indicative of larger trends in implementation of peace agreement clauses and highlights the need for greater specificity and implementation plans post-agreement.

Keywords Burundi · Peace · Peace agreements · Post-conflict · Social science

2.1 Introduction

Peace agreements lay the foundations of political and economic institutions as a country emerges from violence (King & Samii, 2018). Education is an important aspect of this institution-building, and scholarship argues that including education clauses in a peace agreement will contribute to peace after violence (Dupuy, 2008; UNESCO, 2016). However, studies on education's inclusion in peace agreements are scarce. Where studies do exist, they focus on the conditions under which education is

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included (Dunlop & King, 2021), how education is framed (Dunlop & King, 2021; Dupuy, 2008), or the effects of such clauses on education policy (Fontana, 2016, 2018). They rarely look at how programing or content mandates, which are often found in peace agreements, could be incorporated into textbooks. Importantly, the presence of education program clauses in peace agreements can justify including this content in textbooks. Moreover, textbooks frame official government narratives and signal key government agendas (King, 2018). Understanding how such mandates are integrated into textbooks can thus shed light on the role of textbooks in promoting peace after conflict.

Yet, education clauses in peace agreements are often vague and there can be multiple interpretations as governments incorporate them into textbooks. Recent work suggests that the relationships between education, conflict, and peace are complex, multifaceted, and non-binary (Bellino & Williams, 2018; King, 2013; Metro, 2019). Even programs designed with the best intentions may have both positive and negative relationships to peace. In this book, the IREC framework (Kovinthan Levi, this volume) furthers that education can be both an accomplice to and a transformer of violence and that these facets are not mutually exclusive.

In this chapter, I use the case of Burundi's post-civil war (1993–2005) textbooks to explore the relationships between education programing mandates in peace agreements and how textbooks elaborate, disseminate, and, in some cases, subvert stated programing objectives. Burundi's *Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement* (République du Burundi, 2000) identifies ethnic and regional inequality in education as a key cause of the civil war[1] and includes education in 23 other clauses, more than any other intrastate agreement in Africa since 1975 (Dunlop & King, 2021), as a pathway for addressing causes of violence and promoting peace. Therefore, there is institutional backing for incorporating these ideas into textbooks. How such programs are incorporated into textbooks in Burundi could have implications for building peace after violence.

There are five parts to this chapter. I first provide an overview of the relationships between education, conflict, and peace, as well as the importance of including education in peace agreements. Second, I provide an overview of the case of Burundi, the education clauses in the APRA (2000), and their relationship to textbook content. Third, I describe the summative content analysis I conducted on social science textbooks in Burundi from years 7 to 9. I draw on both the IREC framework outlined in this book and active/passive approaches to teaching conflict from Davies (2005). Fourth, I show how education's framing in these textbooks alternates between being an accomplice to violence and a transformer of violence, though these are generally approached in passive ways. I argue the alternate framing of education as an accomplice and transformer highlights the importance of including specific clauses in the peace agreement, rather than vague clauses such as those mandating "peace education" or "national unity." Fifth, I conclude by noting that even passive inclusion of peace agreement provisions in textbooks can contribute more broadly to the goals

[1] The APRA was signed in 2000, however, most sources cite the end of the war as 2005, the end of the transition period.

of the APRA. I also look at the implications of this chapter for both scholarship and practice.

2.2 Education, Conflict, and Peace Agreements

The relationships between education and conflict are well established (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000) and both education's structure and content can engender conditions that contribute to conflict (King, 2013). Consequently, scholarship looks at what types of educational structures and content might contribute to peace. For example, Novelli et al. (2017) developed the *4Rs framework*—redistribution, recognition, representation, and reconciliation—for programing toward building peace. Other studies look at programs that focus on, for example, dialogue and conflict resolution (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2010; Nagda & Gurin, 2007), democratic citizenship (Bickmore, 2012; Chaux, 2009), or peace education (Harber & Sakade, 2009). Textbooks play key roles in these programs, particularly in state-based, formal education (Bellino & Williams, 2018; King, 2018). However, scholarship on the relationships between textbook content and programing is generally constructed as a bifurcated pathway: that education contributes to conflict *or* peace (Bellino & Williams, 2018.). The likelihood that textbooks contribute simultaneously to peacebuilding and conflict is often overlooked.

Education's inclusion in peace agreements is an important part of institution-building post-conflict (UNESCO, 2016) and recent studies show that roughly 50% of peace agreements include education mandates (Dunlop & King, 2021; Dupuy, 2008; Fontana, 2018). These agreements often frame education as a positive social good, for example, through mandates for training demobilized rebel soldiers or to address the unequal distribution of schooling. They also contain clauses that focus on national education programs promoting unity, democracy, or peace (Dunlop & King, 2021). Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009) note that a necessary condition for the success of peace education programs is support from leaders, which relay governmental and political commitment. Including peace education-type programs in a negotiated framework can thus provide the institutional backing and legitimacy to make such programs palatable across a divided society and can justify their inclusion in school curricula and textbooks. Also, King (2018) furthers that the way governments frame narratives in textbooks can reflect, amplify, and motivate political and social conditions. Therefore, understanding how peace agreement education clauses are developed in textbooks could help to understand the complex relationships between education and conflict/peace.

Unlike other types of clauses relating to political institutions and armed forces, there is minimal scholarship on implementing education clauses in peace agreements and their consequences for peace. Exceptions include Fontana's (2016, 2018) study on the implementation of peace agreement clauses relating to power-sharing in Macedonia, Northern Ireland, and Lebanon and its effects on the education system,

and work by Dunlop and King (2021) that looks at the implementation of education clauses in Burundi. Moreover, there is little work on how peace education-type mandates are framed in textbooks. Given that these types of clauses are often vaguely worded, understanding how they are incorporated into textbooks can give insights into broader approaches to education after violence, and improve our understanding of how such state-driven post-conflict education initiatives can contribute to peace more broadly.

The IREC framework developed in this book offers a useful way to explore how textbooks interpret clauses in peace agreements, moving beyond the conflict or peace binary. Here, I use two aspects of the IREC framework: how education can serve as an *accomplice* to violence and as a *transformer* of violence. As an accomplice, education can contribute to the re-emergence or perpetuation of conflict; as a transformer, it works to positively reframe societal divisions (Kovinthan Levi, this volume). The framework helps understand how these processes can occur simultaneously in the same textbook. Davies (2005) argues that we need to unpack any educational program deemed to be a positive source of social change and look for potential negative impacts, and, importantly, that education can approach peace and conflict actively (through peacebuilding and critical thinking or hate and stereotyping) or passively (by teaching tolerance or omitting key historical events). This applies to textbooks that incorporate programs stemming from peace agreement clauses. Here, I leverage this analytic framework to analyze social science textbooks for years 7 to 9 in post-war Burundi, exploring how Burundi's post-conflict government interpreted the education content clauses in the APRA (2000) and their implications for building peace.

2.3 Context: Ethnic Violence and the APRA in Burundi

Like its northern neighbor Rwanda, Burundi has two main ethnic groups, the majority Hutus 85% and minority Tutsis 14%. Interethnic tensions dominate its history, where Tutsi elites in government excluded the Hutu majority from political, social, and economic institutions (Nkurunziza, 2012). These tensions resulted in both indirect and structural violence, for example, by reducing the presence of Hutus in schools (Jackson, 2000; Nkurunziza, 2012), and direct violence, such as the 1972 targeted genocide of educated elite Hutu perpetrated by Tutsi armed forces (Lemarchand, 1995). These actions culminated in a war between the two ethnic groups in 1993 after the assassination of the first democratically elected Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye. The *Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement* (République du Burundi, 2000) brought an end to the violence, starting with a transition period from 2000 through 2005. In the end, the war led to 987,000 refugees and over 300,000 deaths (Uvin, 2009). The new 2005 constitution requires ethnic power-sharing, with 60/40 Hutu/Tutsi representation across the executive, legislative, and judicial domains (King & Samii, 2020). President Pierre Nkurunziza, a Hutu, became President in 2005 and remained in power until he died in 2020. Since 2005, interethnic violence

has subsided. The electoral violence in 2015 was inter-party, and indeed intra-ethnic, rather than interethnic (Vandeginste, 2015),[2] though there are growing concerns about the authoritarian nature of the State.

The APRA identifies ethnic inequality in education as one of the causes of the civil war (Protocol III, Chapter 1 Article 2.2). That education is mentioned as a cause of, rather than just as a solution to, violence is unique among African peace agreements from 1975 to 2017 (Dunlop & King, 2021). Equal access to education across ethnic groups is thus a key imperative to peace in Burundi (Jackson, 2000; Nkurunziza, 2012), and the APRA contains clauses that forbid ethnic discrimination in education. It also contains clauses that specifically reference education content: requiring education programs in peace, (national) unity, reconciliation, patriotism, democracy, ethnic tolerance, and human rights education, both in formal education and throughout the country, shown below in Table 2.1. This focus on content in addition to distribution and access is important: both education's structure *and* content can contribute to positive and negative political conditions within a country (King, 2013).

Since 2005, the government has shown some commitment toward implementing education clauses in the APRA (Dunlop & King, 2021). For example, the "Formation Patriotique et Humaine"[3] (FPH) curriculum draws its justification from the APRA. This curriculum has been integrated into the social science course in primary school, and social science courses in the lower secondary level (years 7, 8, and 9), and includes topics relating to peace, civics, and human rights. At the upper secondary level, FPH is a mandatory separate course. Yet how these topics are incorporated into textbooks and implications for student learning, and peace more broadly, remains underexplored.

2.4 Methods

For this analysis, I used Burundi's years 7 to 9 social science textbooks. I focused on how social science textbooks integrate the topics on peace, unity, reconciliation, democracy, patriotism, ethnic tolerance, and human rights, as found in the peace agreement. The years 7 to 9 books balance the level of detail and the number of students exposed to the material. years 7 to 9 are the last three years of mandatory basic education in Burundi, and net enrollment tops 94% (UNESCO, 2017); thus, a large portion of Burundian youth are exposed to these texts. I do not look at

[2] In January 2020, Nkurunziza announced that he would step aside in the May 2020 elections. He campaigned for Evariste Ndayishimiye, also a Hutu. Ndayishimiye won the election and the transfer of power was set to take place in August 2020. However, Nkurunziza died from a heart attack (and suspected COVID-19) in June 2020 and Ndayishimiye immediately took over as President. As of this writing, while there were reports of government-based violence and repression during the election, there is no evidence of widespread violence post-election.

[3] Patriotic and Human Education (most Burundian refer to this course as Patriotic and Civics Education in English).

Table 2.1 Education clauses in the APRA (2000) and associated topics in the years 7, 8, and 9 social sciences textbooks

Peace agreement			Textbook topic				
Text	Clause	Education program type(s)	Understanding yourself and others	Human values	Individual rights	Education for peace	Democracy and power
Implementation of a vast awareness and educational [program] for *national peace, unity, and reconciliation*	I, II, 6.3	(1)Peace (2) National Unity (3) Reconciliation	X (8)	-	-	X (7, 8, 9)	-
To reconcile and unite Burundians and lay the foundations for a *democratic* and united Burundi, inter alia by promoting a broad [program] of education in *peace, democracy, and ethnic tolerance*	II, II, 12.2	(4) Democracy (1) Peace (6) Ethnic Tolerance	X (8)	-	-	X (7, 8, 9)	X (7, 8, 9)

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Peace agreement			Textbook topic				
Text	Clause	Education program type(s)	Understanding yourself and others	Human values	Individual rights	Education for peace	Democracy and power
A culture of *peace and tolerance* shall be promoted through the development of a sense of *patriotism* among citizens and of *mutual solidarity* in the event of a threat, as well as through education and training of all political and technical officials	III, I, 3.14	(1) Peace (2) National Unity (5) Patriotism	-	X (7, 8, 9)	-	X (7, 8, 9)	X (7, 8, 9)
To institute a proactive policy aimed at promoting *human rights* through education and training of the population, including all political and technical officials	III, I, 8.c	(7) Human Rights	-	-	X (7, 8, 9)	-	-

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Peace agreement			Textbook topic				
Text	Clause	Education program type(s)	Understanding yourself and others	Human values	Individual rights	Education for peace	Democracy and power
Education of the population in the culture of *peace*	IV, II, 13.c	(1) Peace	-	-	-	X (7, 8, 9)	-

Notes Terms in italics are the education program type, broadly categorized as (1) peace, (2) national unity, (3) reconciliation, (4) democracy, (5) patriotism, (6) ethnic tolerance, and (7) human rights education. Clauses are formatted as follows: Protocol, Chapter, Article; Numbers in brackets are the textbook year associated with the topic

the primary or upper secondary textbooks. At primary levels (years 1 to 6), where enrollment is at its highest, the FPH course is integrated into social science courses and taught in Kirundi, however, its material is very poorly developed, with only a few pages dedicated to these topics. While the upper secondary curriculum (years 10–12) has more detail than these lower years, with FPH as a separate course, though enrollment is only at 25% at this level (UNESCO, 2017). At the time of this writing, these textbooks were not publicly available. The Ministry of Education, Teaching, and Scientific Research developed the years 7 to 9 books from 2012 to 2015 with the help of the *Centre International d'Études Pedagogiques* and the *Bureau des Programmes de l'Enseignement de Base*. Because they are published in French, I translated the relevant passages into English for this analysis.

To analyze the books, I first conducted a summative content analysis, which employs a quantitative analysis of excerpts to explore the usage and continues with a latent content analysis of context to interpret meaning (Hseih & Shannon, 2005). I coded the topics and excerpts in each textbook relating to peace, unity, reconciliation, democracy, patriotism, ethnic tolerance, and human rights, words directly found in the clauses in the APRA about education programs. I then identified where each excerpt belonged in terms of the four analytic categories described below. I looked at the number of times a term was used and its context, what was discussed directly before and after each excerpt, how the terms/excerpts were framed, and what was missing from them. In expanding the analysis this way, I could understand *how* the textbooks framed each issue through the theoretical framework discussed below.

I based this analysis on the IREC framework, notably education's role as an *accomplice to* violence or as a *transformer of* conflict. I further subdivided the *accomplice* and *transformer* fields into *active* and *passive* approaches to conflict, drawing on Davies's (2005) continuum. An *active* approach encourages students to take action. For example, programs that promote action to challenge violence, or, conversely, stereotypes, and hate curriculum that encourages negative action (Davies, 2005). A *passive* approach encourages indifference and does not involve action to challenge or promote systemic change (Davies, 2005). For example, Davies (2005) considers omission of violence and conflict in the past, or when violent histories are downplayed to not "inflame or 'cement' attitudes" (p. 24) as passive, yet negative, approaches to violence. Likewise, she argues that teaching tolerance is a passive approach to peace because, while it is a "non-threatening way to surface difference and prejudice" (p. 25), it does not necessarily encourage active engagement with difference or push students toward action.

In Fig. 2.1, I show how I coded education excerpts in this framework. The middle of the diagram contains seven types of programs that are present in the peace agreement: peace, unity, reconciliation, democracy, patriotism, ethnic tolerance, and human rights. The black arrow represents active concepts of social transformation and progress toward peace, the ideal for how such programs would be integrated into schools for peacebuilding. Though it shows four separate categories, the framework is a continuum with categories that gradually transition into one another rather than acting separately with well-defined boundaries. Moreover, the categories are not mutually exclusive. Table 2.1 illustrates how I coded each textbook excerpt. These

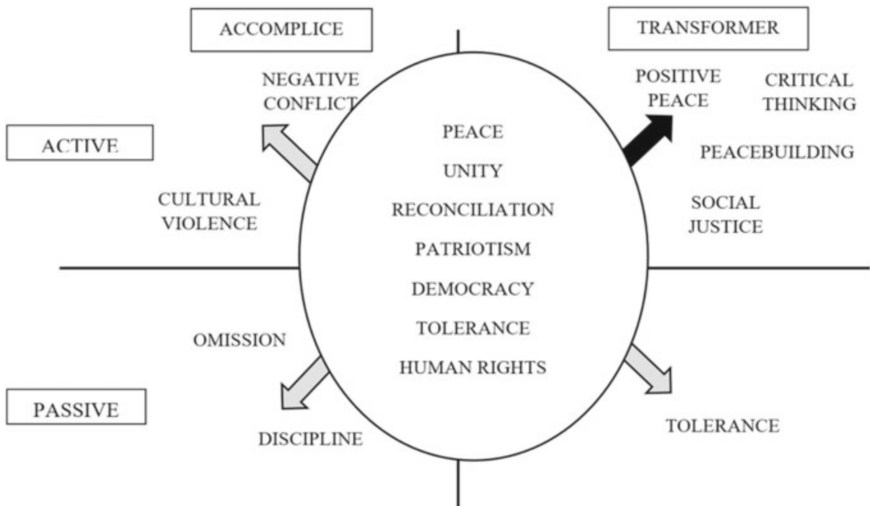

Fig. 2.1 Expansion of the IREC analytic framework (Kovinthan Levi, this volume) to incorporate passive and active elements of conflict (Davies, 2005)

examples act as guides toward the analytical framework in this analysis and are not comprehensive in scope.

2.5 Findings: Education Content Clauses in Burundian Social Science Textbooks

Table 2.1 shows there is a broad agreement between the clauses in the peace agreement and textbook material. Topics on "Human Values," "Individual Rights," "Education for Peace," and "Power and Democracy" directly tackle mandates from the agreement. The years 7 and 8 books also have a topic called "Understanding Yourself and Others," which discusses unity and ethnic tolerance, terms found in the peace agreement.

2.5.1 Peace

Each of the three textbooks has a topic devoted to *Education for Peace*. Students look at factors that promote peace (justice and equality) and causes of conflict (injustice and inequality). In year 7, they learn peace is not just the absence of war but also the "absence of situations that can bring about war" (year 7, p. 182). In year 8, they start to be introduced to notions of positive and negative peace, and the year 9 book

Table. 2.2 Examples of each analytic category found across the years 7, 8, and 9 social science textbooks in Burundi

Analytic category	Education program type from APRA	Example	Textbook reference
Active/ transformer	(1) Peace education	Role-playing: Students are instructed to role-play a conflict and its resolution using dialog	Year 8, Topic 11, Lesson 47, "Communication: A feature of peace," p. 152
	(1) Peace education	Critical thinking involves three things: (1) self-critique—looking inward; (2) critically analyzing others—looking at those around you; (3) critical analysis of events, the news, and the media	Year 8, Topic 2, Lesson 7, "Critical Thinking," p. 26
Passive/ transformer	(1) Peace education	Co-existence (friendliness) between members of a community allows people and groups to develop and maintain harmonious interpersonal relationships	Year 8, Topic 7, Lesson 26, "Solidarity and Co-Existence," p. 80
	(2) National unity (6) Ethnic tolerance	People are naturally different. These differences can be a result of their skin color, their height, gender, nationality, social group, ethnicity, political ideology, regional differences and customs, and SES. No matter the difference, we need to accept each other in order to live in peace	Year 7, Topic 2, Lesson 5, "Mutual Acceptance," p. 19
Passive/ accomplice	(4) Democracy	Omission: missing history of Tutsi leaders in the country through the books discuss Hutu elected officials; omission of violent history in Burundi	All years

(continued)

Table. 2.2 (continued)

Analytic category	Education program type from APRA	Example	Textbook reference
Active/ accomplice		None found	

explores these in more detail. The textbooks also do not simply provide information on these topics: students are instructed to role-play situations where one person takes offense and are also asked to debate a controversial issue (year 8, p. 152). To this end, dialog (20 mentions) is promoted as a significant factor in the *Education for Peace* topics in years 8 and 9. These three books, therefore, start to approach peace education as active and a transformer of violence.

In the years 8 and 9, the books also include interpersonal conflict resolution in this topic (19 mentions). Davies (2005) includes this as a passive approach to peace: while interpersonal conflict resolution in itself promotes peace, it also can be difficult to transfer skills to broader socio-structural aspects of conflict. Moreover, as Davies (2005) notes, these types of approaches often emphasize "misperception and subjectivity …" rather than "genuine clashes of injustice" (p. 26). Thus, while textbooks approach peace education actively in some instances, they also shy away from engaging with systemic changes, or broader social conflicts. That is, while the topic of "Education for Peace" is approached as a transformer (promoting peace and positive social change), there is a nuanced approach in the books that leans toward smaller, passive changes, such as encouraging interpersonal conflict resolution, rather than active promotion of social change.

2.5.2 National Unity

The "Human Values" section across all three years includes references to "unity" (4 mentions), "solidarity" (10 mentions), and "harmony" (11 mentions), key terms found in the APRA. In year 7, students learn about mutual acceptance in the context of resolving differences. In year 8, the notion of solidarity is introduced, including how individuals can "show" solidarity in their community through, for example, exchanging gifts, helping around the house, telling the truth, volunteering, paying taxes, and working toward justice and equality. In year 9, the books emphasize respect for others and finding solutions to disputes through mediation processes. As above, these focus on interpersonal actions to promote unity, rather than systemic change, and therefore, although they frame education as a transformer of violence, they are passive in their approach. However, some of the focus on working toward justice and equality and changes does push certain aspects of this topic into the *active* category.

2.5.3 Reconciliation

"Reconciliation" is mentioned just once in the context of interpersonal conflict resolution (year 9, p. 77). It indicates that reconciliation is about both parties accepting amicable, non-judicial solutions to conflict. This topic, only briefly mentioned in an exercise, is not focused on broader social reconciliation after, for example, interethnic violence, as in the case of Burundi's civil war. It thus serves as a passive transformer of conflict here.

2.5.4 Democracy

The topics of "Power and Democracy" are full of contradictory messages. In year 8, students are introduced to the various types of government, with an emphasis on the fact that Burundi is a republic. They also describe the general characteristics of government. One of the fundamental tenets of democratic education is the presence of critical thinking, dialog, and debate but there is no mention of such skills in these sections, even though they are referenced in the "Education for Peace" section. The fact that "Power and Democracy" immediately follows "Education for Peace" but does not integrate democratic education skill-building marks a missed opportunity to develop meaningful programing wherein education could serve as an active transformer of conflict for Burundi.

There are also notable omissions from this section, making certain aspects of these sections "passive/accomplice." For example, the years 8 and 9 books show images of "leaders of Burundi." In year 8, to illustrate that the country was once a monarchy, the leaders included in the textbook are King Mwezi Gisabo (1852–1908), King Mwambutsa IV (1915–1966), both Tutsis, and President Pierre Nkurunziza (2005–2020), a Hutu; in year 9, the textbook shows "democratically elected leaders," Melchior Ndadaye (1993) and Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi (both Hutus), Barack Obama of the United States, and Jakaya Krisho Kikwete of Tanzania.[4] While it is true that there are no democratically elected Tutsi presidents in Burundi, the absence of Tutsi leaders from the descriptions of Burundian politics is an omission of a large portion of the Republic's past. Furthermore, its discussions of democracy miss key aspects of political life, including the 60/40 Hutu/Tutsi split in legislative seats, as well as the requirement that the two Vice Presidents be of different parties and

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[4] In Burundi, the traditional monarchy was from the Tutsi ethnicity group, identified as "ganwa" in literature to represent their higher status in the state—though historical references focus on the distinction between "Hutu" and "Tutsi" as more of a caste system based on economic status, rather than distinct ethnic groups (see Lemarchand, 1995). Melchior Ndadaye (1993) was the first democratically elected Hutu President post-1962 independence. His assassination in October 1993 sparked the 1993–2005 civil war. These two sections in years 8 and 9 omit the three Tutsi presidents from 1996 to 1993, who all came to power through military coups, and other prominent Tutsi leaders within the current government.

ethnicities.[5] This omission, while not necessarily an overt action to silence Tutsi voices in power, serves as a passive way to minimize Tutsi stories and leadership in the context of the country. The texts, therefore, default to a more passive approach to democracy, alternating between a transformer of and an accomplice to violence.

2.5.5 Patriotism

The excerpts related to patriotism are almost exclusively passive, and in some instances could be considered an accomplice to violence, rather than transformative. For example, they focus on state symbols such as the national anthem, national motto, emblem, and flag; students are also required to "adopt an attitude of respect" (year 7, p. 189) toward these symbols. In each year, the "Power and Democracy" topics end with a statement saying, "students *must* love their country" (year 8, p. 82, emphasis added). These topics thus encourage obedience toward the state, omit key aspects of critical thinking, and passively prohibit action to challenge governments, imperative for democracies to function. Although these textbooks convey somewhat generic messages of the state and its symbols, when combined with the current, and increasingly authoritarian, political climate, it is difficult to ignore the messages of obedience and lack of emphasis on critical thinking in such topics; thus, while passive, these implications can serve as an accomplice to violence.

2.5.6 Ethnic Tolerance

There is no specific unit or topic related to ethnic tolerance in any textbook. Indeed, ethnicity is only mentioned four times across the books, and references are often vague and indirect. Of these four mentions, three concern understanding differences, and one references ethnic tolerance in general. For example, year 7 references "ethnicity" as a difference that must be respected to live in peace; in year 8, the "Education for Peace" theme warns against ethnic stereotyping. Ethnicity in Burundi is only referenced in year 9, in a section under *International Humanitarian Law* looking at the role of rescuers. The year 9 book also notes that students must respect differences in schools, including ethnicity. Here, students are asked to read a passage about a brave businessman who saves a boy attacked by a youth militia because of his ethnicity in 1993. They are then asked what choices they would make if they were in the place of the businessman.

The books do not reference Hutu/Tutsi identities at all. By not discussing the main ethnicities in Burundi and their historic grievances and interethnic violence,

[5] Note: a constitutional amendment in 2018 re-introduced the post of Prime Minister and removed one of the Vice Presidencies. There is still a requirement that the Prime Minister and Vice President must be from different ethnicities and different political parties.

the textbooks omit a very significant reason as to *why* ethnic tolerance is important in the first place. This omission is therefore not only a passive approach to ethnicity but also in some ways an accomplice to the violence. Yet these books mention Burundi's experience with ethnicity-based violence in 1993 contrasts with other comparable post-conflict countries, like Rwanda, who disallow such discussions in formal education (King, 2013). These push the books toward serving as a transformer of violence, although admittedly in a small way.

2.5.7 Human Rights Education

This topic falls into the "Individuals Rights" unit in each textbook of the three years. Here, the focus is again based more on the individual rather than on state-based actions and is thus passive in its approach to social transformation. This section also has a nuanced approach to human rights and responsibility, particularly about school discipline, which can be categorized as passive, and even an accomplice to violence.

In year 8, students look at the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and are taught that rights are political, social, economic, civic, and cultural. Year 9 builds upon this lesson, looking at issues surrounding "equality" (specifically between men and women) and protecting vulnerable peoples, such as victims of armed conflict, women, and the Batwa, a marginalized minority ethnic group in Burundi (approximately 1% of the population). The year 9 textbook discusses "Civic Responsibility," which is considered complementary to human rights and a necessity for social harmony. According to the year 9 book, civic responsibilities include the defense of national unity, the security of the state, and service for the public good. By maintaining this focus on individual responsibility, the books remain passive though still transformative in their approach to human rights. In other words, they do not encourage a broader sense of action to challenge human rights abuses or critical thinking about the students' society so that they might challenge state abuses.

In contrast, a large focus of the "Individual Rights" theme in year 7 is on discipline in schools. Obedience is the only topic within this theme. Here, students are taught the importance of discipline and are required to read and answer questions on their school's code of conduct. The textbook emphasizes that it encourages this understanding of the code so that students' rights are not violated, and that each student is punished for their transgressions equally while also being informed that a school's prefect for discipline has the discretion to punish however they see fit. That is, students are informed of the importance of obedience and punishment without specifying exact consequences. While this in and of itself may not necessarily seem concerning, the Burundian government is increasingly authoritarian, and this focus on obedience to authority figures may have an indirect effect of priming students to accept state-based actions blindly, rather than fostering a sense of justice and critical awareness of human rights and their possible violations. Indeed, these passages could lead to confusion of what is a *human right* compared to what is a *rule*. Also, by promoting obedience to the state, rather than, say, encouraging students to challenge

human rights abuses when they see them, the textbooks normalize such authoritarian behavior. One could argue that, while this is a passive approach and contradictory with some of the other topics in the textbooks, it serves as an accomplice to violence, rather than a transformer of violence. This inconsistency highlights the complex and sometimes contradictory nature that these textbooks possess.

2.5.8 Summary and Discussion

The social science textbooks in Burundi generally address peace, national unity, reconciliation, democracy, patriotism, ethnic tolerance, and human rights education clauses through passive approaches, with only a few instances engaging with active transformation from conflict. When promoting social transformation, the textbooks emphasize small, individual, and interpersonal actions that promote social harmony and unity. Moreover, while most of the topics act as *transformers* of conflict, some lean toward multiple pathways that could ultimately serve as accomplices to violence. When serving as an accomplice, the textbooks concurrently promote obedience, discipline, and uncritical acceptance of the government without encouraging critical thinking and actions to challenge potential injustice. These elements counteract lessons on positive peace learned throughout the books. Table 2.3 summarizes these findings for each of the topics.

Ultimately, when engaging with education content clauses as laid out in the peace agreement, the textbooks miss key opportunities to critically engage in social change and promote active peacebuilding. For example, in the "Education for Peace" topics in years 7, 8, and 9, students focus on personal responsibility and individual conflict resolution. They are not asked to identify relevant actors and issues in social conflict, nor are they afforded the ability to participate in collective action and deliberation, key tenets of peacebuilding. Similarly, when looking at democracy/citizenship,

Table 2.3 Understanding how content clauses from the apra are incorporated into social science textbooks in Burundi

	Framing of education in textbooks	
Approach	"Accomplice to"	"Transformer of"
Active	–	(1) Peace (2) Unity
Passive	(4) Democracy (5) Patriotism (6) Ethnic tolerance (7) Human rights	(1) Peace (2) Unity (3) Reconciliation (4) Democracy (5) Patriotism (6) Ethnic Tolerance (7) Human Rights

Note. This table uses the framework developed in this chapter, based on IREC (*Kovinthan, Levi*, this volume) and (Davies, 2005)

these textbooks promote what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) would call "personally responsible" citizens who follow laws, rather than "social-justice-oriented" citizens, who work to affect social and political change (p. 240). By not encouraging dialog and debate in the context of democracy, students do not develop constructive communication skills, such as expressing opinions or respectful ways to assess and respond to criticism, important skills in democratic citizenship education (Bickmore, 2012). The textbooks also miss crucial opportunities to actively engage with human rights education as a means of promoting positive social transformation. Rather, they focus on what Bajaj (2011) would term "human rights education for coexistence" rather than "human rights education for transformative action" (p. 491). Finally, students miss the opportunity to address the root causes of social divisions that exist in their country and place the onus on the individual, rather than the government, to promote unity and peace. They are also denied the chance to critically engage in social transformation and are not given the tools needed to promote change on a broader scale.

Yet, the fact that students are exposed to peace, human rights, and democracy in such a deeply divided context as Burundi at all is worth noting. Including such programs in small, passive ways may also represent low-stakes initiatives by curricula and textbooks developers. Bickmore et al. (2017) argue that exposure to any democratic processes in school, such as dialog and debate or the learning of peacebuilding competencies, can have positive effects on conflict dialog, human rights awareness, and engagement in civil processes. Similarly, exposure to some aspects of schooling that promote active, positive transformation of the social landscape may have small but positive effects on perceptions of peace, unity, human rights, and democracy going forward. I caution, however, that the books also expose students to passive, negative approaches to conflict—where education serves as an accomplice to the violence—and these subtle messages could likewise have negative consequences as Burundi attempts its transition from violence toward peace.

We can also see that the clauses from the peace agreement are interpreted in general and passive terms in textbooks, likely resulting from the fact that the clauses themselves are vague and non-specific. I argue that these clauses serve a purpose in the peace agreement; however, greater specificity—for example, calling for democratic programs that encourage peacebuilding and focus on positive peace, or clauses detailing citizenship and democracy programs that specify social and political action—may push the resultant programs away from *passive* transformation toward *active* social transformation.

2.6 Conclusion

The above analysis showed that the post-2005 Burundian government has at least attempted to implement the educational content clauses found in the APRA. That the initial curriculum to address peace education draws its justification from the APRA is a positive sign for the proponents of education's primacy in peace agreement

negotiations. The direct inclusion of these topics in textbooks furthers the idea that these potentially difficult issues can be addressed in a context where ethnic conflict is entrenched. While we cannot know the counterfactual—whether and how these programs would exist within textbooks without the presence of education clauses in the APRA—we can nonetheless observe how important issues surrounding education in this peace agreement have been implemented, if occasionally in complicated and indirect ways. The textbooks generally framed education as a transformer, per the IREC framework, even though most messages are passive rather than active. That said, they also provide contradictory messages that promote education as a passive accomplice to violence. These contradictions highlight the intersecting roles of education and conflict that are the topic of this book and reflect many of the challenges faced in post-conflict countries with identity-based violence.

Burundi's education development situation post-peace agreement is unique in Africa. To date, it is the only peace agreement in Africa that mentions the role of education as a direct cause of conflict (Dunlop & King, 2021). However, many agreements contain education content clauses. For example, Rwanda's, (1993) *Arusha Protocol* represents an interesting comparative case. This agreement has 19 clauses that relate to education and includes similar clauses to Burundi ARPA on content (Dunlop & King, 2021). A comparative analysis between the two countries could highlight some of the nuanced relationships between peace agreements and education programs. Also, an analysis that focuses on how those countries with only 1 or 2 clauses relating to education content, such as Sierra Leone's *Lomé Agreement* (2002) or Liberia's *Accra Agreement* (1997) (Dunlop & King, 2021), incorporate and develop textbook content post-war would shed light on the multiple pathways that that such clauses could be interpreted. A quantitative cross-national comparison would be useful to see broader trends in implementation. That being said, the results of this study show that the inclusion of education clauses in peace agreements may provide much-needed justification for the development of programs for peace, such as those in Burundi's social science textbooks. Importantly for practitioners, this legitimation means that, even in low-resource contexts such as Burundi, transformative messages can be incorporated into textbooks, even if in a minimal way.

In the context of peace agreements, curriculum and textbook development are not the final stages of implementation. Future potential next steps for research include understanding how teachers incorporate these messages and lessons in their classrooms. Where there are limited overall resources for schooling and minimal teacher training (where often teachers at the lower levels, especially in rural areas, only have a primary-level education themselves), encouraging debate and conflict resolution skills may be difficult. It is therefore likely that students may not be exposed to such topics, or at least not in a pedagogically sound way. Shifting these programs toward an active transformer approach would require resources and, importantly, significant teacher training.

Some of these issues are not problems exclusive to Burundian textbooks. For example, Bickmore et al. (2017) note that *implemented* social studies curricula in public schools rarely involve inquiry or discussion about conflict. In a post-conflict context, incorporating greater discussion and debate into classrooms, especially

when dealing with difficult topics, may increase risks, both for teachers and students (Quaynor, 2011). Studies on implementation in classrooms would likely unpack some nuances in this area and expose how teachers interpret these programs and ideas in the classroom. These could also point to how such programs serve as accomplices to or transformers of violence, even in passive ways.

This study sheds light on how peace agreement clauses about education can be incorporated into textbooks and has several implications. For academics, this study shows that multiple relationships between education, conflict, and peace can occur within a single textbook, thus moving away from the conflict *or* peace binary. For practitioners, it shows that the incorporation of education clauses in peace agreements may lead to the development of related educational programing and materials. This chapter also challenges the assumption that inclusion in a peace agreement means that such programs will necessarily contribute to positive peace and social transformation in the country. These textbooks discuss peace, unity, human rights, ethnic tolerance, and democracy in terms of small, interpersonal steps and processes, which may not translate into broader social change. Greater specificity of such clauses—for example, focusing on broader social change by developing social-justice-oriented citizens, rather than individually responsible citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004), or encouraging the development of human rights programs for social transformation, rather than human right for coexistence (Bajaj, 2011), in addition to clauses that specify addressing the causes and history of interethnic tension in schooling—could shift education programing found in textbooks beyond the passive approaches seen here toward active approaches for social transformation. Yet, as can be seen from this analysis, the inclusion of education content at all in peace agreements, and ultimately in textbooks, is an important first step toward looking at education as a transformer of violence, and these small (though passive) steps in such conflict-affected contexts may be necessary for countries working toward building peace.

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Chapter 3
Musharraf's Enlightened Moderation: How Education Escalates Conflict in Pakistan Despite Attempted Transformation

Javed Ali Kalhoro and Alexander Cromwell

Abstract Since Pakistan's contentious inception, secular and religious groups have struggled for power, and this struggle has particularly impacted the education sector. This chapter examines Pakistan's education system and employs the IREC framework to explore the role that education plays in escalating conflict and seeking to transform it. Specifically, we focus on Pakistan's *Islamiyat* curriculum and the changes made to it immediately preceding and during former president and army chief of staff Musharraf's time in office. Drawing from an analysis of policy documents, and interviews with *Islamiyat* teachers and education experts, we argue that the changes made under Musharraf's predecessor, Nawaz Sharif, built on the work of Zia Ul Haque to emphasize a narrow interpretation of Islam that marginalized non-Sunnis and non-Muslims. Moreover, although Musharraf proposed policies that would improve the curriculum and textbooks for interfaith harmony, his appeasement of the military and religious groups and authoritarian approach resulted in the failure of these policies. These findings further illustrate how education can exacerbate conflict, particularly when problematic educational governance and poor teaching practices inhibit the transformation of the curriculum and education system in support of peace.

Keywords Education · Conflict · Islam · Pakistan · Peace · Radicalization

Since Pakistan's creation, the country has struggled to define itself as a liberal society, despite multiple attempts by various political and non-political leaders. Consequently, after 9/11, the international community pressured Pakistan's authorities to undermine the growing radicalism in the country. During the Organization of Islamic Cooperation's (OIC) 2002 summit in Malaysia, then Chief of Army Staff (COAS) and President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf (2004) proposed the Enlightened Moderation program, which advocated for Muslim majority countries

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to develop their under-resourced communities and combat extremism. As part of this effort, Musharraf proposed multiple reforms to Pakistan's education sector to confront the radicalism in the country, improve the quality of education, and promote interfaith understanding.

This chapter explores the historical and political developments of this program, the relevant policies Musharraf enacted in support of it, and their ultimate influence on the education system and *Islamiyat* curriculum and textbooks. Drawing from analysis of policy documents and interviews with *Islamiyat* teachers and Pakistani education experts, we argue that Musharraf's proposed policies were an opportunity to promote interfaith understanding and reduce youth radicalization in Pakistan through education's role as a transformer. However, the opposition of religious political parties, combined with Musharraf's authoritarian approach and his accommodation of extremist groups to appease the military and influential fundamentalist political parties, ultimately led his proposed policies to fail. Consequently, the recommended textbooks were never created, victimizing the education system. Moreover, the subsequent regionalization of Pakistan's education system in 2010 has perpetuated the role of this system as an accomplice to escalating tensions across religious and sectarian divides in Pakistan and abroad through *Islamiyat*. The lack of training for teachers and their narrow application of the curriculum further aggravates this issue.

In this chapter, we first provide background on the Musharraf regime, an overview of education policies in Pakistan, and a description of shortcomings in teaching practices and teacher training in the country. Next, we introduce the theoretical framework used to analyze the role of various elements that escalate conflicts in Pakistan. After describing our research methods, we present an in-depth assessment of the *National Education Policy 1998–2010* instituted by Musharraf's predecessor, Nawaz Sharif. We then describe Musharraf's proposed changes to the curriculum from the *National Education Policy 2006* and the *National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy* of 2007 and examine their failure due to the negative responses of religious clerics and Musharraf's other policies that contradicted these reforms. Our analysis highlights the challenges of curriculum and textbook reform in conflict-affected states when powerful stakeholders have a vested interest in blocking these reforms. It also illustrates how poor educational governance and ineffective teaching practices exacerbate conflict in such situations.

3.1 Musharraf's Regime

Following 9/11, Pakistan's global allies and various donors pressured the country to make significant changes to combat its radicalized elements. This occurred because Pakistan supported the Taliban and was seen as a hub for terrorism (Coll, 2018). Consequently, General Musharraf's government formally ended its support for the Taliban. This declaration was an important shift in official policy, as Pakistani security forces had supported the Taliban's rise to power in Afghanistan in the mid-1990s

and had remained one of their only supporters since that time (Haqqani, 2013). Musharraf's regime also cracked down on all militant/terrorist groups in Pakistan, including all affiliates of the Taliban, beginning in 2002. Security forces sealed their offices, and many *madrassahs* (Islamic religious seminaries) established by these organizations were closed temporarily (Musharraf, 2002). Despite being banned, militant organizations continued to operate across Pakistan with different names. For example, *Lashkar-e-Taiba* re-emerged as *Jammat-ud-Dawa* and their leader was released a few months later. Maulana Azam Tariq of *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan* was also released and allowed to run for office in the October 2002 general elections (International Crisis Group, 2004). Thus, although the Pakistani government's official position was to shut down these groups, in practice the government allowed them to operate much as they had in the past (Haqqani, 2013).

Additionally, the United States pressured Pakistan to eradicate extremist groups and their training camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Riaz, 2008). Between 9/11 and the end of 2002, Pakistan received almost 100 million USD to make its education system more moderate (Shami & Hussain, 2005). In response, General Musharraf initiated Education Sector Reform (ESR) aimed at modernizing the education system, as part of his Enlightened Moderation program (Iqbal, 2003). Musharraf (2004) believed that religious extremists' violent actions in the name of Islam threatened international security and harmed global perceptions of the religion. He argued that his proposed reforms would limit extremism and show the peacefulness of Islam.

Musharraf's government was never able to institute these changes because of the large role that religious groups play in Pakistan. Almost every political party in Pakistan's history has needed religious support to gain power (Haqqani, 2005). Some religious groups have even played an active role in the country's political processes. For example, *Jamaat-e-Islaami* (JI) and *Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam* were part of the constitution-making process of Pakistan (Qazi, 2017). JI has continued to strongly influence the education sector, which impeded Musharraf's ability to secularize the curriculum (Butt, 2016). Musharraf also needed the support of religious political parties, such as the *Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal* (MMA) alliance, to implement his proposed reforms. He partly needed this support because of his increasingly authoritarian approach, which culminated in his announcement of a state of emergency (Dawn News, 2007) that suspended the constitution and ensured his re-election in late 2007. Consequently, the democratic parties of former Prime Ministers Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto banded together to call for Musharraf's removal (Sengupta, 2006). Additionally, Musharraf's proposed reforms were further obstructed because the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan's lead intelligence agency, actively trained militants under his direction to fight the United States in Afghanistan and target Kashmir (Coll, 2018). The ISI pursued these activities with the hope of exerting influence over a friendly government in Kabul, to ensure strategic depth in case of an invasion from India (Khan, 2011). This strategy preceded Musharraf and continued after his regime.

3.2 Education in Pakistan

3.2.1 Education Policies

Pakistani officials have proposed seven education policies and four education drafts since the country's creation in 1947. An education draft is a raw document proposed by an advisory body that has not yet been accepted as an official policy by the central government. Ahsan (2003) explains that there have been so many policies because it became customary for each new government to propose their own education policy to address Pakistan's lingering challenges; however, these policies have had little success in improving education conditions for the populace (Siddiqui, 2016). The policies and drafts are as follows:

1) In 1947, Pakistan had its first-ever meeting to design its education system. The meeting, led by Pakistan's first Governor-General, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was titled "Pakistan Educational Conference 1947." Despite noble goals, such as free universal primary education and improving adult literacy, the conference's unrealistic targets led to failure in achieving them (Ahsan, 2003).
2) In 1959, "The Commission on National Education" was held to re-design Pakistan's education system. Although this was not an official policy, the draft was considered a guiding document until the country formed a proper education policy. Again, it focused on adult literacy and fell far short of its goals because of unrealistic expectations (Bengali, 1999).
3) In 1969, the "Proposals for a New Educational Policy" meeting was held to form a proper education policy for the country, which was developed in 1970.
4) In 1970, Pakistan witnessed its first education policy titled *The New Education Policy*, whose main architect was General Ayub Khan, president of Pakistan from 1958 to 1969. It promoted scientific education and emphasized universal primary education to improve literacy rates nationwide (Government of Pakistan, 1970).
5) Two years later, Pakistan implemented *The Education Policy, 1972–1980*. This policy did not propose substantive changes from the previous policy. It was created because East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971 after the war broke out with India. Consequently, the 1970 policy was adapted to only include the decreased parameters of the Pakistani state (Government of Pakistan, 1972).
6) In 1979, soon after Pakistan decided to pursue *jihad* against the Soviet invasion, the country denounced all previous educational documents and policies and formed a new policy emphasizing Islamic education, under General Zia ul Haque. This document was titled the *National Education Policy and Implementation Programme*. The policy introduced lessons on *jihad* into the curriculum to encourage youth to protect Islam and the Muslim *ummah* from evil (Government of Pakistan, 1979).
7) In 1992, democratically elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif formed a committee to design a new education policy. This policy was titled *National*

Education Policy 1992 and again focused on improving Pakistan's abysmal literacy rate, which only included 34% of its population at the time (Government of Pakistan, 1992).

8) In 1998, in power again, Sharif formed a new committee that developed the *National Education Policy 1998–2010* (Government of Pakistan, 1998). This policy further radicalized the curriculum and advocated a narrower vision of Islam. We analyze this policy later in this chapter.

9) Because the *National Education Policy 1998–2010* exacerbated Pakistan's sectarian and religious tensions, leading to violence over the *Islamiyat* textbooks (Shamil, 2016), then-President General Musharraf's team drafted the *National Education Policy 2006*. This policy aimed to promote peace and restore interfaith harmony subjects in the curriculum (Government of Pakistan, 2006). However, Musharraf's regime could not approve this draft because of major opposition from religious political parties. Consequently, the proposed textbooks were never created.

10) The *National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy* of 2007, also proposed by Musharraf, was the second stage for implementing the draft 2006 policy. Proposed chapters were to be selected and refined into drafts for the proposed textbooks and associated learning materials from the 2006 policy (Government of Pakistan, 2007). This policy was also never fully implemented, and textbooks were never changed accordingly.

11) In 2009, the new democratic government led by the Pakistan People's Party developed the *National Education Policy 2009* (Government of Pakistan, 2009). This policy was almost identical to the 2006 draft developed under Musharraf. It was not implemented because Pakistan's Ministry of Education was devolved in April 2010, under the 18th amendment to the constitution. After this point, there was no longer an overarching national education policy as each province became responsible for its own policies. However, at the time of this writing, the federal government under Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party has developed a Single National Curriculum (SNC) for primary schools, with other educational levels to be completed by 2023 (Government of Pakistan, 2022). The goal of this curriculum is to increase social cohesion and access by having more subjects taught in local languages and implementing the SNC in public and private schools as well as madrassahs (The Economist, 2021). The provinces Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have already integrated the primary school curriculum through administrative/executive order, Sindh has rejected it, and other areas of the country have not implemented it (Ghani, 2022). While the national government has clearly indicated their preference for its provinces and administered regions to implement the SNC, provincial and regional governments are not required to adopt it because of the 18th amendment (The News, 2021). Therefore, it is unlikely that the proposed curriculum will become national unless the constitution is further amended.

3.2.2 Shortcomings in Teaching and Teacher Training

Since gaining independence, Pakistan has had a shortage of qualified teachers, and the country has tried to address this issue in education policies proposed since the nation's inception (Naviwala, 2016). For example, at varying stages in Pakistan's history, the government has reduced teachers' necessary qualifications to fill vacant teacher positions (Siddiqui, 2016). Historically, deficiencies in teacher qualifications have been attributed to the small proportion of funds Pakistan has allocated to education, particularly in relation to its GDP (UNESCO, 2015). However, in recent years, Pakistan has significantly increased its funds dedicated to education, with each province spending roughly 17–28% of their annual budget on education (Islamabad Institute of Social & Policy Sciences, 2016). This is slightly higher than UNESCO's (2015) recommended allocated amount of 15–20%. Moreover, Naviwala (2016) explains that GDP is a poor indicator for measuring education funding in Pakistan because only 9% of the country's GDP comes from its taxes, and the figure only accounts for the 60% of students in government schools. Thus, the problem is not insufficient funding, but rather how these funds are spent (Naviwala, 2016).

The spending issue is exemplified by the fact that teachers are not in class 15–20% of the time (Pakistan Education Task Force, 2011). An audit conducted by Pakistan's Public Accounts Committee found that over 2,300 schools were operating as "ghost schools," which are schools officially on the books that have no teachers or students (Abbasi, 2018). As Abbasi (2018) explains, corruption fuels this absenteeism; he describes a local ministry official in Balochistan who kept the salaries of 31 teachers from these non-existent schools. Many teachers also work for politicians who protect them from being fired despite their absences (Naviwala, 2016). Teachers are also required by local governments to complete various non-teaching duties such as helping with local elections and public health drives, which can result in them missing classes (Abbasi, 2014). Teachers' non-attendance also results from missing class to attend teacher training and some female teachers' inability to travel alone (Naviwala, 2016). Additionally, there are significant gaps in teacher capacities because of poor teacher education, or a lack of qualifications for these positions because of nepotism in hiring decisions. Government schools also lack accountability, which results in teachers having little motivation to ensure that students actually learn, as opposed to private schools, which lose income if unsatisfied parents take their children out of the school (Wani, 2017). All of these factors can limit teachers' engagement with the curriculum.

Thus, Pakistan struggles to provide quality education to its population (Jerrard, 2016); further, teacher absenteeism and shortcomings in pedagogical practices inhibit the role that education can play for peacebuilding in Pakistan. Scholars have argued that the country's curriculum does not encourage critical thinking and that teachers tend to instruct students using lecture-based educational practices that stifle independent thought (Nayyar & Salim, 2003). Supporting critical thinking is essential for countering dominant narratives that exacerbate conflict and helping students to

cultivate their peacebuilding capacity (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Fitzduff & Jean, 2011).

3.3 Theoretical Framework

Extensive literature has illustrated that education can have both positive and negative effects on conflict-affected societies (e.g., Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Knutzen & Smith, 2012). Building on this notion, this chapter applies the IREC framework developed by Kovinthan Levi (this volume). This framework conceptualizes education as playing any of the three following roles in conflict contexts: a victim, an accomplice, or a transformer. Accordingly, this chapter portrays how education has been victimized in Pakistan. It also highlights how various actors have used education as an accomplice to conflict in the country or have tried to mitigate this negative impact through reforming the country's education policies. Kovinthan Levi (this volume) specifies that curriculum, educational governance, and teaching practices are three areas in which education can exacerbate tensions in conflict-ridden societies. All three of these elements contribute to conflicts in Pakistan.

A curriculum becomes an accomplice to conflict when it exacerbates tensions between opposing identity groups by positioning them as one another's enemies in historic accounts of important events (Butt, 2016). Alternatively, textbooks and other curricular materials can be used to erase the histories of certain groups and to emphasize a dominant group's narrative as the only legitimate reality (Lall, 2008). Educational governance can be an accomplice to conflict when the education system, government policies, and the actors who influence this system reify the role of different groups as either good or bad (Fontana, 2017). Educational governance also escalates conflict when it prohibits various actors from making substantive changes to curriculum, textbooks, or other elements of education that would improve relationships between conflicting groups or the conditions of disadvantaged groups (Kovinthan Levi, this volume).

Additionally, shortcomings in pedagogy and/or teacher training can also escalate conflicts (Bellino et al., 2017). Fitzduff and Jean (2011) argue that teachers must buy into curriculum changes if they are to be successful. Teachers who do not have a tolerant view of other religious sects or religions will likely be less inclined to spread this message to their students and may actively refuse to do so. Thus, for education to shift from being an accomplice of conflict to a transformer that promotes peacebuilding, significant work must be done with teachers to examine their own biases and help them recognize the value of promoting tolerance and reconciliation in education (Tibbitts & Weldon, 2017).

In sum, curriculum, educational governance, and teacher training substantially influence education's role in conflict contexts. However, more data is needed to illustrate the processes by which these factors exacerbate conflicts in various environments. As such, we explore the following questions: how do curriculum, educational governance, and teaching practices influence the role that education plays as a

victim or in escalating or transforming conflict? How have these factors exacerbated conflict dynamics in Pakistan before, during, and as a result of Musharraf's regime?

3.4 Methods

In this study, we analyzed interviews and three of Pakistan's eleven education policies/drafts. We focus on Musharraf's major education policies and the policies established by the government immediately before his regime. We do not provide a detailed analysis of the 2009 policy that followed Musharraf's regime because it was essentially the same as the proposed 2006 policy. Content analysis was used to determine how these policy documents incorporated Islam into education in Pakistan and the resulting proposed amendments to the curriculum and textbooks. We specifically examined how these policies either promoted conflict across religious and sectarian differences or encouraged peace and interfaith harmony. Our analysis included the following documents:

- *National Education Policy 1998–2010*
- *National Education Policy 2006*
- *National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy* of 2007

Sixteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with male *Islamiyat* teachers from Islamabad, Peshawar, Muzzafarabad, Rawalpindi, Khairpur, and Quetta. These locations were selected based on the connections and access of the researcher, who was living in Islamabad and had contacts in Sindh. While approaching the relevant ministries, it was learned that none of the offices carry data about their teachers. Thus, the researcher used convenience sampling based on his connections. This sampling strategy allows researchers to leverage their networks but limits the generalizability of a project's findings (Dawson, 2002).

Despite being a democracy, researchers often struggle to uncover the actual perspectives of the public in Pakistan, especially if the subject involves security or religion. Pakistanis generally believe that people should not question Islam. Consequently, criticizing Islam or the Islamic curriculum poses a serious security risk from average people living in the community as well as from legal institutions. For example, Junaid Hafeez, a former university lecturer in Multan, is currently on death row, in accordance with Pakistani law, because he committed blasphemy against the Prophet Mohammad (BBC, 2019). He has also been consistently attacked by his fellow prisoners for this offense. Many teachers were thus reluctant or scared to discuss the sensitive topic of Islamic education. Although 21 *Islamiyat* teachers were approached, only 16 responded positively and 14 allowed the data to be used in the study. Thus, generalizability of these findings is therefore limited by using convenience sampling and the fact that many teachers refused to participate. However, teachers' reluctance to participate supports our argument that Musharraf's government faced challenges in instituting changes because of the educational governance structure.

This study was part of a dissertation project that received ethical approval from the Advanced Studies and Research Board of the National Defence University, Islamabad. Following the lead of Nordstrom (2004), in addition to keeping participants' names confidential, we provide little detail about the teachers we cite to protect their safety. Teachers were also told they could drop out of the study at any time, leading two participants to withdraw. Interviews were only audio-recorded when participants felt comfortable with it; seven teacher interviews were recorded and transcribed, and notes were taken during interviews where participants did not want to be recorded. The teachers from Khairpur and Quetta were interviewed by telephone, while the rest were interviewed in person. Interviewees answered questions from an open-ended questionnaire (in English or Urdu). The interviews with *Islamiyat* teachers were conducted to understand their perspectives regarding the *Islamiyat* curriculum and textbooks. Teachers were asked to describe whether they thought the curriculum and textbooks promoted peace or conflict within Islam or between religious groups in Pakistan, and how they used these materials with their students. All transcripts and notes were analyzed to generate themes reflecting teachers' beliefs on how the *Islamiyat* curriculum emphasized interfaith harmony and/or exacerbated conflict between different religions and sects. We also analyzed these sources to determine teachers' self-described pedagogical practices and constraints on these practices. Two education experts in Pakistan were also interviewed: Tariq Rehman and A.H. Nayyar. Rehman is a linguist and has worked on *madrassah* education in Pakistan for years. Nayyar is also a specialist in Pakistan's education sector and has openly criticized government policies toward education. They both agreed to have their names used because of their open criticism of Pakistan's education system; therefore, mentioning their names does not expose them to additional risk.

Findings are organized based on the role of curriculum, educational governance, and teaching in escalating conflict in Pakistan. We analyze each of the three policies sequentially and complement these analyses with data from the interviews. The failure to implement these policies meant that the proposed textbooks were never created. Consequently, there are no textbooks to analyze that resulted from Musharraf's proposed policies. We were also unable to examine *Deeniyat* (the study of all religions) textbooks (the significance of which are described in the following section) because they were destroyed during Nawaz Sharif's administration. The inability of the textbooks proposed under Musharraf to be created and the destruction of the *Deeniyat* textbooks support our argument about the role of education as a victim in Pakistan. Textbooks created during Nawaz Sharif's time are also no longer available because all of these books were discarded with the devolution of Pakistan's Ministry of Education in 2010. Where possible, we draw on secondary sources to represent content from the textbooks during relevant time periods. The final section on teaching is based solely on interview data.

3.5 Escalating Conflict through Curriculum Reform: The *National Education Policy 1998–2010*

Education has been an accomplice to sectarian and interreligious tensions and violence in Pakistan, as exemplified in the portrayal of Islam as central to Pakistani identity and in the emphasis on a very particular (Sunni) vision for appropriately practicing Islam. This issue became prominent in Pakistan's curriculum because of the *National Education Policy 1998–2010*, which was instituted under Musharraf's predecessor, Nawaz Sharif.

Although it is well established that the Islamization of the Pakistani curriculum began through the 1979 policy of Zia ul Haque's government (Siddiqui, 2016), the 1998 policy increased the role of fundamentalist Islam in the Pakistani education system. To begin with, this policy replaced *Deeniyat* with *Islamiyat* (Ali, 2012). With this subject's replacement, students no longer had a required course teaching them about other religions and would now learn exclusively about Islam. *Islamiyat* was also restructured and designed to promote Sunni-based Islam. When *Islamiyat* was first introduced in 1975, students also learned about world peace from the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah (Islam's legal and social teachings according to Prophet Mohammad's words and deeds). However, after the 1998 education policy, most of these lessons were discarded. They were not explicitly replaced with other content; consequently, the change was less about what was added and more about what was removed.

The cover page of the education policy includes the word *Iqra*, which literally means to read. The word in Islam refers to the proper reading of the Quran according to Prophet Mohammad and is associated with a more fundamentalist Sunni interpretation. Thus, incorporating *Iqra* was significant because it moved the policy's emphasis away from the Quran to focus on what was considered to be the proper practice of Islam. While all of the policies (including the 1998–2010 policy) began with the same verse from the Quran, none of the previous policies included *Iqra* on their first pages. Including *Iqra* suggested there was a right and wrong way to practice Islam, and this new policy would dictate the *true* way to practice it. The interviews with *Islamiyat* teachers further reflected this ideal based on how they responded to the question of what *Islamiyat* meant to them. Although nine of these teachers said that it was just another subject to them, a significant minority (five of 14) expressed that in teaching this subject they were spreading what they considered to be the proper practice of Islam.

One of the most important aspects of this policy was its focus on Islam as the ideology of Pakistan. The Minister of Education stated in the document: "Today, we must resolve to be Muslims and Pakistanis and nothing else" (Government of Pakistan, 1998, p. vii). In the same message, the minister further specified: "We are not a country founded on its territorial, linguistic, ethnic or racial identity. The only justification for our existence is our total commitment to Islam as our sole identity" (Government of Pakistan, 1998, p. 9). The document aimed to strengthen the connection between Pakistani and Muslim identity and emphasizes that other

identities were not as important as being Muslim. This emphasis not only heightened the significance of Muslim identity for the population but also excluded the roughly 3.6% of the non-Muslim population from being seen as true Pakistanis. Moreover, this statement blatantly contradicts Pakistan's constitution, which recognizes other faiths in addition to Islam. The policy was the first time that *Islamiyat* became compulsory for all non-Muslims and non-Sunnis, beginning in first grade (Interview with Nayyar). Previously, non-Muslims and non-Sunnis had separate religious curricula throughout primary and secondary education.

Depictions of religious rituals in the *Islamiyat* textbooks designed in response to these policy changes raised concerns among Pakistan's Shia community. In these textbooks, only the Sunni prayer style was described, which delegitimized the Shia style of prayer. For instance, Sunnis clasp their hands during prayers, while Shias do not. As portrayed in Ali (2008), the textbooks only show and describe people praying with their hands clasped, as if this is the only proper way to pray. Moreover, Sunnis turn their head toward their right shoulder and then left to end prayer, whereas Shias simply end prayers with *Dua* (a prayer to God) while raising both their hands closed together. This was another difference not addressed in the textbooks.

These textbook revisions resulted in protests by the Shia community in Gilgit-Baltistan, which is in the northern part of Pakistan and has a majority Shia community, and Islamabad (Shamil, 2016). The biggest issues the Shia community emphasized were the interpretations of Islamic history and the portrayal of proper Islamic practices (Ali, 2008); the community demanded that the federal government allow separate Islamic Studies textbooks for Shia children to curb sectarian violence (Shamil, 2016). However, the government did not heed the Shia community's demands, resulting in a series of protests across Pakistan, multiple Shia–Sunni conflicts and arrests, and the assassination of Syed Agha Zia-ud-Din Rizvi, a renowned Shia cleric who advocated for interfaith harmony. This assassination instigated further violence and the deaths of around 45 people. Thus, the 1998–2010 policy furthered the role of education as an accomplice to conflict between the Sunni Muslim majority and other minority sects and minority religious groups through curricular reform. Particularly, the removal of *Deeniyat* and alternative interpretations of Islam created a much narrower vision of Islam that exacerbated tensions across sectarian lines in the country.

3.6 Educational Governance Inhibits Musharraf's Proposed Reforms for Peace: The *National Education Policy 2006* and the *National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy* of 2007

When Musharraf took charge of Pakistan in 1999 after removing Nawaz Sharif's democratic government, he intended to restrict religious fundamentalists from influencing the curriculum. The *National Education Policy 2006* proposed valuable

concrete changes to this end (Interview with Nayyar). In the preliminary stages of revising the *Islamiyat* curriculum and textbooks for this policy, the government gave stipends to religious scholars from various sects to draft chapters about Islam for new textbooks. The Minister of Education selected some of these chapters, the government staff refined them, and he made recommendations in conversation with members from various ministries under Musharraf's direction. This resulted in the draft 2006 policy's proposed changes to *Islamiyat.*

The *National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy (TLMP)* of 2007 was the second stage in the textbook and curriculum development process of the 2006 education policy. The 2006 policy provided the raw material, and the TLMP process took this content to create a first draft of the textbooks and related teaching materials. The TLMP intended to enhance the quality of education by producing affordable and better-quality textbooks for students of all levels (Government of Pakistan, 2007). Building on the recommendations of the 2006 policy draft, material promoting a narrow view of religion and ethnicity would be omitted from the curriculum and content reflecting a more balanced view of other sects and religions would be added to produce a tolerant generation (Government of Pakistan, 2007). Importantly, this policy also recommended that examinations should not be based on a single coursebook. This practice aimed to produce students who can think critically rather than just regurgitate information from a particular book and students who can investigate and view issues from multiple perspectives. After being approved by the Ministry of Education, the textbooks would have ideally appeared in 2007 or 2008. However, these textbooks never materialized because of the political factors described throughout this chapter.

The three following examples illustrate some of the proposed changes that would have increased students' critical thinking capacities and improved their perceptions of non-Muslims and Muslims from other sects. First, a chapter on Dr. Abdus Salam, the second Muslim and first-ever Pakistani winner of the Nobel Prize, was added. Salam has remained a controversial personality for the majority of Pakistan's leadership because he is an *Ahmadi* (Interview with Nayyar). Ahmadis were proclaimed to be non-Muslims in an amendment to Pakistan's 1973 Constitution (Government of Pakistan, 1974), despite being an Islamic sect. Because of Salam's perceived status as non-Muslim, previous textbooks largely glossed over the significance of his work for Pakistan's Atomic Energy Commission and for scientific research in the country (Qureshi, 2016). The proposed chapter sought to remedy this injustice. As one teacher interviewee explained, the objective of introducing chapters of this nature was to create awareness of the contributions of many non-Muslims to the development of Pakistan. Second, the policy also proposed to include more examples of coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslims from Islamic history. For instance, a new section was recommended describing the constitution-building process when Prophet Mohammad first arrived in Medina (Interview with Nayyar). This story promotes interfaith harmony by showing how the Prophet created a covenant with the local tribes that protected the rights of Muslims and the rights of the Jews and local polytheists as well (Arjomand, 2009). Finally, as one teacher interviewee explained, lessons regarding Hazrat Ali, a key religious figure in the Shia faith, were inserted

to include Shias as part of Islam and Pakistan. These examples were designed to change the role of education from an accomplice to a transformer by shifting views of the Muslim population toward non-Muslim and non-Sunni groups.

The implementation of these policies would have improved textbooks, removed problematic content, and added more balanced depictions of other Islamic sects and religions, moving away from rigid interpretations of the text, all of which are critical changes for education to become a transformer of conflict (Kovinthan Levi, this volume). By changing these texts and encouraging critical thinking in response to them, this initiative could have helped youth to challenge dominant power structures and see their capacity for creating peace (Fitzduff & Jean, 2011).

However, the strong influence of religious groups meant that, although the reforms were intended to secularize the curriculum, the first goal of the *National Education Policy 2006* remained "to make Quranic principles and Islamic practices an integral part of curricula so that the message of the Holy *Quran* could be disseminated in the process of education and training" (Government of Pakistan, 2006, p. 2). Similarly, the TLMP aimed to promote the ideology of Islam and its relation to Pakistan. Although these policies sought to satisfy religious groups by including such language, these groups still opposed both policies and they consequently spread disinformation to discredit Musharraf. For example, one teacher interviewee believed that Musharraf was sent from abroad to impose secularism and destabilize Islamic culture in Pakistan. Musharraf needed the support of religious groups because he had alienated democratic parties with his authoritarian style of governance. The interviews with education specialists and teachers further supported this idea.

Thus, although Musharraf may have been sincere in his curriculum and textbook reform efforts, Pakistan's governance structure inhibited his ability to implement them. To remain in power, Musharraf needed to appease key military officials and members of political religious groups. These military officials believed that extremist rhetoric in the curriculum and textbooks was necessary to fuel extremist groups battling India in Kashmir and theUnited States in Afghanistan to counter the Indian threat (Khan, 2011). Additionally, groups like *Jamaat-e-Islaami* had a strong influence on educational governance and promoted fundamentalist Islam. In catering to these stakeholders, Musharraf was unable to enact meaningful curricular reforms, his policies were not implemented, and the proposed textbooks were never created. Many previous Pakistani regimes reflected a similar disconnect between their proposed policies and their implementation because of the negative political ramifications of enacting such changes (Siddiqui, 2016).

All three education policies examined in this chapter were influenced by the significant role of religious groups in Pakistan. This influence had three impacts. First, it led to reforms that narrowed the scope and definition of Pakistani and Muslim identity, as with the *National Education Policy 1998–2010*. Second, policies proposing reforms still contained substantial language describing the Islamic identity of Pakistan and the purpose of the curriculum in creating what was thought to be good Muslims. Third, reforms that challenged the narrow and exclusionary nature of previous policies were opposed by religious parties who blocked the implementation of these reforms and the creation of the proposed textbooks. Thus, the educational governance

structure resulting from the strong influence of political-religious groups perpetuated the role of education as an accomplice to multiple conflicts in Pakistan. This structure also resulted in education being victimized because textbooks promoting interfaith harmony were blocked from being created as well. Moreover, this structure significantly constrained education's possibility as a transformer because religious parties actively resisted any reforms promoting interfaith or sectarian understanding in curriculum, textbooks, or teaching practices.

3.7 Teaching Practices that Escalate Conflict

Teachers' strict adherence to curricular materials further marginalized groups that are excluded from Pakistan's official narrative. For example, one teacher explained that his job was to teach what is "there in the textbooks." Moreover, when questioned on their views regarding Islam's contributions to peace, all fourteen teachers responded that Islam emphasizes peace for all Muslims worldwide. When asked why they focused on all "Muslims," instead of all "humans," four teachers amended their previous answer, while the rest did not. For example, one teacher stated, "Islam teaches us (Muslims) to spread love and peace amongst the Muslim *ummah* (Muslim World) to promote *aman aur Islami bhaichara* (Peace and Muslim brotherhood)." When asked why love and peace were only applied to Muslims and not all people, he said he was just quoting the textbook. However, he explained that he (personally) believes in peace and love for all humans—Muslims or non-Muslims. Thus, regardless of their personal beliefs, most teachers felt compelled to adhere to the textbooks, which only focused on peace within Muslim communities.

A major reason for teachers' narrow interpretations of the text is the context in which they teach. Some interviewees shared that they must strictly follow the *Islamiyat* textbooks because of instructions from their school principals. For example, at schools in Rawalpindi and Islamabad, the principals required all teachers to emphasize the wars fought by Prophet Mohammad and to deemphasize the stories involving Hazrat Ali, whom Shias consider to be a central religious figure. Even in Shia majority areas like Quetta, administrators stuck to the curriculum and feared deviating from it. While this practice continues, the curriculum in each province has changed because of the 18th amendment, which delegated educational authority to each province in the country. However, even in majority Shia provinces like Balochistan, the textbooks continue to be Sunni-based. Principals also told teachers to avoid secular examples because they deviate from Islam. These findings suggest that promoting peace through Islam in Pakistan is restricted by teachers' narrow approach to the curriculum, which is reinforced by school administrators' requirements. This narrow approach furthers education's role as an accomplice to conflict because students are taught that there is only one correct way to practice Islam, and Muslim identity is seen as essential to being Pakistani.

Additionally, teacher interviewees were afraid to answer many questions because of the sensitivity of discussing Islamic education in Pakistan. The interviewer sensed

that teacher interviewees were worried about security officials using their answers against them. For example, when asked how they define *jihad* in the classroom, all fourteen teachers chose not to respond. Interviewees may have refused to answer because the Pakistani government only acknowledges one version of *jihad*. Were they to speak against the government position on *jihad*, teachers could experience serious repercussions, such as losing their job, being questioned by the ISI, or facing possible violence from community members? Some interviewees would at first express a certain perspective and then contradict it to speak according to government rhetoric. For instance, one teacher initially expressed that he supported making changes to the *Islamiyat* textbooks; later, the same teacher stated: "there is nothing wrong with the *Islamiyat* textbooks." When asked why he had earlier supported changing the textbooks, he replied: "I was wrong initially."

This section illustrates how *Islamiyat* teaching practices exacerbate sectarian and interreligious conflicts because teachers strictly adhere to the curriculum and are explicitly told to emphasize textbook portions that represent the Sunni narrative. The strict control that security officials and school administrators have over teachers and the lack of training they receive situates teachers at the whims of these powerful stakeholders. While teachers are not necessarily heavily monitored, they are taught to obey instructions and follow the textbooks no matter their background. If teachers dare to interpret the text too extensively, people could report them, and they could lose their job. Their lives could also be threatened by local community members for not complying with accepted narratives in society. School administrators are in much the same position as teachers are in this regard. Consequently, until the security sector's priorities change, as in ceasing to use radicalization and extremist groups to combat India, teachers will have few opportunities to challenge discourses in the *Islamiyat* curriculum that marginalize non-Sunni Muslims and non-Muslims. This has been a challenge for educators since Zia ul Haque's administration (from 1978 to 1988) and will continue until security officials change their strategy. This change will be critical for education to become transformative in Pakistan.

Despite these challenges, teacher interviewees were still committed to education for peace. All fourteen teachers believed that the *Islamiyat* textbooks should emphasize Islam's role in peacebuilding; however, they described this role as a means to counter the West. Thus, although teachers desire to improve the conditions for peace in Pakistan, this vision is restricted to Islam and developed in opposition to the non-Muslim *other*, rather than being inclusive of all people, regardless of their religion. This attitudinal constraint limits the possibility of teachers as transformers for peace. Similarly, in examining teachers' agency for peacebuilding in Pakistan, Halai and Durrani (2018) found that teachers promoted social cohesion but only within the assimilationist narrative of the state, which continued to marginalize groups outside this narrative.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter used the Pakistani case to examine the roles that education can play as a victim, an accomplice, or a transformer in conflict contexts based on the IREC framework (Kovinthan Levi, this volume). We focused specifically on the time period immediately preceding and during Musharraf's regime to illustrate how education was victimized by the influence of religious groups in Pakistan and how curriculum, educational governance, and pedagogical practices have escalated conflict or been used to promote peace in the country. We examined policy documents and conducted interviews with *Islamiyat* teachers and Pakistani education experts to fulfill this goal. Based on this research, we argue that the curriculum and textbooks, flaws in educational governance, and shortcomings in teacher training and pedagogy have resulted in education being an accomplice to conflict in Pakistan. More specifically, beginning with the Islamization process of 1979 under General Zia ul Haque and intensified by the *National Education Policy 1998–2010*, curricula and textbooks in Pakistan reflect a narrow vision of Islam that is imposed on minority groups through the general curriculum and more specifically through *Islamiyat* and the destruction of the more inclusive *Deeniyat* textbooks. In terms of educational governance, Musharraf was unable to push through his proposed policy changes to deradicalize the curriculum and textbooks because of opposition from religious groups, his continued (unofficial) policy of allowing extremist groups to exist on Pakistani soil, and his authoritarian approach. This inability for textbooks to be created during this time period further resulted in education becoming a victim. The role of education as an accomplice to conflict is exacerbated by teachers' strict adherence to the curriculum and textbooks and the gaps in teacher training. While some teachers buy into the assimilationist narrative of the state, others maintain this narrative to keep their jobs, to stay off the radar of security officials, and to protect themselves from more radical community members. Challenges in these areas have led to the continued role of education in Pakistan exacerbating conflicts in the country, despite various policies and initiatives developed by Musharraf to reduce fundamentalist interpretations of Islam and develop a more peaceful Pakistan.

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Chapter 4
The Multiple and Intersecting Roles of Civics Textbooks in Conflict-Affected Sri Lanka

Thursica Kovinthan Levi

Abstract The content of civics textbooks has the potential to contribute to inclusive citizenship and social cohesion in conflict-affected societies. Drawing on the multiple roles of education in conflict, this chapter examines the role of state-sponsored civics textbooks in promoting peacebuilding in Sri Lanka. The analyzed textbooks undermine the goals of developing a democratic citizen and promoting values of social cohesion among students in Sri Lanka in three ways: (1) A surface-level emphasis on inclusion and pluralism; (2) A focus on creating obedient citizens who are economic contributors rather than agents of social change; and (3) The complete omission of the 30-year conflict between the various ethnic groups. This combination of factors leaves little space for dissent, critical thinking, or opportunities to engage in peacebuilding and reconciliation. Rather, the textbooks push for peace through homogenization and conformity, where peace education becomes a manifestation of violence and reflects the accomplice role of education in conflict.

Keywords Citizenship education · Civic education · Conflict · Peacebuilding · Textbooks

Since the end of a 30-year civil war between the Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in 2009, Sri Lanka has made several commitments to reconciliation and peacebuilding. Education is one sector that has been a consistent area that the government has targeted to promote values of peace and social cohesion between the various ethnic groups. Access to and the content of education have been and continue to be sources of tension between the three major ethnic groups: the Sinhalese, Tamils, and Muslims (Moors). Sri Lanka is a classic example of how education could contribute to conflict through divisive curricula that demonize the ethnic other (Davies, 2005). School textbooks from the 1970s

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and 1980s were noted for depicting minority Tamils as invaders and the historical enemy of the majority Singhalese (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Recognizing the role of education in Sri Lanka's protracted conflict, the Ministry of Education (MoE) committed to promoting peace education through their *National Policy and Comprehensive Framework of Actions on Education for Social Cohesion and Peace (ESCP)* (2008).

One tangible outcome of Sri Lanka's education reforms was introducing a citizenship education course and related textbooks, the *Life Competences and Citizenship Education* (LCCE) for Grades 6–9. The course and textbooks' intended goal is to foster a common Sri Lankan citizenship identity among the various ethnic and religious groups. The curriculum is meant to manifest the *ESCP* policy's focus to develop citizens who can live in a multicultural society, respect diversity and individual rights, and value or tolerate other cultures (Ministry of Education, 2008). This ideal citizen is also empathetic, democratic, possesses civic virtues, can analyze intercultural conflict, transform it, communicate, solve problems, discover inner peace, and protect Sri Lankan traditions, cultures, and values (Ministry of Education, 2008). This chapter will examine how the Grades 6–9 civic textbooks promote these values and contribute to peacebuilding. It will show that these textbooks undermine the state's policy goals of developing a democratic citizen and promoting values of social cohesion among students in Sri Lanka through (1) Exclusionary and insecure forms of citizenship identity; (2) A focus on creating obedient citizens who are economic contributors rather than agents of social change; and (3) The complete omission of Sri Lanka's 30-year national conflict.

4.1 Conflict Context

Sri Lanka is a small island nation in the Indian Ocean, comprised of four predominant ethnic groups: Singhalese (75%), Tamils (11%), Indian Tamils (4%), and Moors (9%) (Department of Census and Statistics, 2012). There are several other smaller ethnic groups including the indigenous people of Sri Lanka, the Veddas, who are often grouped under "other" in census data (Dona, 2019). The Veddas' numbers and way of life have slowly deteriorated due to colonization and assimilation into Singhalese and ethnic Tamil communities (Attanapola & Lund, 2013).

Sri Lanka's 30-year protracted conflict between the Singhalese majority government and the LTTE is often attributed to the postcolonial tensions between ethnic Tamils and the Sinhalese (Diaz & Murshed, 2013). Before colonization, Sri Lanka existed as separate Singhalese and Tamil kingdoms, and ethnic differences were predominantly social rather than political constructions (Lunn et al., 2009; Perera, 2001). The colonial and postcolonial period exacerbated differences between the two major ethnic groups and laid the foundation for a protracted conflict. Privileged access to education and government jobs given by the British to ethnic minority Tamils in the North and the English-speaking Singhalese elite led to discontent among the majority Singhalese populace. Following independence, Singhalese political parties

introduced nationalist policies that undermined Tamil minorities to gain popularity among dissatisfied Singhalese voters (Lewis, 2019). These policies slowly eroded the rights of Tamils. The *Sinhala Only Act* in 1956 made Sinhala the official language of the country and thereby restricted Tamils from public sector jobs, which were dominated by Tamils prior to independence. Drastic reductions in the number of seats available to Tamils to enter university followed changes to the language policy with the introduction of a quota system. These restrictions on education eroded Tamils' status and are often considered the definitive blow that contributed to Tamil identity development as a minority group that required self-determination. In addition, minority Tamils across the island faced violent communal pogroms in 1983 that led to the deaths of 400–3000 Tamils (Lewis, 2019). Exclusionary policies, violence against Tamils, and the failure of a political solution to address grievances led to the rise of several Tamil militant groups. The most notable was the LTTE, who went on to create a de facto state in the North and engaged in an ongoing conflict with the Sinhalese government for close to 30 years as they fought for Tamil autonomy.

The 30-year civil war between the LTTE and the Sinhalese government ended with government forces defeating the LTTE in May 2009, resulting in what has been described as a victor's peace. Given the LTTE's complete defeat, the government has had little impetus to address Tamil grievances or engage in meaningful reconciliation. The end of war continues to be a source of controversy due to allegations of human rights violations and war crimes by government forces and the LTTE (Thiranagama, 2018). To date, Sri Lanka continues in a state of fragile peace with high levels of militarization and occupation in minority communities and has yet to meaningfully address current and past human rights violations against minority communities (Amnesty International, 2018). Despite numerous commitments by the government for truth and reconciliation, there has been a regression in efforts with increased arrests and detention of individuals under the unrepealed Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), threats against religious and ethnic minorities and human rights activists, and torture and ill-treatment in police custody (Amnesty International, 2018).

4.2 Conceptual Framework

In examining the role of citizenship education textbooks in promoting peace and democratic citizenship, this study draws on Davies's (2003) idea of interruptive democracy (Davies, 2005; Niens & Reilly, 2012). She defines interruptive democracy as "the process by which people are enabled to break into practices which continue injustice" (Davies, 2008, p. 19). She notes that interruptive democratic approaches are necessary to challenge negative conflict and promote positive conflict, critical components of peacebuilding through education. An interruptive democratic approach to citizenship education is based on the implicit recognition that some citizens in a society may not have access to the same rights as others; as such, it recognizes the ever-presence of conflict and the need for education to prepare students to become justice-oriented citizens, who can engage in deliberation and dissent for a

more equal and fair society. This implicit recognition sets interruptive democracy apart from traditional multicultural or global approaches to citizenship education, which often presume equal rights in their identity-based approaches to citizenship and overlook the ever-presence of conflict and injustice in diverse societies. Davies (2008) highlights five key components needed to facilitate interruptive democratic citizenship education in the context of education; they include a basis in rights, a fluid and more ambiguous approach to identity, deliberation and dialogue, creativity, and agency to act. The following explicates the three roles of education espoused by the IREC framework (Kovinthan Levi, this volume) in conjunction with the five elements of interruptive democracy to understand the role of civics textbooks for peacebuilding.

4.2.1 Victim

Civics textbooks can take on the role of victim to conflict due to limitations in quality and access. For example, the reduced capacity of MoEs due to governments' low expenditure on education during war, resulted in fewer resources such as textbooks (Jones & Naylor, 2014). Low capacity in the MoE can result in a complete absence of a civics course favoring core subjects. When courses and textbook materials are present, low capacity can result in poor quality or outdated content and thus risks doing more harm than good. In some cases, the translation of textbooks into different national and local languages could be inaccurate, or distribution of the books once printed could be uneven.

4.2.2 Accomplice

Akin to Bush and Saltarelli's (2000) negative face of education, education's accomplice role occurs when it is weaponized to create and/or perpetuate divisions in society through uneven access and curriculum manipulation, the promotion of ethnic stereotypes and harmful forms of nationalism/patriotism. The civics curriculum is particularly vulnerable to reinforcing and legitimizing structural inequality within society, a process referred to by Galtung (1990) as cultural violence. Cultural violence undercuts interruptive democracy's basis in rights, focus on deliberation and dialogue, and the agency to challenge injustice by preventing students from critically understanding social injustice.

Davies (2005) also notes that citizenship education that teaches hate, fear of others, negative stereotypes, uncritical approaches to war, or omits discussion of war fuels conflict. She argues that schooling in general tends to default to teaching values of obedience to authority figures, including those who engage in direct and indirect forms of violence against students (Davies, 2005). Such a focus on complacency and

obedience weakens student agency and prevents opportunities to engage in deliberation, dialogue, or dissent to challenge injustice. Another way citizenship can take on an accomplice role in conflict is through an overreliance on multicultural citizenship education, which often exaggerates differences between groups through a culture-based approach to citizenship identity. This approach often presents identities and culture as finished and fixed and overemphasizes differences between groups (Davies, 2008). The consequent divisions prevent students from engaging in deliberation and dialogue about the harmful aspects of culture and working across differences to achieve peace. Education can also foster what Ben-Porath (2006) describes as belligerent citizenship by overemphasizing involuntary participation, patriotism over diversity, and discouraging deliberation in times of conflict. Narrow forms of nationalism, identity, and patriotism commonly espoused in civics textbooks undermine opportunities for interruptive democracy education and contribute to conflict by excluding particular groups.

4.2.3 Transformer

Kovinthan Levi (this volume) argues that education can take on a transformative role in conflict when the content, pedagogy, and governance of education promote democracy, critical thinking, and positive conflict. In the same vein, Davies (2005) notes that citizenship education can contribute to interruptive democracy when it promotes a multifaceted understanding of identity and agency to hold the state accountable to its citizens. When textbooks instill a sense of agency to challenge wrongs and create spaces for students to negotiate their own understanding of their relationship to the state or national identity, they can engage in interruptive democracy.

The interruptive democracy approach to citizenship education facilitates the development of justice-oriented citizens, who can "improve society by critically analyzing and addressing social issues and injustices" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 242). Contrastingly, the participatory and personally responsible models of citizenship, described by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), stop short at personal good deeds and collective community efforts while overlooking the root causes of injustice and inequality in society. The promotion of the personally responsible or participatory citizen models through education fosters complacent citizens, who are unlikely to challenge the status quo. An interruptive democracy approach would focus on the root causes of conflict in society and allow students to challenge injustice and work across differences to overcome the inevitable conflict present in all societies. In order for education to transform conflict in this way, students need to move beyond fixed nationalistic and patriotic identities rooted in exclusion (Davies, 2005, 2008). In divided societies, national identity needs to be approached from a place of openness and ambiguity, a work in progress or unfinished knowledge in order to facilitate inclusion and positive conflict (Davies, 2010; Niens & Chastenay, 2008). Simultaneously, minority groups need to feel their group identity is secure and not feel under

Table 4.1 Themes and codes

Theme	Codes
Identity	Inclusion/exclusion; norm/periphery; representation (superficial/under-representation/misrepresentation); diversity; plurality; majoritarianism; assimilative; nationalism/patriotism; culture as fixed/changing; omission of identities
Obedience to authority	Respect; utilitarian goals/social justice goals; safeguarding culture; rule-following; hierarchy; traditions; duty
Dissent and the status quo	Conflict resolution (structural/personal); tolerance; omission of conflict; culture as fixed/changing; keeping the peace; will of the majority; equality/equity

threat by the majority community (Davies, 2008). Thus, how identities are represented in civics textbooks plays a vital role in facilitating opportunities to engage in interruptive democracy for peacebuilding.

4.3 Methodology

A document analysis of the textbooks developed for the revised civics curriculum *Life Competences and Citizenship Education* (Grades 6–9) was examined in English. The books are available online for free in Sinhala, Tamil, and English. The Grades 6–9 books were selected for analysis because these are the mandatory years for students' civic education; the Grades 10 and 11 courses are optional and have a smaller reach. The textbooks were examined using an iterative coding process through thematic analysis, as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). First, the textbooks were read for initial ideas. Next, initial codes were generated based on key concepts from the theoretical framework and new ideas identified during the coding process and initial readings. After this, the four textbooks were coded with the final list of codes organized using thematic mapping. Thematic mapping was used to deduce a final set of themes (identity, obedience to authority, dissent and the status quo) used to analyze the data in relation to the research question and conceptual framework (Table 4.1).

4.4 Results

The content of the civics textbooks for Grades 6–9 has made some progress in becoming more student-centered by drawing on issues related to children's immediate lives. It promotes some values of peace through multiculturalism and emphasizes the various ethnic and religious groups in Sri Lanka with a focus on traditions

and celebrations. Despite these achievements, it falls short in promoting the democratic citizenship outlined in the *ESCP* policy, which is a citizen who can: live in a multicultural society, respect diversity and individual rights, values or tolerates other cultures, can analyze intercultural conflict and transform it, communicates, solves problems, discovers inner peace, possesses civic virtues, is empathetic, is democratic, and protects Sri Lankan traditions, cultures, and values (Ministry of Education, 2008). The textbooks undermine the goals of developing a democratic citizen and promoting values of social cohesion among students in Sri Lanka through three ways. They promote (1) An insecure and exclusionary citizenship identity; (2) A focus on creating obedient citizens who are economic contributors rather than agents of social change; and (3) The complete omission of the 30-year conflict between the various ethnic groups. Further to this, the textbooks are rife with grammatical, spelling, and translation errors. The spelling and grammatical errors quoted in this chapter were copy-pasted from the original text and have not been altered here to illustrate the quality of translation work within the Department of Publication. The following section will explain how these three factors undermine interruptive democracy and, consequently, contribute to conflict.

4.4.1 Insecure and Exclusionary Citizenship Identity

The textbooks' focus on identity-based citizenship largely undermines the goal of promoting democratic citizenship due to the bias toward a Singhalese-Buddhist national identity and the consequent exclusion of other groups. The four civics textbooks reference and celebrate Sri Lanka's rich diversity in ethnicity, culture, language, and religion. However, students are also indoctrinated to believe that Sri Lankan identity's standard norm is a Singhalese-Buddhist one. Even though various chapters address linguistic, cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity to showcase Sri Lanka as a diverse but unified nation, a closer examination of each of these components shows that this unity centers around Singhalese-Buddhist hegemony. These subtle differences appear innocuous but contribute to reinforcing the precedence given to Singhalese-Buddhist culture and pose a threat to minority groups' identities as Sri Lankans, thereby undermining their citizenship identity and the rights that go with it.

Language. Linguistic diversity is embedded within the idea of Sri Lanka's multicultural identity and presented as an added value; however, this message is undermined through the precedence given to Sinhala language and culture throughout the four textbooks. Using a second language apart from the mother tongue is encouraged in the chapter *Our School* in the Grade 6 textbook. Similarly, speaking the other national language or the linking language, English, is seen as essential and praiseworthy in the Grade 7 and Grade 8 textbooks.

> Sinhala, Tamil and English are the main languages in our country. It is commonly seen in our schools that, Sinhalese children speak Tamil and English fluently while Tamil children speak Sinhala and English fluently. It is a commendable and praiseworthy situation. It is also

> essential to learn to speak, and write the languages used in the country in addition to our mother tongue. (Grade 7, Our Culture, p. 83)

> Existence of people who speak different languages is another feature in a multicultural society. It is beneficial to learn other languages as well as one's own tongue, use those languages where necessary to exchange ideas and consider every language equally etc. for the betterment of a multicultural society. (Grade 8, p. 56)

Despite the multicultural and multilingual message in these passages, the omission of minority languages or Sinhala's presentation first is a frequent occurrence throughout the English version of the textbooks. For example, in an assignment question involving writing a letter for a job within the Grade 9 textbook, reference is made to "what you studied in your Sinhala lesson in writing an official letter," rather than using "English lesson," "writing lesson," or "language lesson," to refer to the previously studied content. Similarly, in the Grade 7 textbook section on *Family*, the terminology is presented in the English transliteration of the Sinhala words for relatives (p. 40). Furthermore, many of the poems and songs used in the English version of the textbooks are historical or traditional Sinhala songs. In the English version of the textbooks, all poems/songs are also presented in Sinhala and Tamil; however, the Sinhala version is always presented first, followed by the Tamil, then finally English. Thus, although the transformative message of the value of multilingualism is given to students directly, indirectly, the Sinhala language is given precedence in the content and layout. These findings illustrate how the textbooks address the *ESCP* policy's commitment to promoting multilingualism by overtly stating its value and importance for Sri Lankan identity. At the same time, the textbooks subtly convey the message that the Sinhala language is the standard norm and thereby fail to provide minority groups with a secure language identity necessary for democratic citizenship.

Ethnicity. The textbooks undermine their transformative message to respect all the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka by underrepresenting and misrepresenting minority groups through a very overt bias for the Singhalese ethnic group. Like language, ethnic diversity is presented as a value-added to the ideal of multicultural Sri Lanka. There is a whole chapter named *Our Culture* in the Grade 7 textbook where ethnic diversity is highlighted as a central component to multiculturalism and Sri Lanka's identity as a nation:

> Ethnicity, religion, languages and occupation are a few factors that bring about differences between one culture to another. For example, Sri Lanka consists of many ethnic groups such as Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim, Burgher and Malay. It can be pointed out that every ethnic group has its own culture and cultural features inherent to it. (Grade 7, Our Culture, p. 82)

One group that is omitted in this passage is the indigenous people of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's indigenous ethnic group, the Vedda, is referenced only once across all four textbooks in Grade 9. They are referred to as indigenous people, but the Vedda's actual name is omitted from the text. Additionally, it is unclear from the section title whether all the ethnic groups are being presented as part of the indigenous culture of Sri Lanka or if they are referring to the Vedda as the first people of Sri Lanka. This distinction is left vague as Singhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers are also listed

under the section on Indigenous culture, suggesting that they too are indigenous to Sri Lanka:

> Indigenous culture
>
> All the countries in the world possess specific cultures inherited to each of them. That is the indigenous culture of those countries. Sri Lanka too is a multicultural country since the past. As well as indigenous people, different ethnic groups like Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers live in Sri Lanka. They believe in different religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Catholicism. There are identical cultures inherited to these ethnic groups. Various different cultural features can be seen in them. (Grade 9, Appreciate Indigenousness Meaningfully, p. 64)

In placing Singhalese, Tamils, Muslims, and Burghers and the indigenous people under the section Indigenous culture and by omitting the name of the Vedda people, the textbooks engage in a powerful erasure of the place of the indigenous people in Sri Lanka's history and their identity. In addition, the image of the Vedda on page 65 of the Grade 9 textbook is a stereotypical misrepresentation. Unlike their Singhalese, Tamil, and Muslim counterparts who are represented dressed in modern-day attire reflective of their respective cultures, the Vedda people are pictured wearing leaf skirts and carrying bow and arrows, an image that is unreflective of the modern-day Vedda. The implication of representing them in a historical context next to modern-day images of the other ethnic groups leads the reader to believe that the Veddas are no longer around or relevant; this is particularly evident in that they are only referenced in this small section in the grade nine textbook. The omission and misrepresentation contribute to undermining the rich culture and place of the Vedda people in Sri Lanka, a highly marginalized group.

Across the four textbooks, ethnic minority groups are predominantly included in topics on diversity. However, diversity is covered superficially with a focus on clothes, foods, and festivals. As a result, the textbooks reduce and simplify Sri Lanka's numerous ethnic groups into three primary identities: Singhalese, Tamil, and Muslim. Further to this, minority groups are not part of the textbooks' main running content of topics. For example, the Grade 9 textbook's section on social services draws almost exclusively on Singhalese culture and history. The poems, songs, important historical figures, and even the number of pages given to describe the different cultures are biased in favor of the Singhalese. For example, the Grade 8 textbook's coverage of different cultures presents Buddhist culture first and allocates an entire page. Hindu, Christian, Catholic, and Muslim cultures are crammed into two pages and given less than half a page (Grade 8, pp. 61–63). This minimization undermines minority groups' cultural identity by suggesting that Sri Lanka's national identity is Singhalese-Buddhist, and minority groups' cultural identities exist on the periphery. Last, the overemphasis on multiculturalism and cultural differences in relation to citizenship identity reinforces divisions between ethnic groups and prevents students from developing a more fluid and open understanding of identity needed to engage in deliberation and dialogue, two central aspects of interruptive democracy.

Religion. Like language and ethnicity, religion and consequently religious diversity is presented as an essential aspect of Sri Lanka's multicultural identity; however, this message is undermined with the precedence given to the Buddhist religion. The

right to hold a religious belief and the importance of respecting the religious beliefs of others is highlighted. References are made to common places of worship and how religious co-existence is part of Sri Lanka's history and identity. Despite the message of peaceful co-existence, religious exclusion of some of the minority religions is present in the textbooks, with Buddhism consistently presented first and set as the norm, followed by the other religions to represent diversity. For example, specific references to Buddhist terminology "Provide knowledge of the Dhamma" (Grade 6, p. 57) are used when describing services provided by places of religious worship. When describing different types of leaders, reference is made to the Chief Incumbent of the temple and other monks/lay devotees. These references are made in the exclusion of the other major religions in Sri Lanka. In a passage about common sacred places, only Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian places are mentioned with the exclusion of Islam, even though "all religions" are referenced.

Students' agency to challenge religious inequality is undermined through the complete omission of religious conflicts in Sri Lanka. The textbooks falsely claim that there is religious harmony in Sri Lanka. The word "co-existence" is frequently used in conjunction with religious diversity. The following is an example from the Grade 6 book.

> People of various ethnic groupings live in Sri Lanka. As such there are different places of religious worship in our neighborhood. It is a pleasure to hear the pirith chanting from one side of the country while hearing the echoing sound of Holy Koran from another side. Same as we hear the choirs from the church and the jingling bells from the kovil nearby. This is the religious co-existence and the identity of our country; Sri Lanka. (Grade 6, p. 57)

The last line is a direct contradiction to Sri Lanka's reality, where mosques have been torn down, and minority religious communities have been inundated with the construction of Buddhist temples through false claims that they were historically sacred Buddhist sites. In repeatedly speaking about the peaceful co-existence of the different religious groups, there is a denial of the violations of the religious rights of minority groups. The omission and false claims are a powerful form of cultural violence that normalize religious inequality. Thus, the basis of rights underpinning interruptive democracy is undermined through religious rights violations and the denial that they are happening.

4.4.2 The Obedient Worker

The most prevalent theme in the conceptualization of citizenship across the four textbooks was developing obedient individuals who followed the rules and contributed to the nation's development through work. Obedience and contribution to society through work are not problematic on their own; however, they become so when they come at the expense of equity and justice for individuals and groups. Learning opportunities for interruptive democracy, dissent, and social justice are limited due to the textbooks' emphasis on the personally responsible citizen who is obedient and contributes to the economy.

Obedience. The four textbooks' overemphasis on obedience undermines student agency and opportunities to engage in critical thinking. Despite the focus on democracy throughout the four books, when examining relationships and levels of engagement between individual, state, society, school, and family, there is a persistent emphasis on hierarchies and unquestioning obedience and respect to those in positions of power. The relationship between the state and the individual is equated to the relationship between the individual and the family and between the student and the school. The Grade 8 textbook asserts that the father is the family leader. It then equates his position in the family with a state leader to citizens and the relationship of a principal to staff students. All three relationships are cemented with the theme of culture, traditions, laws, rules, obedience, and the ideal of upholding democracy. Obedience is presented in several ways that touch on various aspects of students' lives, ranging from being obedient toward elders, following rules and regulations in school/community, adhering to traditions, respecting the law, and safeguarding all of these practices. Table 4.2 summarizes the number of times words related to obedience appear across the four textbooks.

Table 4.2 Frequency of obedience themed words in four textbooks

Word/phrase	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
Rule(s)	29	13	18	19
Regulations	23	9	10	21
Law	11	17	28	78
Respect(ing) or respectfully	38	24	32	31
Traditions	25	22	15	2
Safeguard(ing)	28	31	24	8
Duty/duties	35	35	65	89

The frequent repetition of these words provides a broad indication of how much of each textbook's content is focused on prescriptive content that emphasizes developing personally responsible citizens that follow the rules, rather than justice-oriented citizens capable of critical thinking. The occurrence of these words frequently overlaps with discussions of culture and identity, suggesting that the way of living presented to students is fixed, absolute, and must be kept the same at all costs, even if it does not serve the interest of all individuals. Contrary to the policy goal of developing students' critical thinking skills, the four textbooks are predominantly prescriptive and subtly reiterate the message that students should refrain from disrupting the status quo to avoid upsetting fellow citizens or Sri Lanka's harmonious way of life.

The Worker. A frequently highlighted characteristic of being a good citizen is contributing to the nation's development through work. The main goal of education is to prepare young people to contribute to the country's economy, illustrating the textbooks' emphasis on utilitarian goals over social justice ones. There is repeated emphasis on contributing to the "progress of society" (Grade 6, p. 22), becoming an "effective individual for your country" (p. 34), and making a "contribution to social

progress" (Grade 8, p. 38). The Grade 8 textbook starts with a personal message from the Minister of Education to students stating that "This book is given to you with the solemn expectation that you would acquire strong foundations to become a citizen useful for the country and for this era" (p. v). The same textbook goes on to link the development of the nation to citizens who are good workers. In discussing good characteristics of a worker, the section "Let Us Enter the World of Work" in the Grade 8 textbook reads:

> The development of a country rests heavily on its labor force. Hence, presence of a labour force, with better characteristics is an asset to a country. Due to the development of better qualities in a worker, attitude, dedication, and contribution toward labour can be maintained at a higher level. (p. 129)

The economic and utilitarian purpose of education is further reinforced in the section "Functions performed by education," which includes "Producing citizens who can work effectively in the World of Work and economy" (p. 14). What is omitted is how students can contribute through other means such as social action and addressing inequities in society; instead, the focus is on developing good workers to contribute to the economy. Although providing guidance on preparing for work within the civics curriculum is not inherently problematic, the importance and coverage given to the utilitarian goal of education over other aspects of education, such as critical thinking and social justice, limits how students can engage as citizens. The utilitarian goals of schooling also overemphasize the education system's exam culture, fostering competition over collaboration and limiting student creativity.

The Will of the Majority. The textbooks' extensive coverage of democracy presents a narrow form of democratic citizenship engagement, limiting student agency opportunities, engagement in deliberation and dialogue, or dissent. Obedience is conflated with democracy in the Grade 8 textbook's explanation of a democratic way of living through a significant focus on adherence to the "will of the majority" (p. 36) The introduction describes a democratic society as a "self-discipling and consensual society in which people act in cooperation with one another based on freedom and equality and being respectful to the opinions of the majority" (p. 32). The idea of individuals tolerating and honoring the majority's view is equated to a family's relationship with the father. This relationship is then extended to the school system. Within the school system, students are encouraged to be "… inquisitive and compromise on the will of the majority" (p. 36). Equating democratic society to the patriarchal family unit or the hierarchical school system is problematic, given that both these institutions are authoritarian regimes in Sri Lanka. These hierarchical relationships are intended to inculcate students to acquiesce uncritically to the majority's will. Such hierarchical relationships act as barriers to engaging in deliberation and dialogue, which are needed to engage in positive conflict and peaceful forms of dissent. There is no discussion on what students can do if the majority's will is incongruent with the needs or rights of a particular group or individual. The inability to critically examine the pros and cons of democracy ignores the current reality in Sri Lanka, where many marginalized communities are living without access to fundamental rights, even though they live in a democracy. Students are repeatedly

presented with what appears to be a benign message to compromise to contribute to peace. In reality, the textbook ensures that students are not given the tools to challenge the status quo when their rights are infringed upon. It does so by implying that citizens will compromise the country's peace if they do not acquiesce to the will of the majority.

4.4.3 Conflict Omission

The civics textbooks take an elephant in the room approach to Sri Lanka's national conflict by offering prescriptive instructions for peacekeeping instead of recognizing conflict as necessary for peacebuilding. The transformative messages on diversity, harmony, living without conflict, and tolerance throughout the textbooks are concurrently undermined by minimizing, omitting, and/or avoiding the topic of Sri Lanka's national conflict. In doing so, the writers lose out on a crucial pedagogical opportunity of connecting learning to students' lived experiences. For example, the textbooks send a contradictory message to students by frequently mentioning diversity and the need to minimize conflicts, without ever recognizing that there are conflicts between the different groups in Sri Lanka. These passages are presented with no context and are written as prescriptive rules to follow. Consequently, the content fails to meaningfully engage students in deliberation and dialogue on these critical issues. The following is an example of an attempt to promote ethnic harmony without acknowledging the ethnic tension that it is trying to ameliorate:

> It is essential to identify this cultural identity when we live in a multi – cultural society. Identifying cultural features and respecting them and not condemning them should be of paramount importance in such a society. It will build a strong inter relationship among cultures. It will make a good society and minimize conflicts in the society. (Grade 7, p. 83)

Like many others across the four textbooks, this passage illustrates how a focus on multiculturalism and tolerance becomes confounded with conflict resolution and peacebuilding. The following passage illustrates how, when conflict is mentioned, it is often a hypothetical conflict relevant to all societies, not the past and ongoing conflicts that are taking place in Sri Lanka.

> It is important to safeguard one's own culture with out making harm to others' cultures. We should not left down, criticize, blame or ignore the others' cultures. As one protects and honours the features of own culture, those of the others should also be protected and respected. It is the duty and responsibility of all good citizens. It creates mutual faith, dignity and coexistence among all cultural groups. Then a conflict free social environment evolves. (Grade 7, p. 108)

Both passages illustrate how the textbooks' approach to dealing with Sri Lanka's nation conflict with multicultural citizenship education contributes to education's accomplice role through omission and erasure of minority experiences. Furthermore, cultural diversity is also equated to protecting, safeguarding, or respecting culture, all words suggesting that there is some form of threat that requires a culture to be

protected i.e., the ongoing ethnic and religious conflict in Sri Lanka; this, however, is never acknowledged.

Inner peace and the status quo. When conflict is mentioned, it speaks only to interpersonal conflict and, on occasion, international conflict. Many of the examples of conflict are associated with personal characteristics such impatience, the influence of others, doubts, disrespect, desire for power, anger, jealousy, being uneducated, not being socialized, selfishness, being highly sensitive, being aggressive, etc. (Grade 9, p. 118). The Grade 8 text connects conflict resolution with a democratic way of living; however, the focus is very much on the inner control of oneself and conflict avoidance, rather than influencing external factors or addressing systemic issues in society at the root cause of conflict. For example, a democratic way of living is described as: “respect others, tolerate their views and act fairly. Then, conflicts and disputes can be minimized” (Grade 8, p. 48). Throughout the textbooks, there is a frequent emphasis on establishing democracy by managing emotions positively, what the texts refer to as "inner peace." Thus, democracy becomes confounded with learning to be complacent with one’s grievances by managing one’s feelings and emotions for the sake of unity and peace. Although learning to manage one’s emotions during conflict is important, the discussion ends there, leaving students with limited tools to address conflict arising from social inequality. Thus, agency is limited only to personal feelings, and students are not equipped to tackle broader challenges in society.

The textbooks undercut students’ rights and agency by equating conflict resolution to conflict avoidance by telling children to forget disagreements for the sake of national unity.

> Positive conflict resolution causes for social peace and harmony not only that it helps to develop social co-existence, reconciliation, brotherhood and freedom. By means of that, the way is paved for the entire social peace. Children, let’s forget all the disagreements and stand for peace. That is our duty today. (Grade 9, p. 125)

The call to “forget all the disagreements” contradicts the goal of “positive conflict resolution” in this passage. Students are given the message that it is their duty to give up their grievances in order to live in a peaceful and united country. The call for everyone to fall into line reflects belligerent citizenship, not the peacebuilding democratic form of citizenship that is espoused in the *ESCP* policy. By exclusively focusing on inner control and management of feelings and individual actions, along with tolerance and the need to minimize conflicts, the textbooks fail to prepare students with the critical thinking skills necessary to address the root cause of conflicts in society. Furthermore, the textbooks give a false impression that conflict resolution is being taught through the superficial use of words like “positive conflict” without a real commitment to addressing structural violence in society. As a result, students are left with limited tools to understand the root causes of conflict in society, limiting their agency and capacity to engage in peaceful dissent rather than engaging in more violence.

4.5 Discussion and Conclusion

The following section will illustrate how the textbooks analyzed take on the three roles of education in conflict with a particular focus on the most prominent role: the accomplice. It also demonstrates how, in some instances, the roles overlap and examines the impact of this intersection on the textbooks' capacity to promote interruptive democracy.

The numerous spelling and translation errors throughout the textbooks speak to the education system's low capacity to develop accurate textbooks. Although full of color and moving slowly toward a student-centered approach to pedagogy, the textbooks' overall content can be didactic and patronizing. These deficiencies result from the victimization of the education system, which Tawil (1997) describes as a secondary effect of conflict through violence and destruction. Decades of war have resulted in low investment in education systems and thereby reduced the MoE's capacity. Sri Lanka's investment in education has remained below 3%, reaching 2.1% of GDP in 2018 (World Bank, 2019). Despite this low investment, the focus on multiculturalism and diversity illustrates that Sri Lankan textbooks have come a long way from when, in the 1970s and 1980s, they depicted ethnic Tamils as the invading enemies of the Singhalese. Recognizing this achievement, this analysis found that the civics textbooks still predominantly fall into the accomplice to conflict role.

The government's efforts to retain the special status accorded to the Buddhist religion, the Singhalese ethnicity, and the Sinhala language, while attempting to promote a superordinate Sri Lankan national identity through the *LCCE* textbooks, excluded minorities and contributed to harmful forms of nationalism. The textbooks' tokenistic nod to minorities through multiculturalism fails to foster the secure identity needed for minority groups, which Davies (2008) argues is necessary to reduce resentment and aggression toward other groups. Niens and Chastenay (2008) found that attempts to promote superordinate national identities in culturally diverse societies experiencing conflict are often perceived as assimilative by minority groups. Ben-Porath (2006) describes this as a form of belligerent citizenship that is often taken up during times of conflict when the "multidimensional conception of citizenship loses much of its thickness" (p. 11). Ben-Porath (2006) suggests that individuals' multiple affiliations to various identities in society are reduced to a singular emphasis on "we are all fellow nationals" (p.11). This sentiment is very much reflective of the Grade 9 textbook's call to give up disagreements for the sake of peace. The message to come together is also reinforced by the persistent theme of unquestioning obedience to authority, even one that is unjust, identified by Davies (2005) as another way that citizenship education can contribute fuel conflict. In the Sri Lankan context, the unquestioning obedience to authority is particularly problematic, given the high level of human rights violations and the day-to-day marginalization of minority groups by those in power. These factors illustrate how belligerent forms of citizenship are espoused through the civics textbooks. The textbooks foster fixed approaches to citizenship identity and limit students' ability to critique governments and the harmful aspects of culture that contribute to conflict. The textbooks' content is reflective

of broader patterns of limited freedom of speech in Sri Lanka due to Singhalese-Buddhist hegemony. In Sri Lanka, the special status accorded to the Sinhala language and Buddhist religion within the constitution makes it impossible to critique any aspects related to the religion, including right-wing Buddhist extremists.

There is an overlap between the civics textbooks' transformative and accomplice roles in the way they simultaneously promote multiculturalism and plurality while reinforcing fixed notions of identities that have historically opposed each other. Given the history of conflict and grievances held by the different groups against the state, the textbooks' espousal of fixed cultural identities and a singular national identity undermine the intended goal of building social cohesion. Niens and Chastenay (2008) suggest that a more fluid and ambiguous approach be taken to identity and belonging in conflict-affected contexts, rather than focusing on promoting a fixed and cohesive national identity. This view is echoed by Ben-Porath's (2006) suggestion to focus on the shared fate of people in a country, rather than a singular identity, to bring people together in times of conflict and differences. Within education, this would require the curriculum to move away from the fixed notions of identity often present in multicultural curricula and toward a discussion on difference, deliberative democracy in school spaces, and a relational approach to learning that stresses the responsibility of learners to each other (Davies, 2008).

The textbooks act as an accomplice to conflict by undermining democracy's basis in rights and deliberation and dialogue through the complete omission of Sri Lanka's ongoing ethnic, religious, and linguistic conflicts. Studies that have examined education's role in Sri Lanka have cited that there is a fear of fueling more conflict by discussing controversial topics (Bentrovato & Nissanka, 2018; Cardozo, 2008). Conflict-affected societies face the challenge of finding a balance between recognizing injustices that took place before, during, and after the war for meaningful reconciliation versus promoting values of social cohesion for national unity. Davies's (2005) typology of teaching about conflicts urges educators to take an active approach by introducing spaces of positive conflict where students engage in critical debate and demonstrate empathy and interruptive forms of democracy that challenge the status quo. However, studies on textbooks in conflict-affected societies have shown that education systems and governments often choose the goal of social cohesion and national unity over meaningful recognition and discussion of a country's conflicts (Cunningham & Ladd, 2018). The findings of this analysis show that Sri Lanka is no different. Despite a progressive policy that aims to create citizens that can "analyse the causes of intercultural disharmony objectively" (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 4) and transform it, the textbooks fall significantly short of this goal through a focus on an exclusionary brand of citizenship identity, interpersonal conflict, and unquestioning obedience that provide limited opportunities to foster interruptive democracy through citizenship education.

The gap between the language in the policy documents and the civics textbooks can be attributed to low capacity. That said, the persistent and deliberate omission of conflict in civics textbooks that have undergone many revisions and improvements since being first published suggests that there is also a lack of political will to make real change. This disconnect between policy and practice in citizenship education

suggests that peacebuilding through education is more rhetoric than an intentional goal in Sri Lanka.

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Part II
Equality and Inequality

Chapter 5
A Post-9/11 Analysis of Civic Education Textbooks Used in Public Schools in Afghanistan

Noorin Nazari

Abstract After two decades of fighting the Western-backed governments of Afghanistan, the Taliban returned to power in August 2021. A content analysis of the textbooks published between the fall of the Taliban in 2001 and their return to power can suggest whether the books have served as an obstacle to or facilitator of conflict in the years prior to the Taliban return. Historically, Afghanistan public school textbooks have reflected a discursive violence marked by Cold War politics that established the ground for the confrontation between communism and Islamism. The ideology-driven discursive violence outlived the Cold War through textbooks into a decade of civil war (1992–2001). However, with the support of Western agencies, the post-9/11 Afghan governments strived to revise public school textbooks. Consequently, among other topics, civic education was incorporated into the curriculum. After four decades of influence from competing Islamist, Communist, and Western ideologies, the reconstruction of normative social values of Afghan society can be best understood through its textbooks. This chapter strives to answer the research question: How do the six civic education textbooks in Afghanistan discursively promote peace and/or fuel violence by (re)constructing new meanings, knowledge, and realities of social representations such as social assets (e.g., culture, history, religion) and social values (e.g., equality, peace, civic rights)? This study employs the Critical Discourse Analysis approach from the perspectives of Van Dijk on ideology. The following analysis exhibits that the civic education textbooks (re)construct five key social values: a constitutional but totalitarian democracy, a domestically moderate but pan-Islamist interpretation of Islam, a negative peace, a nominal human right, and a stereotypical gender equality. Based on these findings, it is argued that the civic education textbooks simultaneously play the role of transformer of conflict by promoting social values nominally *and* the role of accomplice to conflict by overlooking the same normative social values in their practical interpretations of the social fabric and dynamism of Afghanistan.

Keywords Afghanistan · Civic education · Ideology · Peace · Textbooks

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5.1 Introduction

In Afghanistan, an ideological confrontation between communism and Islamism during the Cold War decades (1970s–1990s) was responsible for victimizing education. The Soviet-backed Afghan government and the Western-backed Afghan Islamist *Mujahidin* operating from Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, exploited public school curricula as an ideological propaganda weapon by taking advantage of social assets (defined as socially shared intellectual properties such as history, religion, or culture) and (re)constructing social values—i.e., perceptions of moralities such as liberty, equality, and rights (Van Dijk, 2003)—in accordance with their competing ideological belief systems. The superpowers perpetuated the victimization of education by funding their respective Afghan allies, who promoted their own individual ideologies through the public school curriculum (Rasanayagam, 2003; Spink, 2007). The ideology-driven manipulation of social assets and social values of the public school curricula rendered education a victim and, simultaneously, an accomplice to the ongoing conflict. In this period, textbooks systematically reflected politically motivated social values, culminating in an ideological indoctrination of educators and learners, and an eventual human resource mobilization and recruitment from public schools into not only the battlefields but also public education institutions within and outside the country (Saikal, 2006; Spink, 2007).

At the end of the Cold War, despite the absence of systemwide educational reform, education was further victimized and rendered an accomplice of conflict through subsidiary changes. Under the rule of the Islamist Afghan *Mujahidin* government (1992–1996) and later the Islamist Taliban regime (1996–2001), the Cold War period narratives remained in textbooks mainly due to state dysfunctionality caused by civil wars and a lack of human and financial resources required to reform school curricula (Spink, 2007; Woo & Simmons, 2008). Subsidiary changes of the Taliban regime included the reduction of official languages, the inclusion of Arabic, and a drop in scientific subjects to accommodate radical Islamic content; these changes were implemented with financial support from Saudi Arabia (Spink, 2007). The demise of communism paved the way for Islamist ideology to infiltrate from refugee camps in Pakistan into official education curricula in Afghanistan public schools.

Following the fall of the Taliban in 2001, school curricular reform became central in policy making. A new *National Education Framework* (NEF) identified six curriculum priority areas including promoting national sovereignty, Islamic values, the rule of law, solidarity, peace, brotherhood, human rights, and cooperation (Department of Compilation and Translation, 2003). Subsequently, the Ministry of Education (MoE) published six civic education textbooks for Grades 7–12. These changes positioned post-9/11 education as a potential transformer of the conflict through civic education.

With the presence and influence of vast international support to the MoE during the post-9/11 era (Spink, 2007; Woo & Simmons, 2008), extremist Islamic and communist content could not be officially or overtly included in the curricula. Given this abrupt ideological absence, this chapter strives to analyze the (re)construction of

social values in the curricula through a content analysis of the civic education textbooks (CETBs) currently used in Afghanistan's public schools, responding to these questions:

1. What social values are (re)constructed in the CETBs?
2. How do the (re)constructed social values of the CETBs discursively promote peace and/or fuel violence?
3. How do the CETBs discourses render education in Afghanistan a discursive victim, an accomplice, or a transformer of conflict?

Following a presentation of the chapter's theoretical and methodological frameworks, the five themes established through content analysis; namely democracy, Islam, (in)security, human rights, and gender equality are analyzed to highlight the (re)construction of social values in the CETBs.

5.2 Theoretical Framework

This paper assumes a post-structural perspective which views knowledge as a politically constructed, unstable, and value-loaded interpretation that is spatially and temporarily context-dependent, hence created by both objective and subjective understandings of specific peoples (Davis, 2004; Thomassen, 2017). The IREC framework (Kovinthan Levi, this volume) guides the analysis of this study. IREC regards education in conflict-affected societies as a *victim* (e.g., destruction of schools), an *accomplice* (e.g., manipulation of learners through curriculum reform), or a *transformer* of conflict (e.g., promotion of social justice and peace).

The conceptual underpinning of this paper is adapted from the *discursive ideology formation* framework that asserts ideology is formed by elites who have ownership of and privileged access to *socially valued resources*, including the education sector (Van Dijk, 1993, 2003). Discursive ideology formation is a process of interpreting *noncontroversial*, *commonsensical*, therefore *non-ideological* social representations and common cultural practices (Van Dijk, 2003). According to the framework, ideology is formed when group dynamism creates specific contextual environments, consequently compelling each group to choose those aspects of the common social representations and cultural practices that represent their best interest. This gives rise to the emergence of different interpretations of the same social and cultural phenomenon (Van Dijk, 2003, 2006). An *ideological square* that shows how texts "Emphasize positive things about Us, Emphasize negative things about Them, De-emphasize negative things about Us, De-emphasize positive things about Them" distinguishes ideology from common social values (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 125).

5.3 Methodology

This qualitative content analysis adopted critical purposive sampling by selecting six CETBs currently used in public schools in Afghanistan. Anecdotal information confirms that since August 2022 the pre-Taliban textbooks are still in circulation in the public schools despite restrictive educational policies that affect access to education particularly for girls and women. Produced centrally by the MoE and last revised in 2017, the textbooks are taught exclusively in Grades 7–12, consisting of 49–115 pages each. Coding was conducted in two phases: by identifying key concepts and establishing themes. These themes were tested by a secondary scholar with native linguistic mastery. The criteria for coding text were adopted from Werner (2000) to include such concepts as representation, gaze, voice, intertextuality, absence, authority, mediation, and reflexivity. These criteria explain how text articulates people, objects, events, and places by focusing on the amount and location of text, and whether concepts are present or absent, emphasized or de-emphasized, and distorted or maintained intact. Data coding included all text page-by-page and illustrations. The language of the CETBs is Farsi-Dari, the first language of the author who translated the excerpts and coded the text in English.

5.4 Findings

According to the content analysis of this study, the CETBs (re)construct five key social values: democracy, Islam, (in)security, human rights, and gender equality. Collectively, the textbooks promote a totalitarian democracy, a moderate but anti-West Islam, a negative peace, a nominal concept of human rights, and a stereotypical notion of gender equality. Therefore, the CETBs simultaneously play the role of transformer of conflict by promoting social values nominally *and* the role of accomplice to conflict by overlooking the same normative social values in their practical interpretations of the social fabric and dynamism of Afghanistan.

5.4.1 Democracy

The CETBs present the concept of democracy holistically by providing a historical account of democracy, the various interpretations of democracy, the evolution of democracy worldwide, and the international conventions and institutions of democracy. Nationally, the textbooks describe the different branches of the state, the constitution, and the compatibility of democracy to Islam. Democracy as a social value is constructed by referencing social assets, such as history, national and international conventions, religion, and the constitution. This elaborate introduction to democracy

in a country where communism, Islamism, and civil war anarchism overshadowed all spheres of life for decades is a transformation of conflict toward peace and order.

Three areas of democracy enactment, namely, rights, freedom, and accountability, merit attention in the textbooks. First, in support of the rights of people, the textbooks promote constitutionalism by presenting a historical analysis of the constitution's creation and gradual progression in favor of human rights to its current perceived status as the supreme social contract. For example, the lesson, Let Us Become Familiar with the Constitution of Afghanistan, states: "Constitution is considered as the mother and basis of other laws. No laws of the country can be contrary to it" (CETB 9, p. 8). The text lists the following characteristics of the constitution: "being Islamic, being republic and popular, respecting human rights, and implementing social justice, and eliminating any form of discrimination" (CETB 9, p. 8). By equally emphasizing Islam and other democratic values, the textbooks do not assign a foundational role to Islamic law, rather, they perceive it as complementary to the constitution. The textbooks reference Afghanistan's constitution when they promote democratic values such as the political participation of women, human rights, and freedom of the media, demonstrating the relationship between constitutional rights of citizens and democratic values. The textbooks also engage students in an active exploration of the constitution. For instance, a lesson guides students to find other constitutional values not discussed in the book (CETB 9), while another directs students to name the constitutional articles that discuss the rights of women, nomads, and the elimination of illiteracy (CETB 12). The textbooks not only present democracy as a concept but also endorse the rights of citizens through a constitutional lens.

Second, emphasizing freedom as a required principle of democracy, the textbooks support political participation and expression of political dissent. The Political Participation lesson (CETB 12) endorses peaceful demonstration, protest, and political party formation from constitutional and Islamic perspectives. Independent media is described as key in citizens' political participation, which is described as crucial for monitoring the actions of the government (CETB 9). As these freedoms and rights are the building blocks of citizen engagement in decision-making processes, the CETBs describe democracy as a concept alongside the importance of political participation and dissent.

Third, government accountability is overlooked in the discussions on democracy although references to government functions and responsibilities are made. These references include ensuring national sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence of the state, the rule of law, social service provision, and conflict settlement through legislative, judiciary, and executive branches (CETB 9; CETB 12). However, when the incapability of the Afghan government is factually inescapable (Underhill, 2014), rather than holding the government accountable, the CETBs evasively manipulate content in different ways. Ongoing issues are placed in a historical context or described using selective information. For instance, a debate on the current decline in exports refers to the decades-long war (CETB 8). In another example, text selectively foregrounds and backgrounds information by detailing the comparatively less controversial first post-9/11 presidential election in 2004 as a success, but only

briefly mentioning the disputed second election in 2009 (CETB 9). In rare cases of confirming high-profile public discontent, such as corruption, the textbooks individuate system-wide issues. For example, the Grade 11 textbook maintains that "[i]nfluential people within the government support the growth and spread of corruption" (p. 91) but refrains from discussing whether corruption is systemic and whether the government is addressing it.

Last, government failures are portrayed more as by-products of a challenging social context than government shortcomings. For example, absolutism is linked to the following reasons: "people's illiteracy, general ignorance, weakness, and inability to form association, and their incapability to understand political affairs," and elites' interest in social status, coupled by governments' interest to take advantage of such circumstances (CETB 12, p. 31). In other words, flaws of people and elite greed are viewed as causes and absolutism as the effect. Overlooking government accountability neglects the opportunity to create a holistic picture of democracy.

All six CETBs represent the Afghan government as a disciplinary institution. This is seen in the textbooks' presentation of the underlying reasons for the creation of the early governments. Social control is described as requiring the emergence of governments. For instance:

> With the expansion of human society their control became more difficult and the kinship and tribal rules could no longer respond to the emerging needs. Some tribal leaders gathered more power and resources so that they could control larger populations. (CETB 9, p. 4)

This Machiavellian presumption that views social control as an inevitable response to social complexities overlooks humans' need for collaboration and interdependence, concepts that are relevant for a society transitioning toward peace. The normalization of government control continues to overcast more contemporary discussions as well. In the Social Order lesson, police, courts, and prisons are individually discussed as the only institutions to safeguard social norms and rules in the interest of social order: "At the absence of police force in the society, the executive branch of government cannot ask the people to carry out government orders. In that case, many people will disobey government orders" (CETB 11, pp. 32–33). In favor of social order, viewed as social norms and regulations safeguarded by disciplinary institutions (i.e., the law, police, court, and prison), the CETBs regard social change and social deviation as socio-economic challenges. Social change is defined as positive (e.g., technological and scientific) and negative (e.g., migration and internal displacement) change and social deviation as violation of social rules caused by not only internal displacement, migration, brain drain, social inequality, class inequality, and gender inequality, but also population density and population diversity (CETB 11). Consequently, the CETBs construct these inevitable and favorable characteristics of the society as social ills.

The pursuit of social order is not surprising in a society that suffers from the aftermath of ideological competition under the control of weak governments. For example, the Grade 11 textbook notes, "Population increase, inequality, discrimination and other reasons that form [social] pressure, create social disorder, increase deviation and encourage people to rebel" (p. 31). In other words, social deviation

is discouraged for its potential to lead to rebellion. In response, positive change is described as resulting from government control: "Anyway, with control and leadership, social change can move the social movement of the society toward progress and evolution […]" (CETB 11, p. 47). This indicates that the government is positioned to suppress any rebellion perceived to result from social diversity in the pursuit of social order. This lesson suggests that people's obedience, achieved through government control, is necessary for social order, neglecting an opportunity to name mutual respect and cooperation in the society as additional or alternative conditions necessary for social order.

By endorsing the concept of democracy via citizens' rights through a constitutional lens, political participation, and dissent, the CETBs assign a transformative role to education. However, the CETBs' overemphasis on government control, without addressing government shortfalls and accountability, presents an authoritarian picture of democracy enactment that positions education as an accomplice to conflict.

5.4.2 Islam

While no lesson is allocated exclusively to Islam, Islamic principles appear where social values are to be validated. The first word of the Quranic verse, *Iqra*, meaning read or recite, is exemplified to promote literacy (CETB 11). Islamic principles of preserving the God-given land are offered to promote environmentalism (CETB 10). Additionally, freeing slaves and promoting equality between Muslims and non-Muslims in the early Islamic era are cited in favor of social equality (CETB 11). Islamic principles are allocated a minimal amount of text in comparison to text used to promote social values, such as human rights, as illustrated by a nine-page lesson on human rights, of which only one sentence is an Islamic endorsement (CETB 9). The lesson on institutions very briefly discusses religious institutions after presenting social, family, and educational institutions in extensive detail (CETB 10). The CETBs strive to take advantage of Islam as a social asset to promote the social values of equality and progression.

The CETBs minimize radical interpretations of Islam in promoting social values. The commonly cited Islamic *Hudud* (limits or boundaries), through which religious institutions gauge social morale and values, are absent in the CETBs. A debate on banks (CETB 8) does not reference *riba* (forbidden interest), and a discussion on immoral punishable behaviors refers to narcotics (CETB 10) rather than *zina* (adultery). By excluding *Hudud* and using alternative examples, the CETBs actively promote a moderate interpretation of Islam. Furthermore, the role of *Sharia* and Islam in the construction of the state is absent, including in discussions of constitutions (CETB 9) and republican and monarchical states (CETB 12). The textbooks also exclude the word Islam from states' names; Pakistan is referred to as a parliamentary republic and Afghanistan as a presidential state (CETB 12). The CETBs construct a moderate Islam by reducing radical Islamic interpretive lenses such as *Hudud* and *Sharia* signifying a deliberate attempt to promote civil rights.

Nevertheless, the CETBs are not entirely free from radical interpretations of Islam. In the Social Deviation lesson, the public display of punishment is perceived to be wrong "unless there are other interests such as teaching others a lesson" by "cutting the hand of a thief, and lashing an alcohol drinker or an adulterer (unmarried) and etc." (CETB 11, p. 41). This statement is against national and international laws that illegalized public displays of punishment and recalls public punishment and execution under the Taliban regime. The CETBs also contain Islamic teachings that may be open to interpretation given the recent collective memory of the people. Religious institutions are described as "Giving individuals the hope that God ends the life of servants in this world with dead, but death is the beginning of an eternal and fair life" (CETB 10, p. 55). Afterlife promises, a moderate Islamic deliberation, have been widely used by radical Islamist groups including the Taliban to recruit suicide bombers. Content that is either explicitly radical or subject to interpretation in the context of collective memory undermines the depiction of Islam as moderate overall.

Despite a moderate construction of Islam nationally, the CETBs firmly regard Western cultures as threatening to Islam, demonstrated in this statement:

> Today, Western countries seek to impose their culture as leading cultures on other societies and nations. In fact, the current dispute between Islamic civilization and Western civilization is over culture. Today, Islamic civilization is on the defensive against Western civilization, and on the contrary, Western civilization is on the offensive against Islamic civilization. (CETB 12, p. 61)

Here, *Western* civilization is presented in conflict with *Islamic* civilization. The Islamic civilization ideal constructs an international identity for Afghanistan beyond its physical and cultural boundaries. Furthermore, the textbooks hold globalization responsible for cultural and religious threats, asserting that, "Especially, strong governments who have material power, and in the military, media, technology, and economic realms have an upper hand, render the poor nations a target of their greed, capture the assets of weak nations through various manners, impose their culture on others, and render the world a political and military conflict field" (CETB 12, p. 65). Although the CETBs name three positive aspects of globalization (economic productivity, information sharing, and awareness), the negative aspects of globalization are described in terms of inequality in employment, income, and property ownership. The textbooks endorse *cultural exchange* but view the status quo as *cultural aggression*, defined in terms of inequality: "Whenever the transfer of culture is unilateral, involuntary and domineering, it is called cultural aggression" (CETB 12, p. 61). The CETBs promote a transnational identity of Islamic civilization in Afghanistan, while pointing to the forces of cultural aggression, despite the country's relatively minimal presence in global economy and society both as a consumer and a producer.

The CETBs covertly recognize Western religious institutions as a threat to Islam. A text maintains that "the religious broadcasting of the Vatican and Trans World" (CETB 12, p. 62) promotes Western civilization. Although direct comparisons between Islam and other religions are generally avoided, they exist in rare cases. In a Social Change lesson, while Islam and early converts to Islam who overthrew

"oppressive regimes in most parts of the world" are glorified, a critical comment follows on Protestantism:

> Other example [of social change] is the emergence of Protestantism as a new sect in Christianity. A sociologist in a holistic research shows that Protestantism as a sect of Christianity forced people to work hard and to save money which led to the emergence of capitalism and industrialization. (CETB 11, p. 50)

This quote links Protestantism to an enslavement of workers via capitalism while implicitly juxtaposing this with Muslims' ability to overthrow oppressors. The CETBs, in these examples and throughout, refrain from holding Christianity in its entirety responsible for threatening Islam but refer to its broadcasting arm and "a new sect" in it as forces of globalization and capitalism.

In response to the perceived threat to Islamic civilization, the CETBs take a cultural protectionist stance. While the Grade 10 textbook encourages learning from other cultures, it also maintains that "[t]he solutions of other countries are suitable for their own problems" (p. 23). The textbook does not refer explicitly to Afghanistan's experiences with externally imposed solutions from Russians during the Cold War and Westerners post-9/11. However, a slogan-like statement obliges the government and every individual "to enrich and safeguard their culture," and "to defend and resist against aggression and negative aspects of foreign cultures," so that their "Islamic and national obligation" is fulfilled (CETB 10, p. 25). As such, the rejection of foreign culture is rendered an Islamic and national obligation in the interest of a seemingly homogenous Afghanistan. This cultural protectionist perspective indicates apprehension against inequality, cultural hegemony, and aggression, which are solely accorded to globalization.

The CETBs strive to promote equality and civic values by avoiding radical Islamic interpretive lenses such as *Hudud* and *Sharia*, positioning the textbook as a transformer of conflict, although occasionally this image is undermined by radical Islamic interpretations. However, the textbooks also include constructions of Western religious media and Protestantism as culprits of capitalism and industrialization, of Western civilization as against Islamic civilization, and of the world as a military and political conflict field due to greed of strong governments. These depictions craft for Afghanistan an Islamic global identity safeguarded by resistance as a national and Islamic duty, moving the textbooks toward the accomplice to conflict role.

5.4.3 Security and Insecurity

The CETBs do not contain any content on peace but instead discuss security, which is described conceptually and pragmatically. Security is defined as "a state in a society where people enjoy tranquility and peace of mind and are not threatened by any person or institution…" (CETB 11, p. 93). In this definition, peace is considered to be an element of security, along with employment, physical, mental, economic, political, and social security (CETB 11). The CETBs also discuss security as it

relates to other relevant topics, including socialization, life, the government, laws, international relations, human rights, and the media (CETB 10; CETB 12). From the presented functions of security, and in the absence of a discussion on peace, the CETBs describe Afghan society as a post-conflict state where priorities are not building peace but various types of securities that are prerequisite for peace.

The CETBs also interchange terms "war" and "insecurity," describing "adverse consequences" rather than causes of war. Past experiences such as human rights abuses, loss of life, deprivation of education, and displacement, are acknowledged as consequences of three decades of war, however, the conception of insecurity dominates the textbooks' discourse. A moralistic standpoint is offered to explain insecurity: "insecurity occurs when social rules and official laws lose their moral and popular support and some take advantage of this opportunity to target people's property and lives" (CETB 11, p. 94). National factors such as poverty, inequality, illiteracy, national war, organized and armed robberies, political, ethnic differences, and functionalism are also held responsible, as well as cross-border issues such as drug trafficking and terrorism (CETB 11). Finally, "regional and neighbouring countries" are held responsible: "conflicting interest has caused war and insecurity and has paved the ground for decadence and backwardness of the country" (CETB 10, p. 83). The CETBs refrain from discussing war directly, but instead elaborate on insecurity as an interconnected web of socio-economic and regional conditions, alleviating the government of responsibility for conflict.

The CETBs mostly avoid or distort the civil war period that followed the withdrawal of the Red Army in the early 1990s through careful selection of phrases and grammatical structures. For example: "the wars after Jihad against the invaders caused massive changes in the lives of the people, which was mostly pernicious and negative" (CETB 11, p. 47). The "wars after Jihad," refers to the civil war but no identifier is given. The word "war" is placed between "after Jihad" and "against invaders," making an emotional appeal for Jihad. The phrase, "massive change," neutrally references the destruction and human rights violation of the civil war. In rare cases when the civil war is acknowledged, the adverse experience of civil war is neutralized through linguistic nuances: "To defend their religion and homeland, our people were engaged in Jihad and civil wars for almost three decades" (CETB 11, p. 79). This quote suggests that "civil wars" occurred in defense of Islam and Afghanistan, while the Red Army had withdrawn prior to the civil war. Elsewhere, civil war is omitted from chronologically narrated historical events "…upon the invasion of the Soviet army the war intensified, and democracy and its principles vanished from the country until the emergence of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan" (CETB 12, p. 95). The period between the invasion and the emergence of the Islamic Republic marks the civil war but it is not named as such in the text. As with the concept of war, the CETBs omit the civil war causes and effects from historical accounts leading readers to believe that conflict in Afghanistan was always instigated by external actors.

The CETBs consistently promote the conception and values of security instead of peace. Overlooking war as a concept and a social experience compromises the textbook's emphasis on the values of security. In this context, education is positioned

as both a conflict transformer by encouraging stability and a conflict accomplice by neglecting discussions that could facilitate peace education.

5.4.4 Human Rights

The CETBs promote human rights values but fail to discuss human rights violations. Human rights are progressively defined as: "right to life, right to freedom, right to education, and justice" and adds that no one should be discriminated against based on racial, sexual, cultural, religious, and geographical factors (CETB 9, p. 43). The CETBs describe human rights in relation to other social values such as Islam, their historical progression, and national and international human rights conventions and institutions. Practically, however, a full examination of human rights is absent in the textbooks, as human rights issues are written in a language that detracts from perpetrators by drawing attention to victims. For example, when speaking of decades of war, the text recognizes violations of human rights including murder, deprivation of children and girls from education, and mass migration and displacement (CETB 9), but the role of perpetrators of these rights violations is not discussed. In one instance, perpetrators are acknowledged as peace players. Speaking of the Bonn Agreement, a text reads, "The self-awareness of the people and the damage caused by the long wars, led the people and the leaders of the conflict parties, to agree on a peace scheme which was designed by the United Nations" (CETB 9, p. 47). This quote implies the establishment of a peace agreement, while a peace agreement between victims and "leaders of the conflict parties" was not on the Bonn Conference agenda (United Nations Peacemaker, 2001). The CETBs promote human rights as a norm, but without a discussion on justice for victims and by concealing war crime perpetrators, this subject remains incomplete and inconsistent.

In their construction of the society, the CETBs abide by national and international conventions at a normative but not practical level. Social diversity is endorsed and discrimination condemned on the basis of the constitution of Afghanistan: "In the constitution of our country, social justice is emphasized and discrimination in any form (ethnic, linguistic, religious and sex) is prohibited" (CETB 9, p. 8). A lesson on the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* discusses the Declaration and asks students to link it to the constitution of the country (CETB 12). Despite this normative endorsement, in practice, the CETBs assign a positive value to homogeneity: "And if population is homogenous from cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic perspectives, there is a higher possibility that deviation and crime rate be lower in that society" (CETB 11, p. 38). This explicit promotion of homogeneity justifies discrimination toward diversity of cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic practices, contradicting the Declaration's affirmation of their rights in these areas.

Further, when social challenges such as conflict and poverty are discussed, the textbooks regularly refer to ethnic and linguistic diversities as causes. Although the *Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity* (UNESCO, 2001) adopted by UNESCO member states stipulates that culture takes diverse forms across time and space and

calls for the equality of all cultures, the CETBs have a hierarchical and discriminatory notion of "big" and "small" or sub-group cultures (CETB 10). As an example of small cultures, countryside people are contrasted against an implicit urban society: "In some societies, specially in the countryside, the cultural diversity and differences of those groups who live a kinship and tribal life and live separate but close to each other lead to hostile and controversial relationships and sometimes lead to fight and quarrel" (CETB 10, p. 19). This depiction of "tribal" culture is not balanced by a similar debate about the challenges of intra-group dynamism in cities. This discriminatory statement is significant as most of the textbooks' readers reside in rural areas.

The CETBs promote human rights as a norm, but the construction of binary social groups (e.g., rural versus urban people, homogeneity versus diversity, and small versus mainstream cultures) that describe one as inferior and a threat indicate that, while the CETBs are transformative where human rights values are normatively promoted, they are an accomplice of conflict in debates related to human rights enactment.

5.4.5 Gender Equality

The CETBs explicitly promote gender equality. The lessons, Gender and Equality (CETB 11), The Political Participation of Women (CETB 12), and Women and Development (CETB 10) highlight the significance of the contribution of women in socio-political spheres. The CETBs utilize progressive perspectives in the constitution, international conventions, and Islam to support gender equality. Active participation of women in political, economic, and scientific realms during the reigns of King Amanullah (1919–1929) and King Mohammad Zahir (1919–1970s) is highlighted, and the text proudly acknowledges the Bonn Agreement (2001) as a historical landmark for women's rights (CETB 12). However, the oppression of women during the Islamist regimes (1992–2001) is omitted, rendering them absent from history. The textbooks also highlight the roles of women in unconventional areas, such as promoting democracy and combating wars, and call for a women-friendly quota system in the parliament and the upper house. A comparison between men and women notes the difference between them as natural but inequality as unfair (CETB 11). Further, the text explains that women are in an inferior position because, historically, unpaid domestic chores have been wrongfully assigned to women, leading to the misperception that women are incapable of working in the public sphere. Gender equality discussions of the textbook present strong support for women from a normative perspective.

In practice, however, the CETBs present women stereotypically. A gender bias is observable in the composition of the CETBs development team in which all but two authors are women. The disproportionate representation of men in textbook development committees means that there are limited opportunities for women's voices and perspectives to influence the narratives included. Consequently, traditional social gender expectations for women that emphasize their reproductive roles are

maintained in the textbooks. For example: "in the Afghan society the character of a mother in shaping the morale and behavior of a child is more significant than any other member of the family" (CETB 11, p. 8). In a paragraph regarding women's roles, the words attributed to women appear in bold font as "role," "mother," "spouse," but also "ordinary member" (CETB 11, p. 29). The word "ordinary" exceptionally qualifies and confines political membership, as opposed to the more neutral term "member" that would include all membership ranks including leadership roles. Thus, the language used to describe women excludes them from leadership roles.

The textbooks not only stereotype but also belittle women. For instance: "Definitely, the *slow action of this illiterate majority* is *reducing the pace of national [development] caravan*, therefore, before anything else, serious attention must be paid to women as *the founders of [future] generations* and as an instrument of progress" (CETB 10, p. 74, emphasis added). While in support of women's education, this paragraph describes the weak position of women as an illiterate majority, the CETBs identify women's illiteracy as a barrier to development but the existence of systematic barriers to women's education is absent from their discussion. Furthermore, while gender equality is promoted through an Islamic lens, on one occasion, a text indicates that the socio-political participation of women should be according to "Islamic beliefs, regulations, and values" (CETB 10, p. 74), a condition not made for the socio-political contributions of men. Finally, overt gender bias occasionally appears in such examples as teachers figuratively perceived as "intellectual fathers" (CETB 10, p. 5) or family rights described as "the right of couples over each other, and the right of fathers and child" (CETB 12, p. 70). As a norm, the CETBs promote gender equality, however, in discussions about gender roles and women's rights, the textbooks contribute to the marginalization of women.

The CETBs depict men and boys in seventy percent of the pictures; in the thirty percent of pictures where women are depicted, they are shown in two social and occupational roles: the traditionally approved roles as teachers, students, doctors, and tailors, and in the post-9/11 created political context as parliamentarians, voters, and peaceful protesters. However, illustrations render women absent from non-conventional occupational fields such as the police force, army, aviation, and architecture, despite their presence in these fields, particularly following 9/11. In contrast, men are portrayed in various occupational roles including political, social, economic, and law enforcement roles, and are shown in decision-making and economic production roles three times more often than women. Although women are depicted as engaged in the public sphere, the construction of the gendered social and occupational roles does not entirely reflect the changing reality for many women. Discussions of social calamities, such as poverty, social inequality, displacement, addiction, illiteracy, homelessness, land mines, and child labor, are visualized with images of men and boys while women and girls are absent; only disability is visualized with images of children of both sexes. Illustrations and discussions on social issues that exclusively or disproportionately affect women and girls, such as domestic abuse, child marriage, and maternal mortality, are excluded. The CETBs' discussions and pictures overlook how social calamities affect women differently from men, and disregard social challenges most pertinent to women. And last, the cultural realm

is also portrayed in pictures as solely for men who are shown performing *Atan* and playing *Buzkashi* (a traditional dance and game), thereby excluding the women's role in culture.

The construction of gender equality through social assets including history, the constitution, Islam, and democracy present a progressive image of women's rights in Afghanistan. This transformative role of education, however, is compromised by text and illustrations that not only overlook the needs and challenges of women but also stereotypically reconstruct their roles and socio-political contributions in the domestic and public spheres.

5.5 Discussion

The analysis finds that the CETBs display the discursive ideology formation paradigm (Van Dijk, 2003). First, as the only centralized institution monopolizing textbook publication, the MoE has the ownership of and privileged access to textbooks as *socially valued resources* (Van Dijk, 1993, 2003), and has the authority to interpret social values. Second, as preferred social values are constructed by selective application of *socially shared common assets* (Van Dijk, 2003), it is evident that the CETBs consistently relate to such social assets as history, religion, culture, the constitution, and international conventions to construct new social values. Third, the new social values indicate the emergence of different interpretations of the same social and cultural phenomenon (Van Dijk, 2003, 2006), observed in the construction of a democracy compatible to Islam, a moderate Islam, and a political participation scheme with an emphasis on women actively participating. These are examples that relieve the textbooks from communist and Islamist ideologies. However, a democracy short of government accountability, a moderate Islam with an anti-Western viewpoint, and a stereotypical gender equality, indicate selective interpretations of these phenomenons. The social values of the CETBs demonstrate that the MoE has an invested interest in embedding new ideology in public school textbooks that constructs its socio-political ideals.

The construction of democracy in the CETBs renders education simultaneously a transformer of and an accomplice to conflict. The promotion of a constitutional but authoritarian democracy indicates the endorsement of *totalitarian democracy* in Afghanistan, as it denotes a system in which elections and a constitution ensure state functions and order, but government affairs remain outside the reach of citizens (Talmon, 1952). The CETBs construct a totalitarian democracy by describing democracy as constitutional and participatory, ensuring the right to political formation and political dissent, while also showing the government as dominant and disciplinary rather than accountable. The government's disciplinary role is evident through emphasis on disciplinary institutions such as the court, the police force, and the prison. Furthermore, a moderate interpretation of Islam that supports social and moral values runs throughout the textbooks, however, public displays of punishment are approved to send messages to society regarding the government's authority, and social control

is described as required for stability. Given that selective interpretation of social values forms an ideology (Van Dijk, 2003), it is evident the CETBs promote an ideology of totalitarian democracy.

The adoption of a moderate Islam while maintaining an anti-Western position exhibits another way through which the CETBs are concurrently a transformer and an accomplice of conflict. Endorsing a moderate interpretation of Islam that confronts radicalization is a transformative measure toward peace and stability. However, the depiction of a "Western civilization" that is perceived to be offending the "Islamic civilization" creates a non-conciliatory othering that resembles a pan-Islamist narrative. Pan-Islamism aims to unify the Islamic world against the modern Islamic nation-states and calls for an Islamic world under a transnational Islamic caliphate (Kidwai, 2015). Jihad, in line with a pan-Islamist view of "defense," remains in glorified narratives of the recent past, while a cultural protectionist standpoint informs future resistance against the "Western civilization" as an "Islamic and national obligation." The dichotomous portrayals of Afghanistan as embracing a moderate and a radical approach to Islam that is in conflict with "Western civilization" signifies a passive endorsement of a pan-Islamist standpoint.

The substitution of "peace" for "security" and "insecurity" for "war" presents a selective approach to the construction of social values that determines the roles of the textbooks as both transforming and complicit in conflict. Oliver, Miall, and Woodhouse (2011) indicate "security" denotes a post-conflict scenario where the state prioritizes a service structure that ensures security from both fear and want, while "peace" refers to the mechanisms that transforms the structure and culture of conflict by dealing peacefully with the violent past and celebrating differences as opportunities for development. The CETBs elaborate on the service delivery aspect of security, perceiving security as a precondition for the attainment of basic and advanced human needs, and discussing the absence of security in terms of social calamities including terrorism, corruption, addiction, poverty, and illiteracy. This holistic approach to security renders the textbooks transformers of conflict. However, disregarding the processes of peace including ceasefire, transitional justice, and peace negotiations overlooks the most immediate needs of the conflict-affected society. The promotion of security over peace may be explained through differentiated meanings of war and insecurity. According to Oliver, Miall and Woodhouse (2011), "war" refers to a situation in which parties of conflict are incapable of resolving their differences by peaceful means, while "insecurity" indicates the absence of physical and human security. Using this definition, a discussion of war would position the government as one of the main parties of the conflict, whereas the discussion of insecurity has created a broader context that focuses on national, regional, and cross-border causes of war. By using "insecurity," the CETBs create a multidimensional conflict context which alleviates the government's responsibility in contributing to conflict. This approach is in line with the lack of government accountability that the textbooks have constructed.

The CETBs promote values connected to peace that simultaneously position them as transforming and becoming complicit in conflict. The CETBs use narratives of security that endorse a "negative peace" (the absence of direct violence such as

physical attack) but fail to promote a "positive peace" (the restoration of relationships and equality among conflicting parties resulting in a culture of peace) (Barnes, 2001; Galtung, 1969). The textbooks play a transformative role by denouncing direct violence and perceiving violence as a source of instability and an eventual conflict. However, the promotion of positive peace is substantially flawed as evidenced in the textbooks' construction of the concepts of human rights and gender equality. Martin (1997) defines three frameworks of human rights: "full-bodied" human rights that are recognized and enforced, "nominal" human rights that are recognized but not enforced, and "non-functional" human rights that are neither acknowledged nor enforced. The human rights promoted in the textbooks are "nominal" and "non-functional." Normatively, rights are promoted conceptually and derived from the contexts of social assets such as democracy, the constitution, a moderate interpretation of Islam, human rights conventions across the world. However, the promoted human rights are non-functional. The construction of such binary oppositions as demographic homogeneity against diversity and urban against rural populations, where the former in each set is favored, enables the violation of human rights. The function of ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversities that form the social fabric of Afghanistan are perceived as threats to the stability and prosperity of the country. Social identities are situated in a *tyranny of the majority* democracy context, while a transitional justice for war victims is absent. The promoted human rights in the textbook are also non-functional as there is no debate as to how rights such as government accountability, access to information, and cultural, linguistic, and religious rights are enforced and what the ramifications of their violation would entail. The contextualization of a favored "social order" against "social deviation" and the prescription of a government-controlled "positive change," coupled with an overemphasis on government disciplinary institutions, indicate the non-functional status of human rights in the CETBs.

Gender equality is another area in which the CETBs play both roles: transformer and accomplice of conflict. The textbooks' construction of gender roles presents a nominal acknowledgment of women's rights and a gradually shifting position for women from the private to public and political spheres. However, the existence of gender barriers, such as discrimination and prejudice in the male-dominant political landscape is disregarded. The textbooks remain blind to the specific challenges of women in domestic and public arenas; even when social issues are discussed, the differentiated impact of the issues on women is overlooked. Hence, the textbooks promote a gender equality ideology that is nominal and stereotypical.

The content analysis of the CETBs finds that the (re)construction of social values situates the textbooks simultaneously as a transformer of and an accomplice to the conflict. Social values that are presented at a normative level are then contradicted in the textbooks' representations of Afghan society. Democracy is promoted as a concept; however, pragmatically, the democracy described is authoritarian. A moderate Islam promotes social values of peace but maintains an anti-Western stance. Human rights are promoted but, in practice, are undermined by the absence of a discourse on enforcement mechanisms. Gender equality is introduced through pro-women statements but without recognizing issues and needs exclusively applicable

to women. Collectively, social values are promoted at an abstract level, rendering education a transformer of conflict by encouraging concepts of peace, stability, and equality. Unfortunately, this construction is contradicted by overlooking how those values need to be practically enacted, ultimately making education an accomplice to conflict through a discursive reinforcement of the status quo.

In conclusion, the CETBs promote ideologies including authoritarian democracy, a moderate but anti-West Islam, negative peace, nominal and non-functional human rights, and nominal and stereotypical gender equality. Consequently, the CETBs cannot exclusively play either a transformative or an accomplice role. The content analysis of the CETBs confirms that textbooks, like any political realm, are affected by conflicting experiences of the past and contradictory priorities for the future. The simultaneous coexistence of the transformer/accomplice binary can be understood by acknowledging that knowledge is a political and complex construction of preferences and pursuits (Davis, 2004; Thomassen, 2017). If the CETBs are to transform conflict, the MoE should enhance and apply the promoted civic values to interpretations of the social fabric and political dynamism of the society.

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Chapter 6
Reproducing Inequalities Through Social Studies Textbooks in Afghanistan

Spogmai Akseer

Abstract In conflict-affected contexts, it is generally acknowledged by the international humanitarian community and educational leaders that providing access and quality education is a crucial step toward peace and recovery from conflict. Education is seen as having the potential to provide a sense of normalcy, and as a crucial agent in sustainable peacebuilding and transformation. On the other hand, education can also contribute further to violence and inequality, before, during, and after armed conflict has ended. In Afghanistan, decades of conflict have witnessed the deliberate politicization and militarization of education by various political regimes and international powers, often explicitly and violently. The Soviet-era extremist-ideology textbooks developed by USAID for primary school children are vivid examples of this trend. Using the IREC framework, this paper examines the measures taken by the Afghan Ministry of Education to revise the national curriculum in order to further their aim of using education to promote peacebuilding and equality. Through a document analysis of the Grades 4 and 5 social studies textbooks that were revised in 2012, this paper shows that the Ministry demonstrates some creativity and success in ensuring the textbooks promote peacebuilding; however, the textbooks also reveal complicity by reproducing existing inequalities, through gendered depictions of the role of men and women in society, and the unequal and hierarchical position between the individual and the state. The textbooks' potential to contribute toward sustainable peace and equality is ultimately hindered.

Keywords Gender · Peacebuilding · Social inequality · Social studies · Militarization

In Afghanistan, the provision of education has often experienced political interferences that limited access, quality, and purpose. Notably, decades of conflict have resulted in the destruction of educational infrastructure, the politicization of learning, and violent resistance toward students. During these wars, schools were often viewed as sites for enforcing political ideologies and learning materials in particular were

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considered tools through which these ideals could be enforced. The outcome was often the infusing of extreme religious ideologies with learning and the normalization of violence in the classroom. Since 2003, however, following the end to the Taliban's rule, the education sector decided to rid itself of its violent past by introducing a curriculum framework that promotes values of peace, unity, and social cohesion. New social studies textbooks were developed for Grades 3, 4, and 5, in order to teach students about the importance of peace, justice, and equality. While these are important goals, these textbooks unfortunately fall short of achieving them as their content provides only limited opportunities for conflict transformation, instead of presenting narratives that further victimize and exacerbate existing inequalities.

6.1 Country Context

6.1.1 Soviet Invasion and Civil Wars

Afghanistan's location in the heart of Central Asia has often made it vulnerable to foreign political interests and influences. During the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union focused on the development and subsequent restructuring of Afghanistan as essential to their ideological goals. The two superpowers also saw its weak centralized state as an opportunity to further its strategic interests (Shirazi, 2008). Both countries invested in education which presented opportunities for the Soviets to spread their Communist ideology and for the United States to try to stop Soviet influence in the region (Shirazi, 2008). As Afghanistan is an ethnically diverse country, these superpowers often adopted a policy of "divide and rule" in order to secure political control of this region (Spink, 2005). These tactics forced the country onto a path of violence and destruction, beginning with the Soviet occupation and military invasion in the late 1970s and 1980s, causing millions to die or flee. The United States provided significant military aid to the *mujahideen*, an Anti-Soviet armed group that included Islamist militants trained by the CIA (Ali, 2002 cited in Khan, 2008).

After the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, tensions among different *mujahideen* factions resulted in a violent civil war that caused further violence and destruction, including through the creation of the notorious Taliban who implemented a violent political system rooted in extremist ideologies. They were defeated by international forces in 2002, and the country has since been working toward rebuilding and establishing peace (Ministry of Education, 2008). These conflicts, however, have taken a toll on the population and the country's basic infrastructure, as development had been severely constrained, depriving millions of Afghans of basic living necessities. By 2001, only 3% of school-aged girls and 43% of boys were in school (World Bank, 2009). In the aftermath of Taliban rule, aid poured into the country, which helped rebuild social institutions, especially the education system. Despite these efforts, however, neither the Afghan government nor the international community has been able to

control incidences of increasing armed violence against civilians, including by the Taliban, who regained much of their militaristic strength (UNAMA, 2020). A recent report points out that, despite measures to eliminate violence, Afghans continue to be "exposed to extreme levels of [it]" (UNAMA, 2019, p. 1), with significant rises in civilian injury and casualty. The report describes these attacks as deliberately targeting civilians, and thus constituting "violations of international humanitarian law that amount to war crimes" (p. 2). Key parties responsible include insurgent groups, Afghan-led security forces, and international military forces. There is also concern that former warlords who are responsible for violence now hold influence and power within the new government and use their positions to enforce differences and inequality (Mehran, 2018). Recently, the government of Afghanistan and the United States (Smith et al., 2019) initiated a peace process with the Taliban, who are responsible for carrying out most of the armed violence against civilians in recent years. Even during this process, however, attacks against civilians continued (PBS, 2019). This analysis was completed prior to August 2021; the Taliban's return to power in August 2021 will result in enormous setbacks and pose devastating barriers to peace and development due to increasing human rights violations, including limiting girls' access to secondary schools and women's access to employment and placing severe restrictions on their mobility (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

6.1.2 Education in Afghanistan: A History of Militarization

Throughout the conflict years, educational sites were used to further political ideologies and to gain cultural and ideological control. The Soviet-backed Afghan government of the late 1970s and 1980s modified existing curriculum in favor of promoting Soviet communist ideology and secularism (Barez, 1988, cited in Spink, 2005). Afghans, especially those living outside of urban centers, resisted these changes, finding them to be anti-Islamic and against Afghan culture and values (Jones, 2009). This period proved to be significant for education as it was the first explicit attempt by the Soviet-backed state to use learning materials for political purposes that were not in line with local values. This trend gained further prominence in the 1980s and 1990s when the United States deliberately indoctrinated elementary school textbooks with violent images and texts supporting their political goals. In 1986, they provided a $50-million USD contract to University of Nebraska (UON) to develop Islamist textbooks for primary school children that heavily reflected their negative attitudes toward the Soviet Union (Shirazi, 2008). Jones (2007) explains that themes and examples used in lesson plans included "language of war" (p. 31) even though these were not related in any way to enhancing proficiency in the subject. For instance, a UON-developed math textbook for Grade 4 students asks, "If a Russian is at a distance of 3200 m from a mujahid, and that mujahid aims at the Russian's head, calculate how many seconds it will take for the bullet to strike the Russian's forehead?" (Coulson, 2004, p. 17). During the 1994–2001 Taliban rule, textbooks were

further modified to expand religious subjects and to remove non-Islamic subjects, including social studies and physical education (Jones, 2007).

In 2003, a new national curriculum framework was developed, reflecting the "spiritual, moral, cultural and historical values of the Afghan people and Afghan society" (Department of Compilation and Translation, 2003, p. 5). This was the first time since the Soviet occupation era that Afghanistan has acknowledged the positive role that education can play in promoting national unity for peace and social cohesion. Jones (2009) explains that the new curriculum is indicative of the Afghan government's commitment and effort to lead the process for peacebuilding through learning. Thus, with support from national and international experts and international partners that included USAID, Creative Associates International, UNICEF and UNESCO, new textbooks were developed and printed in 2010. The textbooks' stated goal is to help students become "civilized human beings" who "reject violence, while understanding and appreciating differences" (p. 17) and to apply critical thinking skills. Jones (2007) points out that the language of these goals "reflects the involvement of international participants in the writing process" (p. 34) and thus may not reflect the lives of Afghans, particularly those living in rural or remote environments. These observations are important as the country continues to move toward instilling long-term stability and local ownership of development is recognized as a key component of this process (Woo & Simmons, 2008).

6.2 Theoretical Framework

In countries experiencing armed conflict, access to education has often been viewed as a basic human right that can help achieve several aims, including providing students with a sense of normalcy, restoring hope, a psychological "safe space," and protection for marginalized groups, including children who otherwise may face additional hardships (e.g., sexual exploitation, recruitment by militia groups) (Sinclair, 2007). Others have also pointed out that, during conflict, education is often a deliberate target and thus can be a site for further violence, both directly through the involvement or attack on schools, students, teachers, or learning materials by militarized groups, and indirectly via the contents of official and unofficial curricula (GCPEA, 2018; Kovinthan Levi, this volume; Davies, 2009). In Afghanistan, educational development has experienced the "negative" and "positive" faces of education as articulated by Bush and Saltarelli (2000). According to these authors, education is used negatively when it becomes a "panacea for a broad spectrum of social ills" (p. 9) that includes uneven access, cultural repression, distortion or omission of history, promoting intolerance, and manipulating textbook content; in contrast, the "positive face" of education includes the nurturing and sustaining of an ethnically diverse climate, desegregation of the mind, linguistic tolerance, cultivating inclusive citizenship, disarming history through democratic, participative and inclusive schools, and finally, educational practices as an explicit response to state oppression. As highlighted earlier, education in Afghanistan has experienced various forms of the negative face of education and,

in the post-2001 environment, appears to be incorporating elements of the positive form, even as the country continues to grapple with increasing violence and deliberate targeting of educational institutions and personnel (GCPEA, 2018; Gibbons-Neff & Faizi, 2020; Human Rights Watch, 2017; UNICEF, 2019). In light of these realities, this paper aims to understand how the new 2012 social studies textbooks contribute toward peacebuilding and social equality in a context where both violence and insecurity are ongoing threats. The IREC framework focuses on the inter-connected role of education as a victim, accomplice, and transformer of conflict, and thus provides an important avenue through which peacebuilding initiatives through education can be examined. The IREC framework is especially relevant in exploring the analysis of Afghanistan's social studies textbooks as this approach considers the different ways in which the educational content is impacted by conflict and its effectiveness in achieving peace.

6.3 Methodology

The contents of each textbook were coded using thematic analysis, a method used to identify, analyze, and report patterns or themes in a text document (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The advantage of this approach to data analysis is that it allows researchers the freedom to develop themes without being restricted to pre-established theoretical frameworks or, if they prefer, to work within a particular framework or epistemological position. Using Braun and Clarke's (2006) step-by-step approach to thematic analysis, initial codes were developed based on a review of relevant literature, and initial reading of the data (*phase 1*). The codes developed (*phase 2*) included the following 12 themes: gender, language, religion, conflict, colonization, peace, community, civic responsibility, governance, unity (nationalism), global context and finally, militarization. Once both the Grades 4 and 5 textbooks were coded for these themes (*phase 3*), they were reviewed and further refined, especially if the themes were overlapping, or if there was a connection between them (*phase 4*). This step involved revisiting the main research focus guiding the analysis, which was to understand the role that the new social studies textbooks played in promoting peace, under conditions of historical and ongoing violence toward education. Themes that showed an overlap or demonstrated multiple roles (i.e., victim, accomplice, and/or transformer) were explored further for analysis (*phase 5*) in relation to the literature scan. Through this process, the themes were further narrowed with the following emerging as significant in relation to the IREC framework and the Afghan textbooks analyzed: peace, civic responsibility, gender, and conflict.

6.4 Results

6.4.1 Peace

The theme of peace is evident in the Grades 4 and 5 textbooks, where detailed descriptions about what it is and its benefits are provided. In the Grade 4 textbook, several chapters depict life in Afghanistan as peaceful, with men and women engaged in various activities inside and outside the home. Some of the images in Chapter 1 include a female teacher standing in front of a furnished classroom teaching young students, another shows a group of boys playing volleyball in a field, and others dressed in traditional Afghan clothes feeding chicken and selling eggs. Such depictions, however, do not reflect reality especially in rural areas where violent attacks on civilians continue to escalate (UNAMA, 2019). They also hide the detrimental effects of wars on agricultural life and pastoralism, as wars have turned Afghanistan into the world's largest producer of opium and arms smuggling (Kandiyoti, 2007). Portrayals of peaceful life, when not representative of reality, can cause students to feel disconnected as their experiences are not reflective in such depictions.

The Grade 5 textbook also highlights the importance of peace for individuals and society. In Chapter 37 (Peace and Human Rights), peace is defined as "when an individual does not feel threatened or face any danger" (p. 81), and in Chapter 38 (How Can We Maintain Peace?) as "an urgent necessity for a nation. Without it, a nation cannot develop or progress" (p. 83). These are important messages, though it is not clear what purpose they serve, as the details provided focus primarily on the benefits of peace and individual rights, but do not relate them explicitly to Afghanistan. Students are therefore left to wonder on their own about this connection, denying them the opportunity to engage critically with a topic that affects them directly.

Also, both textbooks depict the current government as stable and peaceful despite ongoing surges in violence. In the Grade 4 textbook, Chapter 7 (History of Education) looks at the history of education and, without making references to any of the recent conflicts, writes: "presently progress is happening especially in education" (p. 18). Additionally, Chapter 15 (Government Institution*s*) describes the government (mainly the Ministry of Defense) as "protect[ing] peace and order inside the country" (p. 34). These statements glorify government entities as protecting Afghans despite reports that they have been playing an active role in perpetuating violence against civilians (UNAMA, 2020). Thus, children are presented with a distorted view of reality that ignores their ongoing experiences of violence, including at the hands of the national army and police (UNAMA, 2020).

Both textbooks present the state's authority as legitimate and necessary. Chapter 6 (Police) of the Grade 5 textbook describes the police as agents of peace. Their main duties are described as maintaining law and order, protecting government institutions, and foreign offices in Afghanistan. By explicitly mentioning the need to protect local and international officials, the chapter downplays the violence that civilians face. Similarly, Chapter 40 (What Rights Does an Individual Have?*)* justifies police authority over civilians, describing it as a "necessity" for maintaining peace. The

text asks students: “when does the police have the right to search you?” followed by “does the government have the right to take away your passport?” (p. 87). Since the chapter describes the police as working for the well-being of citizens’ lives and the country, students are guided toward responding affirmatively to these questions. This furthers the accomplice role of education as it establishes a social hierarchy whereby students are expected to be passive recipients of the state’s authority and dominance.

While both textbooks highlight the importance of peace, they often do so in a contradictory way. For instance, unlike the Grade 4 textbook, where Afghanistan is presented as a peaceful country, the Grade 5 textbook often focuses on the *need* for peace. Chapter 12 (Economic Production: Farming) states: “in order to increase production, more than anything, there is a need for peace and security, because without these, farming cannot progress” (p. 26). Similarly, in Chapter 16 (Domesticated Animals), peace is described as essential not only “for humans but also for animals. Because if there is no peace, even the population of domesticated animals will decrease, or become extinct” (p. 37). The chapters do not explain why peace is not present or what factors may have prevented it, and thus limit students’ understanding of its causes and impact. Though the acknowledgment that there is no peace can be seen as potentially transformative, the contents support mainly the accomplice role, as students are denied the opportunity to understand their environments truthfully.

6.4.2 Civic Responsibility and Community Engagement

Both textbooks recognize the importance of civic responsibility and engagement in the community and invite students to learn about their communities and to find ways to become involved and give back. In the Grade 4 textbook, Chapter 5 (Schools), a homework assignment asks students to “write down the names of individuals who have graduated from your school, and today are considered valuable advocates for the state” (p. 13). This encourages students to learn about the work of others. Similarly, Chapter 15 (Government Institutions) emphasizes the role of teachers in “help[ing] young citizens become good adults and contribute to society” (p. 35). These examples suggest that education is recognized as an important tool through which students can engage in their communities and influence their country’s future.

Students are also encouraged to actively engage in the cleaning of their neighborhoods. This is evident in the Grade 4 textbook, Chapter 19 (City’s Surroundings), where those living in urban areas are reminded that they “must participate in the cleaning of their city and keeping it beautiful” (p. 42). Citizenship is limited to physical labor that encourages engagement at the personal level. This message is reiterated in Chapter 5 (Good Health) of the Grade 5 textbook:

> The Ministry of Health and all citizens of the country have a responsibility to keep their neighbourhoods clean, including their homes, streets, and city. There are flies, mosquitoes and bacteria in dirty places that cause different types of illnesses. This is why all of us must keep ourselves, our clothes, streets, schools, home and community clean. (p. 9)

This chapter, however, does not provide information about the causes of pollution or how students can put these goals into action without additional financial or material support. Instead, pollution is presented as an individual challenge requiring individual action, rather than a national one requiring state-led efforts and support. This furthers the victim-accomplice role of education as students are, on one hand, blamed for social problems and, on the other hand, are not provided with the support they need to address those problems.

Both textbooks include positive images about the importance of family and community, describing these relationships as interdependent. Chapter 1 (Everyday Life) includes various images that exemplify the importance of togetherness, including: men and women attending a wedding, a family eating a meal together, and men attending prayers at a Mosque. The text in this chapter explains that no person can "fulfill all of their needs on their own" (p. 2). Consequently, students are encouraged to "have good and friendly relations with others" (p. 2). This makes it clear to students that their lives are connected to others around them, a message that is also emphasized in Chapter 3 (The Role of Community in Advancement of Society) of the Grade 5 textbook:

> [I]t is not possible for anyone to fulfill all their needs on their own. As a result, all human beings have a need to live together and to help each other […] we are not only members of our families, our neighbourhoods, our cities, but also our nation. (p. 5)

By encouraging students to recognize how they are connected and dependent on others in their communities, the textbooks provide opportunities for appreciating differences. This recognition helps promote the transformative potential of these textbooks by instilling values of unity and inclusion. These values are especially important in Afghanistan as differences have fueled conflict and violence.

6.4.3 Gender

The conflicts of the last four decades have further exacerbated existing inequalities among boys and girls, particularly in their access to learning (Human Rights Watch, 2006). A key focus of the post-2002 development efforts included enhancing women and girls' access to education. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that both textbooks include some element of gender inclusion; however, these accounts often reinforce gender inequality. In the Grade 4 textbook, images show women engaged in various roles including farming and household chores. Chapter 3 (Importance of Family and Their Roles) mentions that "those families where the fathers are dead, the mothers, along with the elder sons and daughters meet the needs of their homes" (p. 6). Although this text recognizes women in leading roles within the family, it does not acknowledge that their widowed status is a direct outcome of conflict and suggests that mothers can only play these roles when the fathers have died. Moreover, the text makes it clear that women carry out these responsibilities with the support of others, including children. This message sustains their subordinate position in society

and reinforces gendered stereotypes. In Chapter 4 (Family Members' Responsibilities), this message is stated more explicitly: "in addition to their responsibilities like cleaning the house, washing clothes and cooking food, some women also work outside the home" (p. 9). Depicting women in progressive roles outside the home can be transformative in the sense that they provide students with opportunities to see women contributing in alternative ways toward the family and society. In this text however, these new responsibilities are carried out in addition to traditional ones, and thus women are still constrained by societal expectations. This becomes further apparent in Chapter 6 (School's Administration) of the same textbook, where a series of four images about the school's staff show a total of nine males and one female; the males are shown in active or authoritative roles (i.e., working in the lab and as head of the school speaking to other teachers and students) and the only woman present in these images is shown cleaning windows in a classroom (p. 14). The message here is that, while women can work outside the home, they will carry out duties similar to those inside the home (cleaning), and thus are there to support and maintain, rather than to lead or create. These depictions also reinforce male dominance in public spaces and limit women to passive and stereotypical portrayals.

In the Grade 5 textbooks, women are not mentioned explicitly and gendered language is used to normalize the leadership and authority of men. This is evident in several chapters including Chapter 21 (Handicrafts), where students are given the following instructions for a group activity: "under the guidance of the [*ustad sahib/*male teacher], students should divide themselves into groups" (38). This message is repeated throughout other chapters, including Chapter 24 (Embroidery and Sewing), and Chapter 38 (How Can We Maintain Peace). References to the teacher as male normalize men's authority and dominance within the school. Additionally, in this textbook, gendered language is also used to forward the assumption that the reader of these textbooks is male and Muslim. For instance, following a detailed discussion about the importance of individual rights and freedom in Chapter 40 (What Rights Does an Individual Have?), the text urges students of the importance of equality: "[w]e Muslims are not only brothers to each other, but we are also equal with each other" (p. 87). While the message promotes equality and inclusiveness, it also normalizes male dominance and religious homogeneity even though these textbooks are used across the country by non-Muslims and girls. These examples reveal that the textbooks are complicit in maintaining and promoting unequal relations between men and women, and Muslim and non-Muslim Afghans.

6.4.4 Conflict

Both textbooks provide fragmented histories of conflict that are often vague and, in the Grade 5 textbook, explicitly biased toward a specific political group. These accounts do not provide students with detailed understanding of wars, especially recent ones that continue to hinder daily life. For instance, in Chapter 3 (Importance of Family and Their Roles) of the Grade 4 textbook, the text states that some households do

not have a father figure, but it does not explain what may have caused such losses. Children are presented with selected details that do not give them enough information to understand the context and consequently to learn in a meaningful manner. Even in chapters that focus primarily on the history of educational development in the country, only some older conflicts are mentioned briefly, but relevant details are not included. For example, Chapter 7 (History of Schools: Teaching and Learning) of the Grade 4 textbook describes the influence of different political leaders on educational progress in the country. The actions of one such leader, Habibullah Kalakani (an ethnic minority who banned schools temporarily during his 9-month rule in 1929), are cited as an example of the challenges that hindered advancement, especially for girls, even though the Taliban's banning of girls' education is much more recent and significant. This reference to an older period, and to a leader who is not relevant to conflicts of the last 40 years, presents a biased and distorted view of history. It also blames a specific ethnic minority group for violence even though they have historically been victims of social and political violence.

The same chapter does not mention the destruction that has resulted from the civil wars and the subsequent Taliban rule, and instead describes these periods as: "with the passing of time, and the many changes that were happening in our country, development and progress did not take place" (p. 18). The discussion then moves quickly to the present era and states that learning and teaching are "on the path to development" (p. 18). This broad reference to the years of violent wars, as well as the misrepresentation of the present as peaceful, downplays the conflicts' severity on Afghan life and society. By presenting students with a biased and limited understanding of history, the textbooks further contribute to conflict as students are denied the opportunity to fully understand their experiences and histories, and thus to engage critically with these realities.

Finally, in the Grade 5 textbook, the accomplice role of education is explicit through the positive depiction of *mujahidin*, a political group known for their violence and destruction against civilian life and property. Chapter 4 (Community: Learning and Teaching) states: "When the mujahidin came to power, some schools that were inactive became active again" (p. 7). This account presents a distorted view of history by first omitting details of why schools were closed, and second, by favorably describing a group well known for their deliberate destruction of educational infrastructure (Human Rights Watch, 2006). It also shows that the textbooks are complicit in furthering narratives that promote political favoritism toward a group that is comprised mainly of those belonging to the dominant class, thus sustaining divisiveness.

6.5 Discussion

As Novelli et al. (2017) point out, in conflict-affected societies, education has the potential to contribute toward sustainable peacebuilding "by fostering peace and social justice, both of which are necessary to transform the root causes of conflict"

(p. 17). On the other hand, it is also well noted that during conflict, schools are "targets and a part of the battlefield" (Seitz, 2004, p. 7), including in Afghanistan (Novelli, 2017). The analysis in this chapter reveals that Afghan school textbooks have shifted significantly from their violent past toward a future that recognizes the importance of peacebuilding through learning. As discussed further below, the social studies textbooks demonstrate some of this commitment toward transforming previous wrongs. However, they also reinforce messages that exacerbate existing inequalities, in a context that is increasingly constrained by ongoing violence and insecurity.

6.5.1 Commitment Toward Peacebuilding and (Potential) Transformation of Conflict

In both textbooks, there is an indirect recognition of the damage caused by wars and an explicit commitment by the government to use these texts for the promotion of peace and co-existence. These messages are important steps toward peacebuilding in a country like Afghanistan, where violence threatens educational progress on a daily basis. These are also starkly different from previous messages that, for years, normalized the teaching of violence in the classroom and used education to achieve political aims (Vanner et al., 2016). While violence continues to be ongoing, the textbooks focus primarily on presenting students with peaceful images of their communities and encouraging active involvement at home and in their surroundings. Additionally, students are encouraged to recognize the interdependent dynamics of their lives, emphasizing the idea that each individual's needs are reliant on the help of another, and that supporting others is essential for meeting one's own needs. Bickmore (2014) explains that acknowledging differences in the classroom presents opportunities for building relationships that can help students "build capacities for more complicated and challenging peacebuilding" (p. 578). Both textbooks encourage students to recognize their individual needs as dependent on others and thus help them to see the importance of co-dependence. This type of learning encourages dialogue and encounter with others who may be different, and thus can promote conflict prevention (Seitz, 2004), and peacebuilding (Bickmore et al., 2017).

Additionally, there is potential for students to see themselves as agents of change since they are encouraged to find ways to participate in the well-being and progress of their communities and country. Bickmore et al. (2017) emphasize the importance of "curricular opportunities to encounter and engage with conflicting identities, perspectives and justice claims" (p. 286). This is especially important in developing democratic problem-solving and moral judgment capacities in students. By inviting students to participate in the advancement of their communities, students are presented with a common goal, which may also present opportunities to engage with and confront differences. Davies (2004) explains that helping others and recognizing their rights is part of the "service learning" that students need to engage

in so that values of peace are promoted. Likewise, Bar-Tal et al. (2009) maintain that in countries engaged in ongoing conflict, schools might not be able to address conflict directly, and thus "indirect peace" can be achieved through the construction of students' worldviews that promote peace and reconciliation. Specifically, the authors point out that learning about rights can "develop a sense of responsibility for defending the rights of others, including the group of the rival" (p. 18). The textbooks promote values of inclusiveness, inter-dependence, and unity, all of which can help foster democratic ideals. These messages are especially important in the Afghan context where conflicts have resulted in disunity and alienation. It is worth noting, however, that the textbooks operate mainly at the surface level, and do not engage students critically beyond statements that acknowledge the importance of unity and inclusion. Even these acknowledgments, however, are significant steps that provide a starting point for the transformative role of education in a context where violence is still intertwined with education.

6.5.2 Complicity in Maintaining Social Inequality

In both the Grades 4 and 5 social studies textbooks, unequal social relations are emphasized between men and women and between the state and citizens. Women and girls are often depicted in stereotypical roles that confine their participation to traditional roles inside the home. Men, on the other hand, are depicted as actively engaged in important and authoritative positions outside the home. Recognizing female members of the family as "contributing" in general can be perceived as a positive step toward transformation given that, historically, women's active role in society has served as a vehicle for resistance and violence. The texts make it clear however, that their participation is subordinate to that of men's, legitimizing traditional patriarchal narratives that portray housework as primarily a woman's responsibility. These depictions fall short of the key goals of post-war reconstruction, which include improving women's lives and strengthening their participation in non-traditional roles (Human Rights Watch, 2017). Moreover, by not challenging traditional roles of women, the textbooks contribute to the ongoing assumption that women and girls should not leave the home, which are the same narratives fueling attacks on girls and their access to learning.

It is also worth noting that the textbooks enforce other forms of social inequality by excluding a specific ethnic minority group (the Hazaras) and by presenting Afghanistan as a Muslim society. This creates a false sense of unity based on politics of exclusion and homogeneity, dismissing the diversity of the population. Bentrovato (2017) explains that "single narratives are likely to reproduce existing power relations" (p. 50) as values and beliefs of the dominant group are privileged over others.

The relation between the student and the state also emphasizes asymmetrical relations whereby students are encouraged to be passive and submissive to the

state's authority and power. Teaching students to question the state and its policies is described as an essential precursor to achieving a sense of patriotism and commitment toward the nation (Davies, 2004). Throughout the two textbooks, the state and its apparatuses are presented as legitimate agents with authority that should not be questioned and instead should be simply assumed to be for the betterment of the individual and society. Harber and Sakade (2009) explain that schools are often authoritarian sites where students are taught obedience and conformity, thus contributing toward structural violence. As Galtung (1990) warns, indirect forms of violence, including structural, can reinforce direct violence. By teaching passivity and the acceptance of the state's power over citizens, the textbooks contribute negatively toward peacebuilding and become complacent in the continuity of conflict.

6.5.3 Victimization of Learning Through Ambiguous Accounts of History and Conflict

The textbooks present students with vague and biased details about important historical events; this increases the potential to perpetuate further violence, and also victimizes students through a denial of their lived experiences. In both textbooks, important details related to conflicts are for the most part not included. Even when the focus of the chapter is about historical events, the texts avoid discussing recent and ongoing conflicts. Additionally, blaming violence on a specific ethnic minority group (the Hazaras) promotes intolerance that furthers the negative role of education as it legitimizes their exclusion from society (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). That said, omitting difficult histories or conflicts is often avoided in war-affected schools in order to avoid igniting further tensions (Bickmore et al., 2017). Similarly, in many such environments, including these facts might also be difficult because the perpetrators of violence hold positions of power (Bentrovato, 2017); this is the case in Afghanistan, where former warlords are now part of the official government and still contributing to violence and growing inequalities (Mehran, 2018).

While the rationale behind the omission of recent conflicts may be understandable, it results in an overlap between the accomplice and victim role of education as students are presented with details that do not reflect reality, denying them the opportunity to develop skills that can contribute toward peacebuilding and social justice. Since students are not taught about the root causes of violence, or why there is no peace in the country, they are left to accept ongoing violence as normal and acceptable (Davies, 2004). Davies (2006) explains that a biased understanding of history denies students the opportunity to critically engage with conflict, a step that is necessary in order for education to contribute positively toward conflict. Similarly, Bickmore et al. (2017) maintain that "education for peace cannot occur in a vacuum but rather in a response to its contexts" (p. 283); in other words, even when content is difficult or dangerous to present in classrooms, engaging with it is important as it provides opportunities for sustainable and long-term peacebuilding and

social justice. Students are victimized through a denial of learning about their past, which can have a significant impact on how they understand their present and future (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

Finally, the positive portrayal of a known violent political group, the *mujahidin*, illustrates the textbook's active perpetuation of "war education" (Davies, 2006). Bar-Tal (1998) explains that textbooks are often the first and only books that young people read in their lifetime and thus "are perceived by students as authoritative and factual" (p. 725). This is the case in Afghanistan, where poverty and lack of educational resources limit the exposure that children have to learning materials. Consequently, messages that are embedded in political ideals deprive children of the opportunity to learn meaningfully and thus of the potential to engage positively in peacebuilding. Galtung (1976) highlights the importance of "conflict participation," which he argues is "one of the most effective ways by which a dominated periphery can gain autonomy" (p. 110). These fragmented and narrow inclusions of history deny children the opportunity to make sense of the ways their lives are shaped by historical and present insecurities. Students are therefore victimized through feelings of powerlessness, which also limit their potential for achieving peace or deepening opportunities for understanding (Bickmore et al., 2017).

6.6 Conclusion

The Grades 4 and 5 social studies textbooks provide opportunities and challenges for promoting peace and stability in Afghanistan. Unlike previous ones, they make a deliberate effort to ensure that their contents do not repeat the shortcomings of the older texts which used explicitly violent content to promote political ideologies rather than teach students. There are many important messages for students, as well as opportunities to provide them with knowledge and skill sets that can contribute to peacebuilding. This chapter provided examples from both textbooks that suggest that, while there are some opportunities for transforming conflict, they nonetheless present narratives that sustain inequalities. These exacerbating accounts further victimize students who have to navigate through a selective and biased curriculum in a context that is actively affected by ongoing war and insecurity. These challenges are especially concerning as they prevent schools from becoming sites where peacebuilding can be enacted, and students from engaging in conflict prevention in a meaningful and sustainable way.

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Chapter 7
Reproducing Gender Identity in Jordanian Civic Education Textbooks

Yasmeen Shahzadeh

Abstract Civic education is a mandatory school subject in Jordan for all students between Grades 5 and 10. The curriculum revolves around teaching students Jordanian values, history, heritage, and culture, instilling a sense of loyalty to the country and Arab region as a whole. The subject's textbooks are state-produced and are the only guiding material for students and teachers to navigate the curriculum. Female workforce participation in Jordan is among the lowest in the world. As women in Jordan continue to work toward equality in education, employment, and society, this research explores the representation of women as citizens in the civic education curriculum. The research seeks to explore representations of women and men in the curriculum and how these representations can challenge or reinforce socio-cultural norms surrounding gendered roles and responsibilities. The research engages in a content analysis of the textbooks for Grades 9 and 10, as well as interviews with civic education teachers and curriculum developers in Jordan, to discuss the strategic role the civic education curriculum can, or should, play to support gender equality.

Keywords Civic education · Content analysis · Gender equality · Gender roles · Jordan · Textbooks

7.1 Introduction

Civic education is a social studies subject that teaches students about history, governance, and society. According to Wong et al. (2017), it teaches students the "knowledge, skills, and disposition to act as 'good citizens'" (p. 632). This often includes teaching about citizenship based on a "common set of shared values"—such as tolerance, democracy, and peacebuilding—to foster a society where people share a

This chapter is adapted from my thesis dissertation and research, titled *Gendered Citizenship: Investigating Representations of Women in Jordanian Civic Education Textbooks*. The thesis dissertation was submitted in February 2020 in fulfilment of the requirements of the Master of Arts in Education and Society degree at McGill University.

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national identity (Johnson & Morris, 2010, p. 78). In Jordan, the subject was made mandatory for school students between Grades 5 and 10 in the early 1990s (Kubow, 2018). The goal of civic education in Jordan is to develop students' sense of loyalty to their country and the Arab region (Kubow & Kreishan, 2014). At the intersection of social sciences and ethics, the subject teaches students what their roles and responsibilities are toward their society, especially as they finish high school and prepare to enter the workforce. Importantly, civic education is one of the few subjects that is both mandatory and standardized in the Jordanian education system: all students between Grades 5 and 10 are expected to study civic education from the same textbooks, which are prepared by the Ministry of Education.

The Jordanian education system, including its curricula, has been subject to rigorous reform in recent years. Women and men in Jordan boast high levels of primary, secondary, and even tertiary education. However, women's political, social, and economic inclusion lags behind men's (IRCKHF, 2019; World Bank, 2018). With this as the starting point for my research, I sought to understand the role of the country's education system in promoting female workforce participation. As civic education is the sole mandatory social studies subject focusing on citizenship and civic duties, I explore whether the Jordanian civic education curriculum reinforces gendered roles and responsibilities. Textbooks for civic education, that teach "citizen roles and responsibilities, and different political, economic, social, and environmental concepts," are essential sites for examining gender (Kubow & Kreishan, 2014, p. 10). Although they are meant to build national values that are gender-inclusive, such textbooks can reinforce social inequalities such as gender stereotypes (McKinney, 2005).

In this research, I explore the civic education curriculum through a gendered lens, asking: what messages does the curriculum send to male and female students about citizenship? Are conceptions of Jordanian citizenship gendered? Recognizing the importance of textbooks in shaping young people's values and ideas (McCluskey, 1993), I study the representations of women and men in civic education textbooks, as they are the main text provided to students and teachers. Second, to deepen my understanding of the content and its impact, I conducted interviews with teachers and curriculum developers in Jordan on their perceptions of the civic education curriculum, focusing on gender.

This research draws upon the IREC framework to highlight the importance of education, and especially of government-authored school textbooks, in promoting social conflict or encouraging social transformations. As textbooks can introduce students to new ideologies, it is essential to consider this in the case of government-mandated textbooks, which are rarely neutral (Apple, 2014; UNESCO, 2011). Textbooks can be sites of social marginalization, erasure, and even conflict (Greaney, 2006), but can also be sites for social transformation, promoting gender equality, and fostering new opportunities for critical thinking and dialogue (Cremin & Guilherme, 2016).

7.2 Literature Review

7.2.1 Education and Society in Jordan

Over the past decade, Jordan has experienced rapid population growth and socio-economic change, influenced by the onset of the Arab Spring, the influx of over one million Syrian refugees in Jordan, and growing strain on the state's public resources. The country capitalized on education reforms to navigate many of these challenges. Notably, these efforts culminated in launching Jordan's *National Strategy for Human Resource Development* in 2016, to reform education from early childhood to higher education. The Strategy seeks to create "happy, healthy, empowered, and active citizens" through a shared mindset that promotes national unity (NCHRD, 2016, p. 17). Notably, the Strategy sees education as the "key to transforming … daunting demographic challenges into opportunities for growth and development" (p. 20).

Jordan has achieved substantial advancements in its education system, especially regarding gender equality in literacy and enrolment. The Kingdom boasts one of the highest female literacy rates in the region, exceeding 97% in 2020 (World Bank, 2021). The country's *National Strategy for Human Resource Development* showcases several areas where female students outperform their male counterparts, including in reading and mathematics. However, while women in Jordan enjoy high education enrolment rates for primary, secondary, and tertiary education, their workforce participation upon graduation is strikingly low. The World Bank (2018) found that while 53% of university graduates in Jordan are women, their workforce participation rate is among the lowest globally. The Jordanian Department of Statistics estimated that just 13.2% of women were economically active, compared to more than 53% of males in 2019 (Department of Statistics, 2019). Jordan's economic instability contributes to its high unemployment rate, but this is not the only factor at play.

Research suggests that cultural and social dimensions contribute to high unemployment rates among women in Jordan. Women are often expected to marry, have children, and manage their households before they are expected to seek employment (IRCKHF, 2019). Such expectations impact women's economic mobility and ability to enter the workforce. Additionally, bias against women's employment is a significant factor contributing to their lower workforce participation (IRCKHF, 2019). Recent research by Al Khatib (2020) draws attention to prevalent assumptions that female workforce participation is less valuable, as employers indicated their preference to hire males over females.

As women's workforce participation is low, so is their representation in politics. The most recent local elections held in November 2020 drew criticism from women's groups as the incoming elected House of Representatives included fewer women than the outgoing body. The November 2020 elections saw just 15 women elected to the House of Representatives (of 130 seats), compared to 20 women elected to the outgoing House. There were 1,674 registered candidates in the elections, of whom only 360 were women. Notably, the 15 women who were elected to the House won their seats due to the 15 seat women's quota—this also marked the first time since

2007 that women did not win seats in the House outside the quota (Husseini, 2020). The quota system was established in 2001 to ensure representation of women and minority groups in the House, but recent calls to increase the women's quota to 23 seats in 2016 were rejected by legislators (Abumaria, 2020). Although women in Jordan constitute 52% of voters, the representation of women in the House remains low (Abumaria, 2020). Abu Jaber (2014) notes that Jordanian society will have to consider women's empowerment as "'desirable' and 'legitimate'" to achieve their economic and political equality, and notes that one way to contribute to these efforts is through reforming education.

7.2.2 Textbooks and Gender

The country's *National Strategy for Human Resource Development* aims to address low female workforce and political participation through wide-reaching education reforms to foster greater inclusion. Ensuring access to education for women is crucial, but it is equally important to work toward greater inclusion within education systems, including through curricular reform. Curriculum, according to McLaren (2003), "represents the introduction to a particular form of life; it serves in part to prepare students for dominant or subordinate positions in the existing society" (p. 86). Thus, gender biases, such as expectations of subordination, can constitute a significant hindrance to gender equality in education (Blumberg, 2007).

Literature on textbook analysis highlights recurring patterns of female exclusion. Durrani's (2008) analysis of Pakistani National Education textbooks found that less than a quarter of the illustrations in the textbooks were of women. Similarly, Otoom's (2014) research on Arabic Language textbooks in Jordan found that textbooks introduced more male characters than female characters, and that the male characters occupied more diverse professions. For example, the textbooks introduced a variety of male characters including pharmacists, doctors, soldiers, and farmers. Additionally, in those same textbooks, the male characters were associated with values such as strength and leadership, whereas women were associated with compassion and tenderness. Abu Jaber (2014) found that Jordanian textbooks tended to contain more "gender-negative" concepts than "gender-positive" or neutral. As an example of gender-negative concept, certain Jordanian textbooks suggested women's employment would interfere with their household duties. Abu Jaber (2014) noted that the gender sensitivity of Jordanian textbooks improved when the authors worked with non-governmental organizations or education consultants to develop the contents.

Lastly, while textbooks represent a critical contact point for students, it is essential to recognize the variations in how the content of these textbooks can be delivered to students in the classroom. Teachers play an essential role, drawing from textbooks and their own lived experiences, including their own biases or opinions, to deliver content to students (Sadker et al., 2009).

7.2.3 Conceptual Frameworks

Three main conceptual foundations inform this research. First, this research is informed by the IREC framework, highlighting the role of education, and specifically of textbooks, in peacebuilding (Kovinthan Levi, this volume). It draws upon the different roles that education can have, as a victim, accomplice, or transformer of conflict. Within this research, gender inequality and biases are the social conflicts examined within the IREC framework. Specifically, civic education textbooks, which call for nationalism and unity, could be an *accomplice* by reproducing gender inequalities through specific representations of femininity or masculinity, perpetuating gendered and discriminatory attitudes (McKinney, 2005). On the other hand, the textbooks can be *transformative* by challenging and addressing gendered stereotypes in favor of gender equality and inclusion.

Second, the research draws upon gender and feminist theory, grounded in constructions of gender. Gender as a social construct emerged prominently in West and Zimmerman's (1987) work, *Doing Gender*, which explains how performing an ascribed gender identity becomes a part of our everyday lives and actions. The construction and reproduction of gender can take place in different spaces including in formal education. For example, language learning can reinforce gender socialization: "language contains built-in biases about gender—biases that reflect the sexism and gender stereotypes of the culture" (Lips, 1988, p. 231). Prentice and Carranza (2002) note that "gender stereotypes are closely linked to traditional social roles and power inequalities between women and men" (p. 269). These inequalities can include assigning family duties and caretaking to women and assigning the *head of the household* title and economic responsibility to men (Ellemers, 2018; IRCKHF, 2019).

Lastly, I draw upon theories on citizenship and nationalism. Suad Joseph (1996) writes that nationalism and citizenship are gendered in the Middle East, where women are frequently disempowered when it comes to conversations about nationalism. Female citizens in most Middle Eastern countries, including Jordan, are not entitled to pass on their nationality to their children, as nationality is solely patrilineal. Joseph writes: "state institutions and political processes have presumed the citizen to be male and females to be dependent" (p. 4). Additionally, it is equally important to explore representations of masculinity and nationalism together. Massad (2001) describes Jordan's military as the "most important homosocial nationalist institution within the confines of the nation-state … [producing] a gendered set of nationalist agents—namely those of the masculine variety" (p. 100). As nationalism and education sustain one another (Gellner, 1965), understanding the civic education curriculum involves reflecting on both women's and men's representations to discern how they may uphold or reinforce harmful, or exclusionary, gendered roles and responsibilities.

7.3 Methodology

This study's methodology is in two parts: first, the content analysis of the civic education textbooks, and second, the interviews I conducted with teachers and curriculum developers in Jordan regarding the subject (Shahzadeh, 2020).

7.3.1 Textbook Analysis

To study the civic education curriculum, I analyzed the subject's textbooks. Kubow (2010) writes: "State-required textbooks … shape students' understandings about self, national identity, and belonging" (p. 15). The textbooks for civic education are the primary educational resource provided for students and teachers. I selected the textbooks for Grades 9 and 10, totaling four textbooks, with one textbook for each school semester. I selected Grades 9 and 10 as they are the two final mandatory years of schooling in Jordan.

In order to study the textbooks, I conducted a content analysis drawing upon Pingel (2010), as well as Hesse-Biber's (2014) and Hesse-Biber and Leavy's (2007) works on content analysis within feminist research. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007) define content analysis as a study that allows us to learn about society "by interrogating the material items produced within the culture … such as norms, values, socialization … by looking at the texts we produce" (p. 229). Pingel (2010) draws attention to the importance of images in textbook analysis, explaining that "illustrations are more likely to foster deeply rooted prejudices" (p. 49). Throughout my textbook analysis, I attempted to link the text with its surrounding illustrations and photographs.

7.3.2 Interviews with Educators

Blumberg (2007) and Durrani (2008) stress the importance of textbook analysis in education reform, calling for research on the roles that educators play in mediating textbook content, particularly regarding gender. Studying the curriculum thus not only involves an understanding of the textbooks themselves but also how they are interpreted, taught, and received. To add further depth to my textbook analysis, I interviewed teachers and curriculum developers working on civic education in Jordan to better understand their perspectives regarding the curriculum as a whole, but especially regarding its representations of women and gender.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with teachers and curriculum developers in Amman, Jordan. I interviewed four female teachers (two from public schools and two from private schools), all of whom teach civic education for grades 9 and 10 using the textbooks from my analysis I also conducted interviews with three curriculum developers (one male and two females). Each interview lasted approximately one

hour. The interview questions were related to the current curriculum and perceptions of gender representation in the textbooks. The interviews were conducted in person throughout July and August of 2019, and I transcribed and translated them from Arabic to English. The names of the research participants have been anonymized with pseudonyms. To code both the textbooks and interview transcripts, I draw upon coding methods outlined by Charmaz (2006), focusing on coding instances of gender representation and prioritizing coding texts and their emergent themes concerning gender, women, family, or definitions of citizenship.

7.4 Discussion

7.4.1 Textbook Analysis

The following sections discuss findings from the analysis of the four civic education textbooks for Grade 9 and Grade 10. The first section discusses the overarching representation of or discussion about women across the textbooks. The following section analyzes the use of gendered language in the textbooks. The third and final section touches upon women's visual representations across the textbooks to understand representations of women both textually and visually.

7.4.2 Representation of Women

First, there is little mention of women across all four textbooks. Women's representation is inconsistent across the textbooks, and narratives on female citizenship or inclusion tended to be incomplete and out of context. For example, one Grade 9 textbook contains a unit on human rights, within which there is one page on women's rights. The page starts by discussing the rights of women in Islam, concluding that "Islam views women as half of society … for women in Islam are partners with men to populate the Earth" (Breizat et al., 2018a, p. 23), and thus women's rights should be protected. The second part of the page mentions several international agreements that Jordan is a signatory to supporting women's rights. The page concludes with two discussion questions: "What is the importance of educating the Muslim woman?" and "Why was there specific discussion on the rights of women in international agreements?" (Breizat et al., 2018a, p. 23). The page does not include answers to either question.

The page on women's rights failed to provide context on the inequalities women experienced and continue to experience in Jordan and globally. These inequalities include barriers to employment, gender discrimination, and gender-based violence (IRCKHF, 2019; World Bank, 2014). The importance of women's rights is reduced to one page with no historical context or statistical insight into gender inequality,

or the importance of defending women's rights. The text thus suggests that Jordan's commitment to its Islamic values and to international agreements have sufficiently safeguarded the rights of women in the country.

Elsewhere across the textbooks, the authors have used text boxes and discussion questions at the bottom of pages or at the ends of lessons to include mention of women. Cohen (2016) writes that such an approach can include women in textbooks "without disturbing the traditional political narrative" (p. 333). It allows curriculum developers to include new content without restructuring existing narratives or the lesson as a whole (Banks, 1994). Thus, women are included in discussion questions but are not integrated into the civic education curriculum's central narratives. With the mention of Jordanian women scattered, their subordination as "secondary" female citizens is unchallenged (Shahzadeh, 2020).

Such an approach to integrating women is used several times across the textbooks. For example, the only mention of women in one Grade 9 chapter is an activity that asks students to choose a historically significant Jordanian woman to write a report on. However, none of the textbooks I analyzed in this research reference any female figures, Jordanian or otherwise. Another activity in a Grade 10 textbook asks students to read statements of different scenarios and determine whether those scenarios apply to their daily lives. One of these statement reads: "I do not differentially treat my brothers and sisters" (Al-Musaeed et al., 2018, p. 52). There are no answer keys for this activity, or any other activities, and such statements on women exist outside the context of the lesson as a whole.

Lastly, and importantly, an overarching narrative across the four textbooks emphasizes the importance of the nuclear family unit made up of the father, the mother, and their children. The textbooks describe the family unit as crucial to combat violent extremism, protect society from negative influences, and raise respectful and dedicated citizens. Such an emphasis on the nuclear family unit can be harmful to gender equality; as it can "[impact] the wellbeing of citizens who do not fall within this traditional structure" (IRCKHF, 2019, p. 2). This significantly impacts women who are single parents or who are unmarried. It undermines women who are married to non-Jordanians, as their children are not entitled to inherit Jordanian citizenship through their mother and thus are not fully entitled to essential services including free healthcare and education that children born to Jordanian fathers are entitled to. The ideal Jordanian family is portrayed as a nuclear family, headed by a Jordanian father, and the ideal citizen is part of this nuclear family.

Through its exclusion of women and female-driven national narratives, the textbook is largely an *accomplice* to gender bias. Lacking narratives surrounding women across the textbooks furthers their subordination in the curriculum and as citizens too. Women's exclusion to the textbooks' peripheries maintains gendered divisions and hierarchies in society and promotes a nationalism that revolves around Jordanian men.

7.4.3 Gendered Language

Examining gendered language throughout the textbooks is crucial to understanding to whom the textbook speaks, especially since Arabic is a gendered language where nouns and verbs carry gender. Lips (1988) writes: "language contains built-in biases about gender—biases that reflect the sexism and gender stereotypes of the culture … the masculine gender is used to refer to people in general" (p. 231). Gendered language can support the reproduction of an exclusionary rhetoric toward women and girls, thus is regarded as a method of social control (Khan et al., 2014).

The textbook most frequently uses the Arabic masculine conjugation for the term "citizen" (*al-muwatin*) rather than using both the Arabic masculine (*al-muwatin)* and feminine (*al-muwatina*) or using a gender-neutral term such as the word for "individual" (*al-fard*). The use of gender-masculine language means that the textbooks are only addressing the male students in the classroom (Abu Jaber, 2014).

Lips (1988) writes that students tended to interpret '*he*' as male-specific rather than gender-neutral; thus, exposure to masculine conjugations leads students to internalize male as typical and female as atypical (Shahzadeh, 2020). Moreover, findings by Warhuus and Jones (2018) suggest that the use of masculine-gendered terms (for instance, "businessman") can discourage female students from entering such fields. Gender biases and discriminatory language in textbooks can have lasting impacts on men *and* women, whether conscious or subconscious, dictating their lives, trajectories, and internalized prejudices (Shahzadeh, 2020; Warhuus & Jones, 2018). This, accompanied by the textbooks' lack of mention of women, contributes further to the erasure of women from teachings on Jordanian citizenship.

It is also essential to consider the selective use of the passive voice throughout the textbooks. Frazer and Miller (2009) have documented the media's frequent use of the passive voice when addressing women, since passive language erases the sentence's subject. One of the only passages in a Grade 9 textbook that talks about women uses the passive voice. The passage mentions the traditional dress of women in Al-Salt city in Jordan. Rather than using active phrasing such as "Woman from Al-Salt wearing traditional dress," the text reads: "Traditional dress of the woman from Al-Salt," centering the focus on the dress (Breizat et al., 2018b, p. 64). The passage adds that a "traditional coat is worn" in the winter (p. 64), about the women who would wear these coats, and how the ends of the fabric are stitched in a traditional way, leaving the reader to fill in the blanks regarding who is producing and donning the garment (Shahzadeh, 2020). McClintock (1993) explains that women tend to be portrayed as symbols that carry national culture, with no agency of their own. Similarly, this example portrays women as bodies that showcase tradition rather than engage in its production. Portraying women as participants in the production of traditional dress can be one step toward achieving a stronger and more equitable representation of women in the curricula (Shahzadeh, 2020).

7.4.4 Visual Representation

Parallel to their scarce textual representation, it is essential to note the scarcity of visual representations of women across the textbooks. Tallying the number of photos where either gender is depicted, I looked at female figures' visual prevalence across the textbooks (Tsutsumi, 2010). There was only one photograph depicting only a woman across all four textbooks. There were eight photographs depicting men and women together (for instance, in parliament). Conversely, there were 27 photographs of men. Many of these photographs of men depicted the King in his public engagements, but there were no photographs of the Queen or female members of the Royal Court.

The single photograph of a woman accompanied the passage on the traditional dress from Al-Salt mentioned earlier. The photograph depicts a Jordanian woman wearing the traditional dress of her city. However, the woman's face—the only woman depicted across all four textbooks in this research—is blurred. This visual omission, combined with women's linguistic omission, contributes to the textbooks' *accomplice* stance toward gender inequality and bias, neglecting the representation of Jordanian women as citizens and focusing solely on men.

7.4.5 Interviews with Educators

The interview participants all shed light on how the current civic education curriculum does not deliver on the purpose of the subject itself and that it requires revision to better appeal to students. The participants identified several overarching challenges with the current iteration of civic education textbooks. For instance, one curriculum developer, Khalid, mentioned that the content is not continuous over the years. He explained that the lessons do not build upon each other to give students a more profound understanding over time. He attributed this to the fact that each textbook has different authors, each with varying opinions on the content and themes that should be included. Similarly, Bayan—a teacher—mentioned that the textbooks' content is largely outdated and does not reflect current challenges or circumstances in Jordanian society, such as the influx of Syrian refugees. After discussing general perceptions toward the civic education textbooks, I shifted the conversation toward discussing the status of women and gender representation in the textbooks.

First, the three curriculum developers had varying opinions toward why there was a lack of representations of women across the textbooks. Khalid, the only male curriculum developer I interviewed, dismissed the issue. He explained that any omission of women is unintentional, as the authors must not have considered the need to include women so explicitly. He mentioned that one possible reason for the lack of visual representations of women in the textbooks is that it can be challenging to find women to be photographed (Shahzadeh, 2020). On the other hand, the two female curriculum developers mentioned that they thought that the

Ministry's curriculum developers are to blame. They explained that the curriculum developers do not consider female empowerment and equality important enough to address in the textbooks. Leen, one curriculum developer, mentioned that the lack of importance of equal gender representation in curricula is indicative of a conservative curriculum development board. However, she also references conservative audiences, including teachers and parents, who are polarized on whether or how women should be represented in textbooks, influencing curriculum developers.

For example, textbooks that were newly revised for the 2016–2017 school year included illustrations of women without headscarves—an opportunity to showcase the textbooks' transformative potential to promote tolerance and include women, gender, and even religious diversity. However, these revisions that challenged traditional gender norms were condemned by the country's teacher's union, who viewed them as "part of a conspiracy against Islamic values" (Ma'ayeh, 2016). That year, reforms also included an illustration of men completing housework, a photograph of boys and girls in a mixed-gender classroom, and other additions to promote religious tolerance, which the then Minister of Education noted were designed to "focus on the values of the nation, moderation, and the core values of Islam" (Ma'ayeh, 2016). Teachers and parents who took offense to the revisions called for the Minister of Education to resign, and the textbooks were burned in public demonstrations.

Another news outlet reported that references to Islam were scaled back in the textbooks in a series of minor edits across Jordan's first Grade 12 textbooks in a bid to modernize school curricula and combat extremism, to which conservatives and Islamists responded negatively (Hadid, 2016). In this challenging balancing act, the Jordanian Ministry of Education cannot modernize its curricula while also meeting its population's varied preferences (Hadid, 2016). As Leen explains, since the Ministry's curriculum developers cannot agree on fundamental topics that should be covered in civic education, the fragmentation of the subject is evident. Attempts at reform are halted due to such disputes between opposing ideals or values, especially regarding women and gender equality.

All the teachers I spoke with recognized the lack of content about women in the textbooks, explaining that the textbooks are not representative of the world they live in—especially with regard to gender inclusion. However, throughout our conversations, the teachers I interviewed expressed agency in various ways, detailing how they expand on the textbooks' content to introduce a more inclusive civic education. For instance, Bayan, a teacher, mentioned the importance of directly addressing her female students in the classroom using their pronouns. For example, when textbooks mention engineers (*muhandis* [masculine]), she addresses her female students with the feminine conjugation (*muhandisa* [feminine]), as this has helped her female students see themselves in these positions and with these titles (Shahzadeh, 2020). Curriculum developers Leen and Sarah endorsed this approach on the importance of linguistic inclusion for masculine and feminine conjugations in future iterations of the textbooks to foster an inclusive learning environment. Aya, another teacher, explained that she and her students work together to better incorporate discussions about women, female figures, and the diversity they wish to see in their classroom.

She brings her own examples of women occupying various professions into her classroom to include representations of women in the workforce, especially for fields that are regarded as non-traditional for women, including engineering and government. The fact that some teachers have been successful in their classroom interventions to design a gender-inclusive civic education curricula suggests the positive potential for transformation in future iterations of the textbooks.

To conclude, while it can be a largely voluntary and challenging effort on the part of teachers and curriculum developers to advocate for more substantial gender inclusion in textbooks, it is clear that this is becoming a necessary agenda in curriculum development. State-authored textbooks such as those for civic education can maintain or reproduce existing gender inequalities should they remain unchallenged. Advocating for gender inclusion and modernizing curricular reforms has been a challenging task in Jordan and has historically been met with resistance but is necessary to promote tolerance and unity among citizens.

7.4.6 Exploring Representations of Masculinity

The lack of messaging surrounding women and female figures in the civic education textbooks cements the idea that the ideal Jordanian citizen is deemed one who is male, Muslim, Jordanian, and able to defend his nation. Notably so, as the pervasive discourse of male citizenship and masculinity in the textbooks is accompanied by a strong military focus. According to research on the Jordanian civic education curriculum by Basheer (2015), the curriculum promotes "stereotypical masculine social obligations" (p. 49) at the center of which is the military.

In text and visuals, the textbooks highlight the importance of Jordan having a robust military force in light of its geographical location and political environment. The imagery of the current King frequently depicts him within his capacity as a current commander in the armed forces. Aside from mention of the King's military career, the textbooks depict military camps and scouts training for male youth, preparing them for their service in the military. The accompanying imagery also depicts men as soldiers or police officers. There is only one mention of women in the military—one sentence in a Grade 9 textbook on a 2005 campaign to include women in the military, despite the textbooks having been regularly updated, most recently in 2018.

My interview participants touched upon similar concerns with the representation of men as militarized agents. Sarah, a curriculum developer, explained that the civic education textbooks portray a national identity focused on men and boys occupying positions of political or military dominance. Leila, a teacher, saw that conceptions of citizenship in the textbook demonstrate the ideal citizen as Jordanian, male, and in the military, which can be challenging for female students, but also for male students attempting to understand their own roles and positions within society. She draws parallels between militarization and masculinization and explains that male students typically express a hyper-masculine culture that values strength and force. This can

contribute to an urge for dominance and violence among boys and men. Samia, another teacher interviewed, adds that violent masculinities, grounded in shows of force and power, can be learned at a young age and can become normalized and even destructive if left unchallenged. She explains that men's continuous representation as powerful and armed may even contribute to her students' ambivalence toward gender-based violence (Shahzadeh, 2020).

Representations of masculinity, tied to the military, should be explored alongside representations of women and gender, or the lack thereof, especially because "conventional masculine values of strength, victory and loyalty" are often displayed in opposition to sexist representations of "femininity as weakness" (Massad, 2001, p. 207). Encouraging male students to understand their primary duty in society as one that revolves around the military and inviting female students to accept such dominant narratives and their exclusion from them, can create a toxic masculinity that could encourage misogyny and even violence against women. Thus, understanding representations of both masculinity and femininity are crucial to advocating for gender-inclusive and gender-sensitive curricular reform.

7.5 Conclusions

Durrani (2008) writes: "Nationalism aims at eliminating all kinds of status differentials… ethnicity, religion, language, sex, class … the nationalist discourse downplays internal plurality" (p. 596). While my analysis focused on gender, it is crucial to consider the various intersectionalities that come to play when studying representations of identity. My review of the textbooks not only found an erasure of women in citizenship studies, but also of religious and ethnic diversity in the curriculum. Representing Jordanian citizenship as one embodied by Jordanian, Muslim men not only erase the contributions of women, but also of Christian communities, and of Palestinians, Syrians, Circassians, and other minorities that live in Jordan.

State-authored textbooks have the potential to gender citizenship should they remain unchallenged. Better mainstreaming gender-inclusive language and narratives is crucial to promoting gender equality and inclusion. This research showed that the textbooks were largely an *accomplice* to conflict within the IREC framework, as the visual and linguistic representation of women was rare, decontextualized, and disempowering to female citizens in Jordan. Representation of women as citizens in the textbooks was reduced to the peripheries of lessons, and women were primarily illustrated within their role in the nuclear family, void of other civic responsibilities. Interview participants echoed these findings, with some participants explaining that the textbooks are unable to engage female students in critical conversations about their roles and responsibilities toward their country. On the other hand, some interview participants shed light on the textbooks' *transformative* potential should they be revised, highlighting the potential textbooks have in engaging students in critical social dialogue, including on gender inclusivity. Lastly, the teachers identified potential topics for future iterations of the textbooks to better engage students on

gender equality, including studying prominent female figures in Jordanian history, introducing latest statistics on female workforce participation and literacy rates (as the textbooks are reviewed every two years), and including examples of women in employment across Jordan and in a variety of occupations.

This research stresses the need not only to understand the textbooks themselves but also how the text is delivered in classrooms. While the textbooks may not transform gender roles in education, some teachers are eager and able to take this task up themselves for their students' benefit. This agency is an indication of the transformative potential not only of the textbooks to support gender equality, but of the teachers' active pedagogical approaches to foster critical conversations about gender roles and responsibilities in the classroom.

The Jordanian civic education curriculum can captivate students in meaningful conversations addressing their civic duties, patriotism, and what it can mean to be a good citizen if it is revised from a gender-inclusive perspective. To achieve this, revision of content matter to integrate and mainstream textual and visual representations of women is crucial. The curricula at such critical years, the final mandatory years of schooling, should engage young women and men on their responsibilities in the future, their equal duties toward their country, and the limitless possibilities their futures can hold in society.

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Part III
Historical Narratives and Competing Truths

Chapter 8
No Textbooks, No Peace? Historical Narratives in South Sudan

Merethe Skårås

Abstract This chapter gives a detailed account of how memories and narratives operate due to a lack of history textbooks in secondary schools in South Sudan. The chapter is based on two periods of focused ethnographic fieldwork in South Sudan during the recent civil war. Using the IREC framework, combined with perspectives on curriculum and collective memory, the chapter analyzes how groups and narratives are constructed and operate both inside and outside the classroom, in an educational context where there are no official history textbooks and the classrooms are teacher-centered. I argue that when the content is not found in any textbooks available to students, the students are mostly left with biased, unquestioned historical narratives that maintain ethnic groups and communities. The study revealed that when there is a lack of textbooks and a single narrative is promoted by teachers, possibilities for transforming past narratives for the future are obstructed, especially when students are not invited to critically reflect on and participate in classroom discussion. Therefore, the chapter argues that history education in South Sudan is both a symbolic victim of and an accomplice to conflict. However, it also recognizes a potential for education to take on a transformative role toward a more peaceful society.

Keywords Collective memory · Education in emergencies · Null curriculum · Peace education · South Sudan

This chapter explores how memories and narratives operate without official history textbooks in secondary schools in South Sudan. In line with the two faces of education in ethnic conflict (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000), historical memory might be a contributor either to violence and oppression or to peace and reconciliation through a transformation of biased negative images of the other promoted through narratives in the subject of history. Several researchers have explored the overall relationship of education to conflict in South Sudan (Breidlid, 2010; Skårås, 2019; Sommers, 2005), including in relation to textbooks (Oeyenak, 2018; Vanner et al., 2020); however, there is a need to look more closely at the subject of history and its role in the creation of a

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post-independence South Sudan. This chapter uses the IREC framework, curriculum theory (Aoki, 2004; Apple, 2004; Flinders et al., 1986; Schubert, 1981), and perspectives on collective memory (Wertsch, 2002) to analyze how groups and narratives are constructed inside and outside the classroom in an educational context where there are no official history textbooks. Findings show that, inside the classroom and outside in the communities, there is one unifying narrative of the past that paints an enemy image of the Arab Other. There are, however, multiple narratives of intergroup conflict that exist outside of the classroom but were not addressed within it. This analysis leads to an identification of limitations and possibilities when there is no common history textbook for students in school.

8.1 Education, Textbooks, and Conflicts in South Sudan

For decades, the relationship between education and development in South Sudan has been contested. Before Sudan's independence in 1956, the British administrators in the Anglo-Egyptian condominium (1899–1956) had an aversion to creating a class of educated, indigenous civil servants (Johnson, 2003). Due to this, southern Sudanese had limited opportunities to access education and contribute to development in their region. At the time of Sudan's independence in 1956, education in the South was severely underdeveloped, and the political power was given to the more educated Arabs in the North (Breidlid, 2013; Johnson, 2003). The period after independence was marked by the rise of military coups; succeeding governments gradually introduced Islam to the whole of Sudan, not taking into account the ethnic and religious diversity among the people. While the Northern part consisted of a Muslim majority, the South was predominantly Christian and animist (Breidlid, 2005; Breidlid et al., 2014). General Ibrahim Abboud, who was in power from 1958 to 1964, carried out a policy of Islamization and Arabization in the South, primarily through the education system (Breidlid et al., 2014). One of his objectives was forging a unified national identity. He dismissed Christian missionaries, removed education from the hands of missionary societies, and required non-Arabic speaking children to speak Arabic (Jok, 2007). Southern discontent with its marginalized position in the new state led to the first civil war (1955–1972) between southern Sudanese and the Khartoum government. This war was ended by the Addis Ababa peace agreement; however, discontent with the implementation of the agreement led to a second civil war (1983–2005). This war lasted until the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Khartoum government in the North and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) in the South in 2005. Subsequently, a referendum led to South Sudan's independence in 2011.

Soon after independence, a new civil war broke out in December 2013. The conflict started as a struggle for leadership within the SPLA/M. The major personalities in this war were the President of the Republic of South Sudan, Salva Kiir Mayardit, who belonge to the largest ethnic group, the Dinka, and the former Vice President Riek Machar, who belonge to the second largest ethnic group, the Nuer, representing

the opposition. South Sudan comprises 64 different ethnic groups, and there are no clear lines of who allies with whom; incidents throughout the conflict showed that there was ethnic mobilization on both sides of the Dinka and Nuer ethnic divide. Dinka and Nuer comprise 35.8% and 15.6%, respectively, of the total population of 10.2 million people (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2019). A revitalized peace deal was signed between the opposition and the government in 2018 and, in February 2020, a new unity government was formed with opposition leader Riek Machar as the first Vice President and Salva Kiir remaining as President (BBC, 2020). However, at the time of writing, there are no signs of the leaders uniting the country. There have been increased incidents of intercommunal violence reported by the UN and conflicts are becoming more politicized (UNMISS, 2021).

As a result of the 2013 conflict, about 4.3 million South Sudanese are displaced, 2.4 million are refugees in neighboring countries, and 1.89 million are Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (Norwegian Refugee Council [NRC], 2018). Due to the ongoing conflict, many teachers left their jobs and the majority of pupils are taught by untrained teachers (Radio Tamazuj, 2018). Only 60% of secondary school teachers are trained and, of those, only 6% are women (Ministry of General Education and Instruction [MoGEI], 2019). At the time of research, there were no textbooks available for students or teachers in secondary schools. One book called *A Concise History of South Sudan* (Breidlid et al., 2014) is intended by its authors, who are mostly South Sudanese citizens, for use by secondary school teachers and learners. However, it has not been widely distributed to the schools. New history textbooks designed according to the *New Curriculum Framework* (MoEST [Ministry of Education, Science and Technology], 2015) have been printed and, at the time of writing, are being distributed to teachers and students. The *Syllabus for Southern Sudan Certificate of Secondary Education* (SSCSE) includes both the curriculum and the syllabus and is used as a guiding document when teachers plan their history lessons (Government of Southern Sudan [GoSS], 2007), but is not fully implemented since not all subjects are taught in the schools and some schools (at the time of research) followed neighboring countries curricula and used their textbooks. Furthermore, the SSCSE includes superficial descriptions of lesson content. Since the *New Curriculum Framework* and corresponding textbooks have not been implemented, this chapter focuses on the emergence of historical narratives outside and inside the classroom when there are no history textbooks in school and the SSCSE from 2007 is partly implemented. It provides a detailed account of how memories and narratives operate within such an environment.

8.2 Theoretical Framework

The IREC framework (Kovinthan Levi, this volume) proposes three main roles for education in conflict: education as a victim, an accomplice, and a transformer. The roles, however, are not mutually exclusive. In this chapter, I use this framework along with a focus on conceptions of curriculum (Aoki, 2004; Apple, 2004; Flinders et al.,

1986; Schubert, 1981) to explore the intersecting roles of history education when related to conflict and reconciliation in South Sudan.

8.2.1 Conceptions of Curriculum

Different conceptions of curriculum are useful analytical tools for examining the dynamics of education when there is no official textbook common to all students. Drawing on Aoki (2004), I use the conceptions of *curriculum-as-plan* and *curriculum-as-lived-experience.* Aoki argues that the category curriculum-as-plan holds the work of curriculum planners and their orientations to the world and how teachers and students are to be understood. In tension to this is curriculum-as-lived-experience, which emphasizes the lived story of each individual in a classroom including their daily life that they bring with them into the classroom. The work of the teacher, Aoki argues, dwells in the *zone of between*, constantly asking "what shall I teach tomorrow?" and "how shall I teach it?", since the same curriculum-as-plan leads to different curriculum-as-lived-experience across time and space. Aoki (2004) argues that this tension in the zone of between is good as it encourages dwelling with the questions and consideration of what teaching essentially is, if we consider that curriculum-as-lived-experience is the heart and core as to why we exist as teachers. This latter argument relates to Schubert's concept of *out-of-school curriculum*, which includes the powerful dimensions of each student's out of school life that shape their values, knowledge, and skills (Schubert, 1981; Schubert & Schultz, 2015). Examples related to this study are the character of the communities and their stories of the past, peer interactions, student involvement in political organization, and armed groups in current and past conflicts. Schubert (1981) argues that the out-of-school curriculum must be better understood by those who create the schooling process.

The null curriculum includes options that students are not afforded, the perspectives they may never know about, and the skills and concepts that are not part of their intellectual repertoire (Eisner, 1979/1994). By contrast, the explicit curriculum refers to a publicly announced program of study (Flinders et al., 1986). This would typically be found in curriculum documents, including the syllabus or an official textbook. Finally, the hidden curriculum includes norms and values not found in the explicit curriculum, but which are learned by students as part of their school experience (Apple, 2004; Boostrom, 2010). There are various dimensions to the null curriculum, in which subject matter and affect are of specific relevance for this study (Flinders et al., 1986). Subject matter relates to what is both excluded and included in the curriculum based on subject relevance. Wertsch (2002) argues that when memory is committed to an identity project, the notion of accuracy may be downplayed or sacrificed in the service of producing a usable past. Thus, certain pieces of history are consigned to the null curriculum based on their lack of perceived relevance of the subject matter to the identity project of the nation. Affect includes elements such as values, attitudes, and emotions; Flinders et al., (1986) argue that we consign many

topics to null curricula due to their affective impact, which are of specific interest in this study dealing with narratives of the recent violent past.

8.3 Methods

This chapter draws on data from two periods of focused ethnographic fieldwork in South Sudan, the first extending from September to December 2014 (Skårås, 2016), and the second from July to September 2015. The main body of data consists of video classroom observation (8 lessons), semi-structured interviews with 17 teachers and 28 students, and informal conversations in 6 secondary schools. Additionally, 69 essays written in 2015 by secondary school history students were collected. These essays were written by the students at home, prompted by a voluntary writing competition initiated by the researcher. The essay question read as follows: "Interview your grandparents or parents about the second civil war (1983–2005). What were the causes of the war? What role did your grandparents or parents play?" These essays were intended to serve as examples of the kinds of narratives that existed outside the classroom about the recent conflicts.

The sampled informants consisted of students and teachers from secondary schools in the states of Central and Eastern Equatoria. The locations were selected due to the recent and ongoing influx of internal refugees, which ensured a diversity of ethnic groups. In the first and second years of secondary school, history is compulsory. In the second year, the content is recent South Sudanese history, the focus of this study. Thus, only student participants in the second and third year of secondary school were included in this study to ensure that the students had recently experienced their second-year history course. Official textbooks were lacking and textual material for history was scarce, creating a unique situation where it was possible to explore how the subject of history, primarily enacted by teachers but also to some degree by students, was related to past and ongoing conflicts without the official narrative provided by a government-endorsed textbook.

All participants in the study agreed to take part on a voluntary basis, and the project was approved by the Norwegian Center for Research Data. Participants of diverse ethnic groups were included, including both Nuer and Dinka participants; however, the participants were never asked about their ethnic identity unless they self-identified with a group. Females and males were recruited on an equal basis but, as the majority of teachers and students in South Sudan secondary schools are male, there is lower representation of female teachers in the sample. Teacher participants are not identified by gender to ensure confidentiality and anonymity among participants. Sampling of informants is one of several challenges related to ethical considerations of doing fieldwork in conflict zones which I discuss elsewhere (Skårås, 2016).

8.4 Findings

In this study, narratives of the past were transmitted and shared in two distinct spaces: inside and outside the classroom. Outside the classroom, narratives of the past were transmitted and shared in the local communities among peers and passed on from the older to the younger generation. Inside the classroom, they were mostly enacted by the teacher, with the students as passive listeners with limited opportunities to contribute to the narration. In the following sections I will describe two main findings from this research. First, I argue and illustrate how one narrative describing the Other is equally present both inside and outside the classroom. Subsequently, I argue that different types of narratives describing internal conflicts within South Sudan are explicitly identified only outside the classroom, although they may linger in the classroom within the hidden curriculum.

8.4.1 One Narrative, Two Spaces

When examining the topic of the recent violent past and the relationship toward the former enemy, Sudan to the north, there was a strikingly similar narrative both inside and outside the classroom. Reflecting the findings of Skårås and Breidlid (2016), the collective memory circulating both inside and outside the classroom painted an enemy image of the Other, the Arabs in the North. In the absence of a common history textbook in school, it seems like the collective memory of the South Sudanese had been imported into the classroom. Analyzing all data sources, this depiction of the Other was a clear and unified narrative, illustrating one collective memory of the South Sudanese. The most frequent and relevant quotes from the data related to the Arabs in the North are summarized in Template 1.

Template 1

Components of the Historical Narrative

1. The Arabs came from Egypt into Sudan.
2. The Arabs killed and mistreated southerners.
3. The southerners were subjected to marginalization, exploitation, mistreatment, and suffering.
4. Therefore, the ill feelings and hatred are still there today.
5. The common struggle for liberation led to independence, and finally, the southerners are free.

This narrative unifies South Sudanese across ethnicities. The first component in the template above can be illustrated by Sarah,[1] who explained:

> We learn about the coming of the Arabs into Sudan. First of all, the Arabs are people who came from Egypt to Sudan. And the reason why they come to Sudan, they heard about the fertile land of the southerners. That is why they come. (Student interview, Sarah)[2]

The second and third component of the template can be illustrated by a secondary school history teacher, Henry, who (as seen during classroom observation) teaches that, after the independence of Sudan and during the time of General Ibrahim Abboud, "immediately they [northerners] come with the Arabization and Islamization policy here in South Sudan." Subsequently, Henry taught how the South Sudanese politicians who insisted that Sunday be the day of rest rather than Friday were put in prison, and a lot of southerners were killed at that time. For Henry, this illustrates how the majority Christian South Sudanese population was marginalized. The student essays also included several negative attributions attached to northerners, the Khartoum government, and the Arabs. Component four in the template connects past and present and was identified among teachers in interviews and in classroom observations. For example, Peter (a teacher) said to his students: "Ill feelings or hatred or distrust is still existing. Even though we are now two separate countries … that ill feelings, that hatred, that distrust is still existing, ok" (classroom observation). All components of this central narrative, outlined in Template 1, were identified both inside and outside the classroom.

The types of narrative described in Template 1 both construct the group South Sudanese and are constructed by the South Sudanese. This is in line with Wertsch (2002) who argues that narratives reflect group membership and are also instrumental in the construction of groups. The continuous practice of narrating these stories of the past to the present generation constitutes a continuity. The stories create a collective identity, and thus, unify the people and in doing so construct the mnemonic community of South Sudanese. There is no alternative narrative of the Other that students can access elsewhere, since the narrative is similar across educational spaces inside and outside the classroom. Template 1 illustrates how the narrative demonizes the Other and naturalizes social divisions, thus perpetuating conflict. In line with the IREC framework, it is an accomplice to conflict in reference to the Sudan versus South Sudan conflict. That said, other narratives of intergroup dynamics within South Sudan were also identified, although not inside the classroom nor in the explicit curriculum.

[1] The names used for the participants in the study are pseudonyms assigned by the author.

[2] Interview quotes are transcribed verbatim and the originality of the statements are kept and it must be noted that English is not the mother tongue of the informants but still the language of the interview.

8.4.2 Alternative Narratives Challenging the Status Quo

This study showed that there was an avoidance of narratives of intergroup dynamics inside the classroom. Students were presented with the single narrative of the past, highlighted in the template, and were rarely invited to reflect on or discuss these narratives (Skårås, 2019). Furthermore, I found that, while teachers and students shared narratives of the past and of current conflicts in their communities, these shared narratives were silenced in the classroom, or only brought up by students. They were also often shared across generations. Inspired by research among youth in Rwanda (Bentrovato, 2017), I identified two distinct types of narratives that were solely evident outside the classroom: (a) narratives of symmetrical conflict interpretation, and (b) narratives describing polarizing attributions of group-based victimhood and blame.

8.4.3 Symmetrical Conflict Interpretation

Outside the classroom, students and teachers shared stories and incidents of the past that clearly pointed to a symmetrical relationship of conflict (Bentrovato, 2017) between two out of the 64 ethnic groups in South Sudan: the Dinka and the Nuer. In an interview, Henry mentioned an incident in which a Nuer and a Dinka student fought each other in class and the other students immediately began to mobilize to support their respective ethnic groups. Similar stories of conflicts between the two groups were also narrated by other teachers outside of the classroom. These narratives could be interpreted as part of the null curriculum, since the teachers never discussed ethnic belonging and related issues in the classroom but discussed it freely with the interviewer outside of the classroom, thus constituting perspectives that the students are not afforded (Flinders et al., 1986). While explaining in an interview how tribes and communities fought among themselves, Peter indicated why these narratives of conflict were absent from the classroom, saying:

> In the school here you find almost 90% of tribes are represented in the classes here. Ok. And what you are saying if, for example, let me give [the example of] Dinka and maybe Nuer, ok. These are the two largest ethnic groups in South Sudan here. In the past, if it was a conflict between the Dinka and the Nuer in which one of the tribes won the conflict, if you are trying to narrate that, it may create maybe sentiments. Ok. If there is a student who actually come from Dinka ethnic group and the other from Nuer, and later, if either the conflict was won by the Dinka, and then that Dinka student will be proud. So, the Nuer will not be happy ok. It creates some sentiments. That is why I am saying that history create both advantages and disadvantages at the same time. It depends on actually which side the history favor. (Teacher interview, Peter)

In the quote, Peter gives rich information about the dynamics of history during conflict. He describes the challenge of portraying one ethnic group, in this example, the Dinka or the Nuer, as the winner, illustrating the emotional aspect of the curriculum when Peter describes how it might create sentiments. The teacher also

shows that he is aware of the intersecting roles of history teaching and the ongoing conflict. Later in the interview, he shared that, after the 2013 outbreak of war, he was very careful not to touch upon sensitive topics like ethnic groups in his lessons. Peter also describes how he understands history as a subject that narrates stories of winners and losers, pride and humiliation. This might be one of the main challenges of the subject and of the professional history teacher in South Sudan, a challenge that inhibits discussing ambiguity in the classroom. Pride and humiliation might also be why this type of narrative seems to have been designated to the null curriculum, based on emotions as a central element related to affect (Flinders et al., 1986). The next quote, from Henry, underlines how the eruption of conflict changes social interactions in school and increases the sensitivity of ethnic identification:

> Student of Dinka and student of Nuer they are friendly. They are working together, they are eating together before this war [December 2013]. But when this war started, immediately because you are from Nuer and Dinka, now, for example, you know my house and I know your house. I can visit you and you can visit me. I know your family and where they live. During the war, I will take a soldier and come and attack your house because we have been friends, and I know where you live. (Teacher interview, Henry)[3]

The above quote not only underlines the sensitivity of ethnic belonging, but also explains why students might want to keep to their ethnic group and create ethnic social divisions in school to protect themselves against future harm. Thus, school becomes a place where ethnic groups isolate themselves from each other due to fear. This strategy is learned through their experiences that friendship across ethnic groups can be misused, making it part of the hidden curriculum, as these experiences are learned at school, however not as part of the explicit curriculum (Flinders et al., 1986). Such situations require highly skilled teachers in order to encourage interaction in the classroom through peacebuilding pedagogies involving enquiry-based teaching and multiple narratives of history (Bekerman, 2009; Kitson & McCully, 2005). However, with only 60% trained teachers in South Sudanese secondary schools—in which most have first-hand experience of the recent conflict and many are poorly trained—such ambitious peacebuilding pedagogies are challenging to implement. The narrative is interpreted as symmetrical because it recognizes Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups as equal actors in the conflict and avoids the attribution of victimhood and guilt to either Dinka or Nuer, although it does put blame on the Nilotic groups more broadly (Dinka and Nuer are both part of Nilotic groups). Thus, the narrative can also fit into the category of polarizing attribution of group-based blame.

Students also presented narratives of symmetrical conflict interpretation. One example was a student essay describing the 1991 split in the SPLA between Dr. John Garang and Riek Marchar. Even though ethnic groups were not mentioned in the narrative, all South Sudanese know that the two men are from the Dinka and Nuer groups respectively. The student explained how the split "weakened the movement. In 1992, seeing weakness in the SPLA, the Bashir government launched a military offensive … In 2002, John Garang and Riek Machar reconciled, strengthening the

[3] The teacher self-identified as a Madi, one of the ethnic groups in South Sudan.

movement once more." These examples of symmetrical conflict interpretation illustrate how narratives of the past situated in the out-of-school curriculum are accomplices to conflict in the way they reinforce conflict-sustaining ethnic divisions within South Sudan. These narratives were central in people's lives; however, they were not identified explicitly inside the classroom. Therefore, they are an identified piece of the null curriculum, resulting in a missed opportunity to confront these dominant narratives with alternative narratives inside the classroom and possibly transform dominant narratives and groups and groups' perceptions of each other.

8.4.4 Polarizing Attribution of Group-Based Victimhood and Blame

The other type of narrative solely identified outside the classroom was frequent blaming of either Nuer, Dinka, or Nilotic groups for past and present atrocities. In line with Bentrovato (2017), I term these narratives as polarizing attributions of group-based victimhood and blame since they hold only one group accountable for the conflict. Describing the struggle for liberation in the 1990s, Ayomdeng wrote the following in her student essay:

> Many civilians were killed by Riek Machar's forces. Cattle and properties were looted by his army and their tribesmen from Nuer, they were only targeting Dinka soldiers, civilian young and old were killed. This gave the Khartoum regime advantage of recapturing many towns from the SPLA. (Student essay, Ayomdeng)

This student blames the Nuer for dividing the SPLA movement in 1991, killing Dinka soldiers, looting property, and giving the main enemy room to capture geographical areas. There is no description of the role of the Dinka; thus, this is a biased narrative favoring the Dinka ethnic group and an example of a narrative that creates ethnic division and demonizes the Other. An example of the Dinka as the Other appears when Paul (teacher interviewee) explains in an interview how the Dinka say, "Dinka is born to rule, born not to be ruled by other people, but born to rule." Paul self-identified with the Nuer tribe and also shared stories about how a current Dinka deputy and speaker of the national assembly had written 39 laws against the Nuer, based on past disagreements between the two tribes. Thus, the polarizing attributions of group-based victimhood and blame were creating and sustaining at least three distinct groups: the Dinka and the Nuer, as the example illustrates, and Nilotic groups, which were also identified in the data. These are examples of ethno-national narratives within South Sudan that connect past and present and illustrate the continuity of ethnic divisions.

This study did not identify any explicit teaching related to South Sudanese internal conflicts, identifying such narratives only as part of the out-of-school curriculum. Therefore, the classroom might be interpreted as perpetuating ethnic and social divisions through the silencing of discussion that would confront these divisive narratives. Additionally, the study identified other narratives describing polarizing attributions

of group-based victimhood and blame. One example is the enemy image of the Other, the Arabs, which is used to demonize certain South Sudanese ethnic groups by association. Kim stated:

> When I used to teach this [the struggle from 1955–2005], there are some tribes in South Sudan that were collaborators with the Arabs. The Arabs were fighting the SPLA in the bush or the Anyanya one. Some tribes collaborated with the Arabs so they were fighting against their black brothers, South Sudanese brothers. When I used to explain about this and then I mention some tribe that were collaborator with the Arabs and fighting their fellow brothers, some students used to react. And they ask: What is the evidence that can show that our tribe were collaborator with the Arabs? (Teacher interview, Kim)

Kim explained how he sometimes needed to bring books in order to convince students of this narrative but, even then, some students were not convinced (it was unclear whether he still taught about this topic). The fact that some students are convinced when a textbook confirms a narrative highlights the power of textbooks to establish a "truth" in the school context in South Sudan. This illustrates the common South Sudanese understanding that the classroom is a place where definite narratives should be passed to students from teachers, rather than a place for complexity, ambiguity, and reflection regarding a diversity of narratives. Interestingly, Kim also said that some students needed confirmation from their relatives at home, pointing to the fact that, for many students, elders at home are the main authority for defining history. This observation shows that textbooks and families at home can be co-constructors of history. Furthermore, it underlines the importance of the out-of-school curriculum, as narratives outside the classroom might question and be in conversation with a textbook, providing multiple versions of the past that can be discussed in the classroom.

8.5 The Limitations and Possibilities of History Without Written Texts

This chapter illustrates how in South Sudanese secondary school classrooms, the absence of a textbook puts various limitations to the possibilities for history education to play a transformative role in the current context of conflict. First, the master narrative describing the enemy image of the Other (the Arabs in the North) and the alternative narratives regarding internal conflict operated in isolated spaces from each other; thus, the potential to challenge and create new narratives in the classroom and possibly form new groups was not fulfilled. The enemy image of the Other contributed to a shared national identity among those who identified as non-Arabic South Sudanese, which most South Sudanese do. However, the narrative excluded South Sudanese who identified as Arabs, exacerbated social and ethnic divisions related to Sudan in the North, and sometimes associated some tribes as collaborators with the Arabs, making it an accomplice to conflict. The alternative narratives identified among teachers and students in interviews and student essays can be considered part of the hidden and null curricula since they were not explicitly addressed in school.

These narratives contributed to a continuation of social and ethnic divisions since they painted a diversity of perpetrator and victim identities along ethnic lines that would be valuable to challenge the status quo if addressed in the explicit curriculum, possibly in the new history textbooks. Kim was the only informant who narrated a more complex picture of perpetrator and victim identities among groups on different sides in a conflict. However, his narrative only covered some of the actors in previous and current conflicts. Among the 64 ethnic groups in South Sudan, most were only included in the grand narrative describing the collective memory of South Sudanese as united in opposition to the Arabs in the North, as described in Template 1. Thus, the narratives both inside and outside the classroom reflect division, exclusions, and stereotypes, rendering them accomplices to conflict.

A second limitation is that, when textbooks are lacking and the education system is inadequate, some learn more from home than from school, yet the out-of-school curriculum is rarely invited into the classroom. Combined with little or no student participation in class, students and teachers do not discuss issues touching upon ethnicity in class. This means that the narratives that students learn at home, often biased toward their own ethnic group, are not questioned in relation to co-existing narratives from other groups and communities. Thus, certain aspects of history are consigned to the null curriculum based on (a) their perceived lack of relevance to the identity project of South Sudan as a new nation and (b) based on emotions related to the sensitivity of ethnic subjects in recent history. The former is in line with Wertsch (2002), who argues that when memory is committed to an identity project, the notion of accuracy may be downplayed when aiming to create a usable past. The latter aligns with Flinders et al. (1986), who describe how affect, including emotions, is an important dimension in building the null curriculum.

The diversity of groups and people in the classroom can be both beneficial for future reconciliation efforts and threatening to a safe classroom. Diversity means that, if students are given opportunities to share their perspectives on the past, the classroom could include the multiple narratives that are needed to challenge the status quo, in line with peacebuilding pedagogies which encourage enquiry-based teaching (Kitson & McCully, 2005). On the other hand, ethnic diversity, including friendship across ethnic groups, can threaten safety, based on Henry's (teacher interviewee) experiences among his Dinka and Nuer students after the outbreak of the recent civil war. Thus, students may learn to protect themselves by not mixing with other groups. For any transformation to take place, there is a need for a safe space where narratives can co-exist and be subject to reflection and discussion among both teachers and students.

Despite these limitations, I have identified practices that open possibilities for new ways of presenting history. The first possibility is that, due to the lack of history textbooks, a diversity of narratives co-exists, and the state has not yet promoted one single narrative at the expense of others. However, the data shows that the collective memory describing the enemy image of the Other (Template 1) seems to have a higher priority in the classroom compared to alternative narratives describing intergroup dynamics in South Sudan. This is seen when Peter and Henry describe the risk of portraying one group in a better light through their narration of the past. These

alternative narratives, identified among individuals and groups outside the classroom, include South Sudanese as active agents in war, both during the second Sudanese civil war (1983–2005) and the current conflict. Thus, these narratives are important to recognize to prompt negotiating processes where perspectives of conflict can be discussed and possibly transformed.

8.6 Concluding Remarks

New history textbooks have been developed by the government, they are printed and their introduction into the classroom is expected. In response, the following questions are worth asking: How can the teacher create space for multiple narratives to co-exist in the classroom, considering their emotional aspect? Can the introduction of a textbook enable discussions and reflective processes to occur? Bringing a textbook that includes multiple perspectives into the classroom might not be the solution in the process of using education as a tool to transform conflict in South Sudan. One reason is that it does not necessarily change the classroom climate into one that enables constructive classroom discussions in a safe environment. A second reason is the authority of written texts as evidence of "truth," as we learned from Kim (teacher interviewee) when he had to convince students of the content of the lesson with evidence from a book. This respect for the written word in an educational context might hinder alternative oral narratives from students if they are not supported by a textbook. A third reason is the authority of oral transmission of narratives from elders in the communities, which may indicate that teaching and learning of the recent conflicted past in South Sudan is believed to be done best outside the classroom, in the local communities where the elders are the main narrators. Thus, there is a need to explore the learning potential of local practices of peace and reconciliation and then consider how the subject of history can contribute to localized processes of conflict transformation. Furthermore, it is important that a textbook integrates and reflects these local practices and the out-of-school curriculum in order to build bridges from the communities to the classrooms. This chapter shows that, currently, history as a subject is a tool used to further promote the enemy image of the Other (the Arabs in the North) in an attempt to unite South Sudanese without touching the sensitive and controversial topics in history that relate closely to conflicts relying on ethnic and tribal divisions internal to South Sudan. Thus, education contributes to a shared national identity on a surface level, but, at the same time, it contributes to and exacerbates divisions, as it does not deal with the many experiences and narratives of the past that exist among students and teachers.

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Chapter 9
South Sudanese Primary School Textbooks: Transforming and Reinforcing Conflict

Catherine Vanner, Thursica Kovinthan Levi, and Spogmai Akseer

Abstract Primary school textbooks can provide space for learning about peace and inclusion but can also reinforce messages of inequality and division. This article describes a thematic analysis of South Sudan's textbooks for pupils in Grade 4 social studies, English, and Christian Religious Education. The analysis uses the IREC framework that positions education as having multiple potential overlapping roles in relation to conflict—victim, accomplice, and transformer—to show that the textbooks' content contains some motions toward social change, but more often passively reinforces the status quo. While peace and social acceptance of diversity and gender equality are sometimes explicitly promoted, there is an overarching emphasis on maintaining and accepting social norms without critically interrogating the social structures that can foster inequality and lead to conflict. This analysis positions the textbooks primarily as accomplices to conflict, with some movement toward transformation, across the themes of religion and ethnicity, governance, gender, and conflict.

Keywords Conflict · Learning materials · Peacebuilding · Primary school · South Sudan · Textbooks

South Sudan gained independence in 2011, after a transition period agreed upon in the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which ended decades of conflict

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between the Sudanese government, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, and numerous splinter groups. The most recent conflict emerged in December 2013. It has been described in ethnic terms, but this is widely considered to be an over-simplification of a complex protracted crisis (Johnson, 2014; Novelli et al., 2016; Pinaud, 2014). Numerous peace treaties were not effectively implemented and extensive conflict and displacement has had devastating educational implications. South Sudan has the highest rate of out-of-school children globally, with declining primary gross enrolment rates since 2009 (MoEST, 2008–2015, as cited in IIEP-UNESCO, 2017; UNICEF, 2017). In a country that had already suffered from an extreme shortage of schools, since December 2013, armed groups have attacked approximately 31% of primary schools; by late 2016, 25% of primary schools that were at one point operational were non-functional (South Sudan Education Cluster, 2017). At the time of submission, the South Sudanese government was developing a new national curriculum and accompanying teaching and learning materials (UN Careers, 2017; UNESCO, 2017). This article analyzes the opportunities and limitations of the current primary school textbooks to contribute to peacebuilding and equality. These materials have substantive influence especially in contexts such as South Sudan—where many teachers are underqualified and lack sufficient training and support. In these environments, textbooks are often the main source of the curriculum and thus an essential resource for teachers and students.

Depending on their use, textbooks can simultaneously represent components of both the explicit and null curricula. The explicit curriculum refers to the official, formal, or publicly announced content expected to be covered in school (Eisner, 1985), not all of which is actually covered by teachers and/or understood by students. The null curriculum includes knowledge that is omitted from the formal curriculum and not taught in schools—including intellectual content and subject matter, as well as values, attitudes, and emotions— made visible in textbooks by content that is excluded and conversations that are not taken up (Eisner, 1985; Flinders et al., 1986). The development of explicit curriculum that simultaneously creates the excluded content that remains in the null curriculum is a highly political process that reflects the knowledge valued by groups with power to influence curricular decision-making (Apple, 2004). A contentious element of representation in the curriculum is socially constructed categories of identity such as race, gender, and ethnicity. Textbooks can promote essentialist and exclusionary forms of national identity that lead to direct, structural, and cultural forms of violence against those who are not part of the dominant group (Emerson, 2018). The curriculum can perform a powerful role in maintaining dominant conventions of identity but can also contain counter-narratives that present alternative representations of identity that challenge centers of power and privilege (Nieto et al., 2008). As representative of the explicit curriculum, textbook development and use are always political; in contexts of recent and extended armed conflict and deep structural inequalities, they are even more so.

This article describes the results of a thematic analysis of the pupil textbooks for South Sudanese Grade 4 Social Studies (MoGEI, 2012c), English (MoGEI, 2012b), and Christian Religious Education (MoGEI, 2012a), which the Ministry of General Education and Instruction published in 2012. We draw our analysis from the IREC

framework, which positions education as having multiple potential roles in relation to conflict: victim, accomplice, and transformer (Kovinthan Levi, this volume). These roles can be overlapping and are not mutually exclusive. In a context where education has been heavily victimized, the textbook content contains some movement toward social change but most often passively reinforces the status quo. While peace, equality, and diversity are sometimes explicitly promoted in the textbooks, these books have an overarching emphasis on maintenance and acceptance of social norms and structures without critically interrogating the social divisions and systems that foster inequality and lead to conflict.

9.1 Education in South Sudan

9.1.1 Conflict

The South Sudanese population is highly diverse in terms of ethnicity, language, and religion. In 2010, an estimated 60.5% of the population identified as Christian, 32.9% practiced traditional African religions, and 6.2% were Muslim (Pew Research Centre, 2016). Religious categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as individuals may identify as Christian but continue to practice a traditional African religion to some degree. South Sudan has over 60 major ethnic groups, the largest are the Dinka, the Nuer, and the Shiluk (GlobalSecurity.org, 2018). Decades of conflict in the late 1900s left a legacy of distrust between Sudan and South Sudan (Breidlid, 2013; Sharkey, 2008). Arabic language and culture are considered to reflect the culture of Sudan—the historical enemy of the South Sudanese army and current government—but also continue to influence the South Sudanese population, as a large proportion of the population are practicing Muslims and/or speak Arabic as a first language (Novelli et al., 2016). While there are armed groups associated with certain ethnicities, divisions within groups also exist, as well as many other factors that influence motivations for conflict (Human Rights Council, 2018). Such factors include extreme poverty and inequity, the normalization of violence, and divisions along interrelated political, geographic, and economic lines (Novelli et al., 2016). The military elite established a hegemonic authority notorious for abusing state resources and propagating a military aristocracy (Pinaud, 2014). At the time of submission, only minimal efforts had been made to fulfill commitments of the numerous peace agreements (Human Rights Council, 2018), and the government firmly represses any opposition—restricting media and suppressing critics and people whom it perceives as disapproving of state operations (Human Rights Watch, 2018). The conflict has most severely affected civilians, with an estimated 1.9 million people internally displaced and 2.4 million living as refugees in neighboring countries (OCHA, 2018). The violence's oversimplified label of "ethnic conflict" becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy as civilians are increasingly targeted due to their ethnicity or location (Human Rights Council, 2018; Pinaud, 2014). Children are among the most brutally

afflicted. According to the Human Rights Council (2018), all six serious violations against children have occurred in South Sudan in recent years: killing and maiming, the use of child soldiers, attacks on schools and hospitals, abduction, rape and sexual violence, and denial of humanitarian access (Human Rights Council, 2018). Famine, normalized interpersonal violence, and intersecting gender inequality that makes women and girls the most vulnerable have exacerbated this conflict's extreme impact on children (OCHA, 2018; Reisman & Janke, 2015; Sommer et al., 2018; UNICEF, 2015).

9.1.2 Education

British Christian missionaries introduced formal schools into the area that is now South Sudan (Garvey-Williams & Mills, 1976), an undertaking justified by conversion to Christianity (Beshir, 1969). Early education focused largely on religious instruction and not on literacy education (Collins, 1983). Indeed, British colonial rulers at the time were in some instances opposed to the expansion of formal education in southern Sudan, fearing that education would separate the people from their tribal cultures, reducing the effectiveness of tribal leaders and making these communities more difficult to govern (Johnson, 2003; Sommers, 2005). Consequently, they limited the spread of education in southern Sudan, with an educational policy that Collins asserts was summarized by "leave it to the missionaries" (1983, p. 198). Beginning in the 1920s, the British colonial government shifted toward wanting educational access for some southerners so that they might become agents of the administration (Bermingham & Collins, 1984), but still discouraged education for many groups, such as pastoralist communities and girls, whose education the administration did not see as useful (Collins, 1983; Johnson, 2003). These attitudes led to what Sommers (2005) describes as "islands of education," or the existence of pockets where education was accessible, a trend that continued throughout the twentieth century as the education system in southern Sudan remained underdeveloped and inaccessible in many regions. The second half of the century also led to numerous shifts in governance of educational systems, resulting in several changes in official languages of instruction, as well as in the introduction of an Islamic-oriented education system (Breidlid, 2013).

After the CPA, primary school enrolment increased dramatically—by almost a million children, or four times the primary school population (UNESCO, 2011). Unfortunately, subsequent years' increasing internal conflict has now undermined much of the progress that was made to build an education system in South Sudan following the CPA. This conflict has decimated access to education, with most schools non-functional due to the displacement of teachers and the destruction of facilities and materials. Beyond the attacks on personnel and the damage to facilities, schools have been repurposed as military campsites and weapons depots. Consequently, UNICEF (2015) estimated that, in 2015, only 34.7% of primary school age children were enrolled in primary school, and that the proportion of children accessing school had

fallen every year since 2010. As of May 2015, 400 000 previously enrolled children were out of school (Novelli et al., 2016). Estimates indicate that, since 2006, between 5 and 8% of government spending went to education, and in some years over half of the already-low allocated budget was not disbursed (Novelli et al., 2016; UNICEF, 2015). Public education is supposed to be free, but schools exclude many children because their parents are unable to afford the informal fees (Novelli et al., 2016). Quality of education is also incredibly low. There is a massive teacher shortage, particularly of female teachers. Of existing primary school teachers, only 44% have any training (GPE Secretariat, 2015). Teaching and learning materials are scarce, as is basic infrastructure such as water and sanitation facilities (UNICEF, 2015). Shortages are inconsistent across the country; they tend to be more pronounced in northern and central counties and in rural and remote areas (Novelli et al., 2016).

Curriculum content in South Sudan has historically been highly politicized. Depending on the ruling government, the language of instruction and privileged religion has switched back and forth between Arabic and Islam and English and Christianity. English and Christianity became the official language and religion within the curricula following the CPA, but they remain sites of struggle and resistance (Breidlid, 2013; Hammond, 2013). Many teachers have been trained in Arabic and are unable to deliver the new curriculum in English (Novelli et al., 2016; UNICEF, 2015), and many students cannot speak either Arabic or English. Official policy promotes mother-tongue (MT) education, but teaching and learning resources in MT are scarce, and the existence of 64 MT languages leads to confusion about how to implement this policy (Laguarda & Woodward, 2013; Spronk, 2014). The education system is highly dependent on external assistance for both financing and operational support, and in conflict-affected areas a parallel system of education provision has emerged (Holmarsdottir et al., 2011; Novelli et al., 2016). Few links exist between the education system and broader peacebuilding efforts (Novelli et al., 2016), but some stakeholders remain optimistic that the limited education that is accessible provides a space that may still contribute to the development of peace, reconciliation, and civic engagement (North–South Institute, 2012). The following analysis considers how textbooks for South Sudanese Grade 4 English, Social Studies, and Christian Religious Education textbooks operate within the categories of victim, transformer, and accomplice, as conceptualized in the IREC framework (Kovinthan Levi, this volume).

9.2 Methodology

The authors developed this article as part of our collaborative project on the role of textbooks in peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries. We each worked independently on textbooks in a different country context and held periodic meetings to share our analysis and consider common themes emergent across the various countries. For our analytic process, we used Braun and Clarke's (2006) six prescribed steps for thematic analysis: familiarize oneself with the data, generalize initial codes, organize

data by potential themes, review themes and generate a thematic map of analysis, refine each theme and the overall story, and produce a report while conducting the final analysis. We chose this process for our analysis because of its rigor. Moreover, its clear steps lent themselves well to collaborative work by providing a structure we could all follow independently while allowing check-in with each other to compare analysis at the completion of different steps. The first author conducted the initial data analysis of the South Sudan textbooks independently; the other authors were involved in discussions at several stages to build a larger codebook that was relevant for the entire project. This codebook was then adapted by the first author to be more specific to the South Sudanese textbooks. Our team met to discuss the emergent themes following our development of initial themes and the thematic map. Initial coding built on the codebook generated from our project's literature review phase, which identified the following six themes based on each country's literature textbooks: development assistance, language, religion, ethnicity, historical context, and governance (Vanner et al., 2017). Then, using our initial coding of the textbooks, we built upon this list to add the following themes: gender, language, religion, conflict, colonization, peace, community, civic responsibility, governance, unity, globalization, and militarization. This long list served as our master codebook.

Each of the authors then took this codebook and adapted it to organize her data based on the most relevant themes for her textbooks, creating a differentiated but connected narrative for each case. These themes served to organize the results section of each individual case. We then analyzed the themes for each in light of the IREC framework (education as victim-accomplice-transformer) (Kovinthan Levi, this volume) and validated them during the final writing and sharing process through public presentations of the work and review by the other team members. The principal themes that identified during the discourse analysis of South Sudanese textbooks were religious and ethnic diversity, governance, gender, and conflict. We prioritized these themes based on both the number of times they appeared and our perception of their relevance to the nature of the conflict in South Sudan.

9.3 Results

9.3.1 Religious and Ethnic Diversity

Despite South Sudan's religious diversity, Christian Religious Education is a core subject for all students, positioning Christianity as a more valued religion than traditional religions or Islam. Christianity is depicted as central to community life in all textbooks. For example, in the social studies text, the church is described both in text and in images as a central part of the community. This position of the church is reinforced in the Christian Religious Education text, which quotes from Ephesians 6:1–4 in advising parents: "bring [your children] up with Christian discipline and

instruction" (MoGEI, 2012a, p. 39). References to Christianity as central to community and family are contrasted by the marginalization of other religions practiced in South Sudan. The social studies textbook states, "All religions have moral laws. These are rules which tell us how to behave well and do what is right" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 33). This statement indicates that there are positive similarities across religions, but—unlike with Christianity—there are few explicit references to Islamic or traditional religions as positive elements of modern South Sudanese society.

Traditional African religions are referred to frequently but are described mostly in the past tense as antiquated practices. For example, the social studies text contains the following statement: "Our people believed that they could talk to their dead relatives by offering gifts of food. They sacrificed chickens, goats and bulls at religious ceremonies. The different tribes had different names for God" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 34). The use of the past tense suggests these religions are no longer prominent, although a sizable minority of the population continue to hold these religious beliefs. There is also a suggestion that the religious beliefs referenced are now known to be untrue, in contradiction to the biblical stories, which are described as historical occurrences. The social studies text also describes the disappearance of traditional religious practices from South Sudanese society as a result of the introduction of Christianity: "School education brought changes in the traditional way of life of many of our people. Christian beliefs now influence our lives. The idea of age-groups is disappearing in some communities and initiation ceremonies are rarely practiced" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 39). While other sections encourage students to discuss or reflect on the subject matter of the textbook, students are not prompted to critically interrogate this section.

The textbooks make some effort to encourage acceptance of ethnic diversity. For example, the Christian Religious Education text states, "We can try to welcome those who have come to live in our community from other areas. We must remember that God has made people different from one another. We are not all the same" (MoGEI, 2012a, p. 55). This statement recognizes and promotes ethnic diversity. The social studies text describes migration as a result of conflict and encourages acceptance of new people: "In the last few years we have seen new communities moving into our state. They have settled near our villages and our people are working and trading with them" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 30). The unit includes a story where a village elder speaks to a class about the history of migration in the state and the acceptance of new people, reflecting a clear effort to bridge ethnic divisions. The textbooks do, however, still describe communities as built on commonalities: "A community is made up of people who have a common way of doing things. For example, they speak the same language, they sing the same songs, eat similar types of food and dance in similar styles" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 28). Linguistic and cultural practices often differ between ethnic groups, so the statement suggests that a community is made up of people from the same ethnic group, and that newcomers should be welcomed but remain in separate communities. A student asks the village elder about when and why "the people arrived in our state" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 32). The use of the possessive "our state" suggests that newcomers have less claim to the area than those who predated them.

Hostility in relation to ethnic difference is more explicitly displayed in historical references to Arabs. The social studies text describes conflict between different clans in the area that is now South Sudan, including the following description of Arabs as "slave traders":

> Arab slave traders reached Zandeland between 1850 and 1900. First they asked permission from King Gbudue to enter his kingdom to buy ivory and food. After some time, the Arabs began to take the Azande as slaves. The Arabs defeated the Azande because they had guns while the Azande had only spears, arrows and war knives. The Arabs captured many of the Azande people and held them until they were given ivory in exchange for freedom. (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 57)

Students are encouraged to draw a picture of the Azande people's battle with the "Arab slave traders." This language is contrasted to the neutral or positive description of other colonizing groups. For example, the victories by the Azande tribe are described in the social studies text as follows:

> With his brave army, King Gbudue conquered the tribes who lived in the Maridi area. … It was impossible to defeat the Moru. However, King Gbudue turned his army away from the Moru hills and conquered the Abaka, Amundu, Abanga, Bongo, Jur Bell and Amitu. He then made these people his subjects. (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 57)

Europeans are also described positively: "Europeans came from different countries as missionaries. They built churches. They are our Christian friends" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 32). Violence by the Azande and Europeans is referenced in relation to battles for territories, but the description of Arabs as deceitful slave traders is unique.

9.3.2 Governance

The term "governance" refers to the practice or style of governing, including the establishment and implementation of policies and services, as well as the expectations of public officials and private citizens communicated by the state. Citizenship is described in the textbooks as a practice of citizens' obedience to and trust in leaders to do what is best. Obedience and respect for authority is present in all textbooks, but particularly in the Christian Religious Education text, where the authority given to leaders is framed as granted by God. The Christian Religious Education text explicitly states that leaders' authority comes from God: "The Bible says: Everyone must obey the state authorities, because no authority exists without God's permission" (MoGEI, 2012a, p. 37). The instructions to obey authority extend to all figures of authority, with explicit directions to students to obey teachers, parents, and church leaders, and returns again to obedience to government: "We must obey our country's leaders. … God is pleased when we obey our leaders. The Bible tells us to obey our leaders" (MoGEI, 2012a, p. 41). Students are not encouraged to think critically about the roles or practices of individual leaders or institutions at any point. Acceptance of authority is encouraged, even though there are some subtle references to the fact that leaders may not always act in the best interests of their people, as indicated by statements

such as the following in the Christian Religious Education text, “We can pray for leaders to keep peace in our communities” (MoGEI, 2012a, p. 55).

The textbooks provide a picture of prosperity in which services are accessible and affordable, in contrast to historical times when these services were not available and communities had to rely upon traditional practices. For example, the Christian Religious Education text contains the following description of the healthcare system:

> Have you ever been sick? What does the doctor do when you have a fever? The doctor takes your temperature and examines your body, then he or she gives you medicine to take. In the time of Jesus there were no hospitals. Sick people often stayed in their homes. (MoGEI, 2012c, pp. 18–19)

This text misleadingly implies that healthcare is now easily accessible to everyone. In reference to education, the Christian Religious Education text states that parents pay children’s school fees—despite the fact that public education is supposed to be free. It also states that these services are operated through taxpayer money: “The taxes we pay are used for building schools and hospitals. We should pay our taxes for the good of the community. Those who fail to pay their taxes should be punished” (MoGEI, 2012a, p. 36).

Individual wealth is also suggested by the portrayal of widespread availability of technology like mobile phones and computers. The social studies text states: “People still use writing to communicate. Nowadays, however, people often send written messages on computers and through mobile telephones. The most popular form of communication today is speaking on the telephone” (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 49). Collectively, these statements portray functioning social services driven by taxpayer dollars and easy access to material goods that improve the quality of life. Poverty and inequality are not discussed, creating the impression that all or most people have access to the capital and social services they need and desire.

9.3.3 Gender

In some instances, the textbooks challenge conventional gender norms through the portrayal of women in employment and participating in activities that are not traditionally feminine. For example, an image (p. 87) from the English textbook (MoGEI, 2012b) illustrates women working at a computer, fixing an airplane, and introducing a new technology to a community. At times the textbooks describe girls as showing intense capability and ambition, such as in the English textbook story about Rebecca, who overcomes a disability caused by polio and earns the money to cover her school fees: “Rebecca wanted to learn to make other things. She was good at working with her hands. She wanted to learn more mathematics and how to write letters to business people. When she grew up, she wanted to run her own business” (MoGEI, 2012b, p. 82). While the textbooks sometimes depict women in non-traditional roles, they contain a much higher representation of men and boys in general, and particularly in positions of authority and decision-making. The three textbooks have a total of

284 images of men and boys and 166 images of women and girls (excluding figures whose sex was unclear). There also remains a pattern reflecting the maintenance of traditional tasks of domesticity, such as boys taking care of cattle or hunting and women fetching water or preparing food. The textbooks refer to women more often in subservient roles, reiterating the expectations of obedience to authority described above, by situating men in the position of authority. For example, at numerous times in the Christian Religious Education textbook, Jesus either commands a woman to prepare food or has a woman prepare food for him, without similar references to men doing so.

These texts also describe women as subservient within their marriages. The Christian Religious Education text quotes the Biblical distinction that "every husband must love his wife and every wife must respect her husband (Ephesians 5:33)" (MoGEI, 2012a, p. 39). This injunction—to a husband to "love" his wife and to a wife to "respect" her husband—tells the man to bestow affection upon his wife, while suggesting the woman should obey her husband. We also note numerous references to dowry, described in value-neutral language without questions or activities that encourage students to reflect on this practice. For example, the social studies text states,

> Traditional marriages are arranged by the parents of the bridegroom (boy). They pay dowry to the parents of the bride (girl). On the day the bride is being handed over to her husband, there is a big feast with food, drinks, music and dancing. Many people come to wish the couple well. In some communities, there is a competition between the men who want to marry a girl. They compete to see who can pay the highest dowry. The man who pays the biggest number of cattle wins the girl's hand in marriage. (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 35)

This passage endorses child marriage through its description of men competing to marry a girl. The men compete via the number of cattle for her hand, providing her with no choice in the decision as to whom she will marry.

9.3.4 Conflict

Descriptions of conflict in the textbook vary between glorified and value-neutral, with one sober reflection. The social studies text describes a series of power struggles between different ethnic groups. These battles and those implicated in them are described in positive and valorizing terms, such as: "The Azande became united under strong chiefs and conquered new areas and set up new kingdoms" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 55). These battles and warriors are depicted in numerous images and students are encouraged to draw their own pictures of the battles. Men in modern-day images are often also shown carrying weapons; in the three textbooks, there are 11 images of men or boys carrying spears, guns, or other weapons (excluding images in which the instrument is obviously meant for hunting, fishing, or agriculture). The text does not mention death, destruction, and suffering that may have resulted from historic conflicts—thus valorizing violence without considering its repercussions.

Acts of colonization are described mostly in value-neutral terms, without explaining what colonization is and how it shaped the South Sudanese state. As noted earlier, the social studies text describes King Gbudue of the Azande as having "conquered" the Abaka, Amundu, Abanga, Bongo Jur Bell, and Amitu people and having "made these people his subjects" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 57). Similarly, the textbook describes a battle between the British and the Azande in which the British gained control of the territory, leading to "the end of the Azande kingdom" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 58). European colonization of Sudan through the Berlin Conference is then described in sanitized language: "In 1885, European countries met in Berlin, the capital of Germany, to decide how to divide Africa into colonies. It was decided that Sudan would be a British colony" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 59). The social studies textbook does not discuss the significance of becoming a colony. It predominantly describes conflict in the past tense, suggesting it is historical, completed, and no longer affects South Sudan. The textbook includes the following statement to refer to the most recent civil war at the time of publication: "There used to be a war in our country. People were killed and their livestock was taken away. Their food crops were destroyed. The war caused some communities to move away from our state" (MoGEI, 2012c, p. 30). This statement recognizes that the civil war had negative consequences but does not convey the extent of the effect that decades of violence had on the population.

9.4 Discussion

Within the IREC framework, the content of the Grade 4 South Sudan textbooks can be situated in the overlap between the areas of accomplice to conflict and transformative education. The textbooks demonstrate some efforts toward transformative education, particularly through the explicit encouragement of gender equality and welcoming migration. These positive movements are overshadowed to some degree by the textbooks' prominent omission of discussions of conflict, in regard to both the recent violent conflict and to such broader structural forms of violence as poverty, gender inequality, and colonialism. There are also several instances in which these texts perpetuate stereotypes and divisions, leading us to classify the textbooks primarily within the category of accomplice to conflict.

9.4.1 Recognition of Equality and Diversity

An important element of the education-as-transformer role is addressing and redressing inequality. The textbooks discussed here contain some content that seeks to redress inequality and division in terms of gender roles and ethnic conflict caused by migration. They explicitly encourage people to accept newcomers to the community in spite of differences, which promotes inclusion and peaceful coexistence.

They depict women and girls in non-traditional gender roles, illustrating that they are competent and confident. As South Sudan is the lowest ranking country in the world in terms of gender inequality measurements (UNESCO, 2011), this representation demonstrates a conscious effort to challenge discriminatory norms by showing women's and girls' ability to accomplish challenging tasks and use strength and resourcefulness traditionally associated with men and boys. The depiction of women and girls in non-traditional spaces and the promotion of acceptance of newcomers reflect the "recognition" element of the 4R model (Novelli et al., 2017), which includes the recognition of diversity through the curriculum. It also falls on the passive end of positive conflict within Davies's (2006) Birmingham International Education Security Index by encouraging tolerance of difference.

These efforts ultimately fall short of transformative education, however, as they do not first acknowledge and explain the existence of inequities and sources of conflict and division that require redress. Declining to acknowledge inequity is considered "violence by omission" (Davies, 2010; Salmi, 2000), and a lack of explanation as to the source of historic current inequity means that efforts to redress them will not be fully understood, nor will students grasp their importance and significance.

9.4.2 Conflict Consciousness

Key components of transformative education lacking in the textbooks are critical thinking and conflict consciousness. Peacebuilding should be a proactive process that encourages students to develop skill sets required to participate as active citizens (Cremin & Guilherme, 2016), including reflection on the sources of inequity, poverty, and conflict. To do so, acknowledgment of poverty, gender inequality, and conflict is important. Schools should encourage students to foster their own opinions through discussion questions, activities, and a representation of multiple viewpoints and perspectives. Instead, the textbooks emphasize obedience to authority figures, which encourages a culture of compliance instead of critical thinking and dialogue (Bickmore, 2014). We may deem the suggestion to pray for leaders to keep peace as a subtle suggestion that leaders may not always act in the interests of peace, but the textbooks situate obedience to authority as essential, both in reference to government figures and to church, school, and family. Indeed, in the Christian Religious Education textbook, challenging state authorities is equated with challenging God. The textbooks infuse state leaders with a monarch-like justification of their authority. They overlook many challenges that characterize social services in South Sudan, including lack of funding, corruption, inaccessibility, and unaffordability; in fact, they portray such services as accessible and affordable. The lack of references to poverty and inequality prevents students from understanding the historic and current factors contributing to these devastating social ills. They are thus unable to question or challenge these social realities, consequently reinforcing a status quo of inequality as at once acceptable and invisible.

In a transformative-education framework, students engage in reflection on the various elements of conflict—both structural and interpersonal—so that they might consider and take part in processes for conflict resolution (Galtung, 1976, 1985). The textbooks were published in 2012, before the most recent conflict began in 2013; however, there was ongoing tension and occasional violent conflicts following the CPA. References to current frictions, social divisions, or armed clashes are—like references to poverty or inequality—absent from the explicit curriculum that the textbooks capture, dwelling instead in the null curriculum. When the textbooks depict conflict, it is as a reference to historic conquest. The glorifying descriptions of historic battles serve to legitimize violence as a means of obtaining leadership positions and political control, leaving little opportunity for students to consider how current conflicts—both individual and social—can be resolved. Furthermore, when conflict is glorified and valorized, the need to develop conflict-resolution skills becomes unclear.

Further, opportunities for conflict consciousness pertaining to more structural forms of violence are also lost. When the textbooks reference the Berlin Conference of 1884, they do not discuss the significance of Sudan's becoming a colony. This makes it difficult for students to understand the enormous implications of this event. The textbooks' failure to discuss the impact of colonization and historic and ongoing conflict on South Sudanese society leads to an acceptance of violence as the status quo and of the legitimacy of armed takeovers to gain political dominance and control. Reproduction of the status quo normalizes violence and further contributes to conflict (Davies, 2010).

Another missed opportunity to discuss structural violence is in relation to gender inequality. The textbooks show images that promote girls and women in non-traditional employment, but these efforts are contradicted by the books' unequal representation of the sexes—both quantitatively, in the representation of women and girls as compared to men and boys, and qualitatively, in the depiction of women's subservience and deference in the home and family. A stark example of this is the text about the dowry, which exists without prompts for students to discuss or respond to the description of girls' being essentially sold in exchange for cattle to older men. The depiction of women and girls is that they have little agency in the major decisions about their own lives, and the texts do not challenge or question this.

9.4.3 Reinforcement of Divisions

The positive references to shared spaces with newcomers show an effort to encourage a shared national identity (Tawil & Harvey, 2004), but such effort is limited by the absence of references to communities made richer by ethnic and religious differences. The texts have few explicit references to Islamic or African religions as positive elements of modern South Sudanese society, while many such references are made in relation to Christianity. This narrative reinforces the concept of Christianity as dominant and superior. The description of traditional religions as historic and

antiquated, and the absence of references to Muslim religious practices, fosters division by validating the superiority of Christianity and Christians. More explicitly, the texts describe Arabs as deceitful and cruel slave traders—in contrast to the Europeans, referred to as "our Christian friends." This language positions Arabs as the enemy Other, a narrative created through decades of civil war between the largely Arabic North (now Sudan) and the majority 'African' South (now South Sudan). The division between Arabic North and 'African' South Sudan is illustrated in the textbooks' depiction of a common national identity with shared culture, language, and religion—and excludes the country's extensive ethnic and cultural diversity, and the ongoing conflict between groups. The inclusion of negative stereotypes means that the texts fall in the middle of the Birmingham International Education Security Index negative-conflict scale (between active and passive), as it contributes to the perpetuation of stereotypes (Davies, 2006).

9.5 Conclusion

Using the IREC framework that shows how education can simultaneously take on the roles of victim, accomplice, and transformer (Kovinthan Levi, this volume), we looked at the roles of textbooks in conflict-ridden South Sudan. In this context, textbooks simultaneously play multiple, possibly contradictory, roles. Their role in the victimization of education is most prominent in lack of access to them—due both to the low rates of access to education itself and to challenges in production and distribution (Vanner et al., 2017). Textbooks' overlap in the roles of victim, accomplice, and transformer can also be seen by their greater accessibility to children who are in school—particularly in urban and less-conflict-affected areas—which enhances structural inequality by furthering gaps in knowledge and opportunities among children variously situated. These textbooks also fall within the overlap between transformer and accomplice in their discourse that seeks to redress gender inequality and promote ethnic diversity but omits discussion of the sources of inequality and hostility—such failure reinforces the status quo by impeding dialogue for changing these root causes. The spaces of overlap are critical because ultimately most educational systems, practices, and materials fall within spaces that resist clear classification, contributing positively in some directions but negatively in others.

The textbooks discussed here appear unlikely to foster the meaningful critical thinking and conflict-resolution skills required to build social cohesion in a heavily divided South Sudan, as they do not acknowledge these divisions. Instead, they reinforce a dominant narrative of a shared English-speaking, Christian, and African South Sudanese nation contrasted to the Arabic and Islamic North Sudanese. The development of new textbooks (ongoing at the time of submission) offers an opportunity for materials that address the conflict more thoughtfully and involve students and teachers in the development of skills essential for peace and social cohesion. As the MoGEI replaces these textbooks, it could create space for the elements of transformative education. Such elements could include recognition of historic divisions, poverty,

and inequality; validate differences and equal representation of men and women in non-traditional roles in both public and private life; and encourage critical thinking about factors contributing to conflict. They should encourage students to reflect on the positive elements of the differences in their society, including ethnic, religious, gender, socioeconomic, and geographic, and to consider strategies for living together more peacefully by challenging inequity and developing conflict-resolution skills. For these approaches to be successful, they require a more intentional representation within the textbooks as well as discussion questions and activities that encourage active pedagogy for peacebuilding. These possibilities must be situated, however, within the broader context of the South Sudanese education system. Pedagogy that fosters critical thinking, dialogue, and conflict resolution is complex and requires skilled teachers (Bajaj, 2015; Bickmore, 2014), yet in South Sudan most teachers at the primary school level have very little training. Additionally, rates of access to education are low and distribution of textbooks is often incomplete, so the materials are more limited in reach than core textbooks would be in other contexts.

There are indications that those taking on the daunting task of advocating for peace in South Sudan are educated youth. #Anataban (meaning "I am tired," in Arabic) is a youth-led campaign that uses art and social media to protest the ongoing violence and celebrate South Sudan's diversity and potential. At the time of publication, @AnatabanSS has over 10 300 followers on Twitter and its music videos have over 100 000 views on YouTube (Zaremba, 2018). Many of the leaders are university-educated, representing the young social elite who are among the small proportion of South Sudanese who have accessed higher education. They also represent incredible hope that the upcoming generation may use knowledge and privilege to challenge the status quo of violence and inequality, putting pressure on the government to prioritize peace and systems building, and gradually expand the number of children and young people who are able to access quality education, creating a virtuous cycle of possibility. The content of the curriculum represented in learning materials is an essential starting point for ensuring that the children who realize their right to education attend schools that enable them to positively contribute to peace.

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Chapter 10
Textbook Politics: Education in Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Abstract The conflict that happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the bloodiest conflict in modern European history, ending in 1995 with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement. The Agreement secured peace but left this ethnically diverse country a divided society. Significant divisions exist in all spheres of life between Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs, with mistrust, alienation, and ghettoization remaining between these populations. One consequence of the Dayton Peace Agreement was segregated education. This chapter analyzes the segregated education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the phenomenon of "two schools under one roof" (TSUOR) that currently operates in the country. TSUOR describes a policy of ethnic segregation which was allowed for by the Agreement. This chapter investigates if two decades of segregated education have had a negative impact on Bosnian society by creating fertile ground for ethno-radicalization of Bosnian youth. In particular, the chapter focuses on analysis of history and geography textbooks in post-conflict Bosnia in the academic year of 2017 and 2018 and "textbook politics" which are currently operating in the country. The chapter follows the work of Lise Howard to theorize the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina as an ethnocracy, a political system in which political and social organizations are founded on ethnic belonging rather than individual choice. Countries such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, where political parties are based on ethnic interest, and where state institutions are segmented by ethnic imperative, often fall into an ethnocracy trap where it is impossible to move past ethnic divisions. This paper argues that segregated education in Bosnia and Herzegovina presents an example of post-conflict ethnocracy trap. It argues that while actual combat may have ceased, ethnic conflict continues in the field of education where schools represent the new battlefields.

Keywords Ethno-radicalization · Ethnocracy trap · Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina · Textbooks · Two schools under one roof

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The conflict that happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina[1] was one of the bloodiest in modern European history. It ended with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement,[2] which put a stop to the armed conflict but left this ethnically diverse country a divided society due to the nature of the power sharing mechanism it introduced. There exist significant divisions in all spheres of social life between the three main populations in Bosnia—Bosniacs,[3] Croats, and Serbs—and a significant level of mistrust, alienation, and ghettoization between these populations. The divisions are particularly evident in the area of education, as the Bosnian education system is separated along ethnic lines.

The focus of this chapter is the segregated education system in Bosnia, called Two Schools Under One Roof (TSUOR), that currently operates in the country. TSUOR describes a policy of segregation where children from different ethnic groups (namely Bosniacs and Croats in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina) attend classes in the same building but are separated into different classrooms and taught different curricula by teachers from their own respective ethnic groups. This chapter analyzes textbooks currently in use in post-conflict Bosnia, the textbook politics that presently operate in the country, and interviews with teachers in TSUOR conducted in 2019. The analysis of textbooks is an important representation of the kind of knowledge produced within the classroom, particularly in relation to subjects such as history, geography, and mother tongue and literature. These subjects are often contentious in post-conflict settings where different kinds of narratives and truths exist between various groups.

The chapter investigates if two decades of segregated education have had a negative impact on Bosnian society by creating fertile ground for ethno-radicalization of Bosnian youth. To date, some research has been conducted into the link between segregated education and segregated living in Bosnia (Jansen, 2012), the link between education and the naturalization of ethnonational ideologies in the country (Mujkic, 2012), and political socialization of youth (Reidy et al., 2015; Tveit et al., 2014). Significant research has been done on the role of history teaching in post-conflict societies (Datzberger, 2018; Novelli & Smith, 2011; Sicurella, 2008). However, the link between segregated education and ethno-radicalization has not been investigated.

The chapter follows the work of Lise Howard (2012) and theorizes the current situation in Bosnia as an ethnocracy, a political system in which political and social

[1] The chapter uses Bosnia and Bosnia and Herzegovina interchangeably. With both terms, I refer to the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina as recognized by the Dayton Peace Agreement.

[2] The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, also known as the Dayton Agreement, is a peace agreement reached in Dayton, US, in 1995 formally ending the three and a half year long Bosnian conflict (1992–1995). The warring parties agreed to divide the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina into two parts: the Republika Srpska with largely Serbian population and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with mostly Croatian and Bosniac population.

[3] Some scholars have used the terms Bosnian or Bosnian Muslim to refer to this ethnic category and there is ongoing debate, which is beyond the scope of this chapter, related to the issue of religion in relation to the term. To avoid confusion, I use the term Bosniac, as this was the term adopted by the Dayton Peace Agreement and used in Annex 4 of the Agreement, the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

organizations are founded on ethnic belonging rather than on individual choice. Countries such as Bosnia, where political parties are based on ethnic interest, and where state institutions are segmented by ethnic imperative, often fall into an "ethnocracy trap" (Howard, 2012) where it is impossible to move past ethnic divisions. This chapter argues that segregated education in Bosnia presents an example of post-conflict ethnocracy trap. It contends that, while actual combat may have ceased, ethnic conflict continues in the field of education where a segregationist agenda creates potential for ethno-radicalization. In relation to the IREC framework this book presents, I argue that the current role of education in Bosnia is primarily an accomplice to conflict and acts as an enabler of social divisions and identity-based tensions. The education system in the county is largely ideological, producing and reproducing ethnic incompatibilities and creating ethnic beings instead of citizens. This system of production and reproduction of ethnicity as a primary identifier of the population, which exists within the Bosnian education complex, is an example of ethno-radicalization.

10.1 Ethnocracy Trap and Segregated Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Bosnian conflict was the first case of genocide in Europe since the Second World War. The conflict displaced 3 million people worldwide and produced an estimated 100,000 casualties of which around 38,000 were civilians. The atrocities perpetrated were on such a scale that the term "ethnic cleansing" was coined in order to describe it. The conflict ended by the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement. While reflecting on the impact of Dayton Agreement, Asim Mujkic (2007) argues that the document has pushed Bosnia's newly formed democracy into a "quicksand of discriminatory, illiberal political and social practices" (p. 112) due to its elevation of the collective rights of ethnic groups over those of individual citizens. This is very relevant in the educational context as it means that the policy on education followed the same imperative.

The short-term goal of the Dayton Agreement was termination of the conflict. The long-term goal of the Agreement was establishment of a functioning democracy and a viable civil society. The current Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Annex 4 of the Dayton Agreement) has institutionalized a new type of ethnic democracy that challenges the values of the European Enlightenment and of an individual as an abstract citizen (Mujkic, 2007). The Constitution only recognizes Bosniac, Croat, and Serb ethnic interests as legitimate political interests. Mujkic (2007) argues that the "ethnically centred Dayton Agreement has become the main obstacle to the establishment of civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina" and that it serves "as a means for ethnically disciplining the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina" (p. 115). Furthermore, Muikic maintains that this practice is part of the ethnopolitics currently operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

> I call a community characterized by the political priority of the ethnic group(s) over the individual that is implemented through democratic self-legislation, and a community characterized by the political priority of the ethnic group's right to self-determination over the citizen's right to self-determination where the citizen's membership in a political community is determined by her or his membership in ethnic community *Ethnopolis.* And I call the political narrative and practice intended to justify this ethnically based social construct, *ethnopolitics.* (p. 116)

Like Mujkic, Lise Howard (2012) problematizes the American and international community's approach to building many representative governments worldwide as ethnocentric.[4] She argues that such an approach produces ethnocracies rather than liberal democracies.

Ethnocracy, according to Howard (2012) is:

> … a political system in which political and social organizations are founded on ethnic belonging rather than individual choice. Ethnocracy, in this sense, features: 1) political parties that are based foremost on ethnic interests; 2) ethnic quotas to determine the allocation of key posts; and 3) state institutions, especially in education and the security sector, that are segmented by ethnic group. (p. 155)

Ethnocracies are parliamentary systems with proportional or semi-proportional representation according to ethnic classifications where contrasting political platforms are of secondary importance to ethnic group membership and where ethnic bases for political parties are often mandated by law (Howard, 2012). According to Howard (2012), the biggest problem with such systems is that they lead the whole country into an ethnocracy trap where it is impossible to operate outside the ethnopolitics. Ethnocracy traps all the institutions within the system to function in its favor and for its reproduction. This is particularly relevant in relation to education as it is within the educational sphere that national norms and values are produced.

The educational divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina that this chapter addresses, including the TSUOR system, are direct consequences of ethnopolitics in the country that were institutionalized by the Dayton Agreement. The fact that these divisions became possible can be attributed to Dayton Agreement's omission of education as a specific area of attention. Education is mentioned only in Article 1, Annex 6 of the Agreement, which covers "fundamental rights and freedoms," and is limited to the individual's right to education, without further elaboration (OSCE, 2018). Unlike the other sectors, no international organization was mandated to supervise educational reforms following the Dayton Agreement. Additionally, in the aftermath of the conflict, the international community prioritized security, elections, property restitution, and economic development. This led to a gap in direction and the creation of TSUOR following the conflict period, in line with other ethnopolitical practices within the country.

In 2002, seven years after the signing of the Dayton Agreement, with the backing of the OSCE Permanent Council, the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina was created to coordinate the work of the international community in the education sector. In November 2002, the *Bosnia and Herzegovina Education Reform Strategy*

[4] In her paper she focuses on case studies of Lebanon, Northern Ireland, Bosnia and Iraq.

(BiHERS) was presented.[5] This strategy was developed with the support of the Mission and TSUOR was established, contrary to the principles of the BiHERS, but was intended to be temporary. I argue, however, that the termination of the TSUOR is unattainable within the current ethnopolitical system due to the location of the education system within the ethnocracy trap that Bosnia has fallen into. Not only would schools need to be physically reunited and possibly rebuilt in order to terminate the system, but the curricula would need to be revised. In particular, the set of subjects called “the national subjects”—namely mother tongue and literature, history, and geography—would need to be modified and reverted from their current status as aiding ethno-radicalization in the country.

10.2 IREC Framework: Case Study of Bosnia

This chapter is based upon two premises: in general, it stresses the importance of education and its pivotal role in post-conflict divided societies. In particular, the chapter argues that, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina and within the IREC framework, the current role of education in Bosnia is that of an accomplice, rather than that of a victim or having transformative power. Education in Bosnia in general and the TSUOR system in particular represents a continuation of the conflict as it naturalizes ethnonational ideologies and passes them on to the next generation. This chapter is based on two main theories: Apple’s (1979) relational analysis of education and state and Foucault’s theorization of schooling (Foucault, 1971, 1975; 1971/1977) as disciplinary response by the state, as discussed by Deacon (2005). As such, both theories highlight the importance of the relationship between the state and the education system.

Education is often neglected in the context of peacebuilding in divided societies (Novelli & Smith, 2011), as peacebuilding actors tend to focus on security issues. When education is included in peacebuilding efforts, most often it revolves around conflict resolution or human rights awareness training and is generally in a marginal position in relation to security (Novelli & Smith, 2011). This is an important oversight given education’s relationship to economic, political, and cultural power. The structuring of knowledge in educational institutions is intimately related to principles of social and cultural control. Most importantly, schools are crucial sites for the creation of national identity and social norms. This is of particular importance in post-conflict societies where previous national identities and social norms have been made obsolete by the conflict and are in the process of reformulation.

Decades ago, educational theorist Michael Apple (1979), a pioneer of critical education scholarship, argued that “schools create and recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained without the necessity of dominant groups having to resort to overt mechanisms of domination” (p. 3). He based his argument on Gramsci’s theorization of hegemony, described in his *Prison Notebooks*

[5] https://www.osce.org/mission-to-bosnia-and-herzegovina/386921.

(1926, 2011), and focused on the three aspects of the schooling system—schools as institutions, the forms of knowledge they produce, and the educator within them who is helping produce the same forms of knowledge. He has situated all three aspects within the context where they exist—a complex, stratified, and unequal society. Apple (1979, 2019) argued that hegemony is not an abstract concept but an organized set of meaning and practices, values, and actions, which are *lived* in the everyday context. Furthermore, these sets of meanings, practices, values, and norms are produced and reproduced within the process of education. In trying to contextualize educational systems within a broader society, Apple called for focus on *relation*, what he terms relational analysis. This "involves seeing social activity—with education as a particular form of that activity—as tied to the larger arrangement of institutions which apportion resources so that particular groups and classes have historically been helped while others have been less adequately treated" (Apple, 1979, p. 10). While his focus may have been on economic inequality, the rationale behind relational analysis extends beyond these spheres. In this chapter, it is relevant for the creation of a particular type of ethnic and national identity. Ethnic and national identities are created within the school systems and done so in direct relationship to the state within which they exist.

This process is explained well within Michel Foucault's theorization of schooling, what Deacon (2005) terms *moral orthopedics* that refers to a Foucauldian account of schooling as discipline.[6] Roger Deacon (2005) comprehensively draws together from across Foucault's entire body of books, articles, and interviews to provide an analysis of the establishment and mechanics of schooling as a society-wide use of disciplinary technology. In understanding schooling as a disciplinary response to the need to manage growing populations, Foucault defines a set of educational procedures that together form schooling, including the development of new teaching methodologies, the application of new forms of micro-discipline, the apportionment of time, the management of sexuality, the manipulation of bodies, the spread of lateral controls, the production and extraction of knowledge, and the reappraisal of curricula and learning (Deacon, 2006). These procedures are embedded in a moral orthopedics framework. Before schools existed, education and morals were learned through institutions of family, church, and apprenticeships. As the population grew, there became a need for a generalized method to control learning which has resulted in an institutionalized method of education: schools. Within the organized school system, a number of functions were met. Disorder was confined into order. Students were prepared for morally acceptable life through the control and standardization of what was considered proper knowledge and what age was considered appropriate for that type of knowledge. While the content of learning has changed since the first schools were introduced in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the premises of moral orthopedics have not. Schools still provide a standardized knowledge and have social norms-making powers.

[6] The term moral orthopedics is first mentioned in Foucault's (1975) well know book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* in part one discussing torture and the body of the condemned.

The social influence of schools is of great relevance in post-conflict societies as the type of knowledge being produced and standardized will have a direct impact on peace development, or the lack of it, in the area. The IREC framework states that there are three main, albeit often overlapping, roles education can have in conflict and post-conflict setting: victim, accomplice, and transformer (Kovinthan Levi, this volume). As stated above, I argue that the current main role of education in Bosnia is that of an accomplice to the conflict as it acts as an enabler of social divisions and identity-based tensions. Education in Bosnia shows some elements of victimization and transformation within the IREC framework. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to discuss these at length, it is notable that students being educated through the TSUOR system are denied a learning environment where they can learn about conflicts and develop critical thinking (victimization). There are some teachers and students that challenge the TSUOR system (transformation); for example, student protests against the TSUOR system were held in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2016 and 2017, in particular in a town called Jajce.[7] Due to the fact that Bosnia has fallen into an ethnocracy trap situation, education in the country is largely interpretative and ideological, producing and reproducing ethnic incompatibilities and primarily creating ethnic beings instead of citizens of the country. This is mainly accomplished through the TSUOR and the ethnicization[8] of curricula they encourage.

10.3 Two Schools Under One Roof

The origin of the TSUOR system can be traced back to the Bosnian conflict. TSUOR was established by the international community[9] as a temporary measure in order to bring some order into the chaotic post-war education system and to encourage the return of refugees and displaced persons (OSCE, 2018). During the conflict, many schools were destroyed and access to education was severely damaged, particularly in the areas which, prior to the conflict, were ethnically diverse and where, during the conflict, combat was the most intense. Generally, those affected were in three ethnically mixed cantons in the Federation: *Zenica-Doboj, Central Bosnia,* and *Herzegovina-Neretva* cantons[10] (see Fig. 10.1).

During and following the conflict, these areas were ethnically cleansed and deeply polarized, which affected the return of those expelled during the conflict. There were 448,405 minority returns between 1996 and 2005, a number perceived by the international community as a great achievement (UNHCR, 2005). Property restitution and

[7] https://balkaninsight.com/2018/07/20/pupils-from-bosnia-win-max-van-der-stoel-award-07-19-2018/.

[8] In sociology, racialization or ethnicization is a political process of ascribing ethnic or racial identities to a relationship, social practice, or group that did not identify itself as such previously.

[9] Including the OSCE mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[10] Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of 10 autonomous cantons that are political and administrative units.

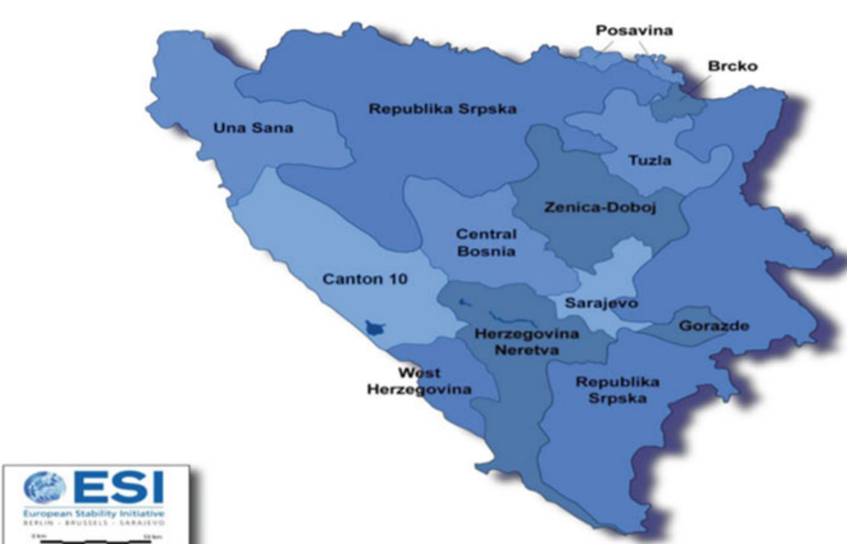

Fig. 10.1 Cantons of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ESI, 2004), created by Christian Altfuldisch

reconstruction[11] was also considered to have been successful. According to statistics that were published by Property Law Implementation Plan (PLIP)[12] a total of 211,791 claims for repossession of property and reinstatement of occupancy rights were submitted in Bosnia and Herzegovina. 197,815 of them received positive decisions and 12,642 received negative decisions, showing that most people managed to return to the places they were living in before the conflict and most claimed their properties back (Nenadic & Dzepar-Ganibegovic, 2010). However, education in the affected areas was beyond immediate repair. The schools that survived the conflict were now associated with the dominant ethnic groups in each previously diverse area and were heavily influenced by ethno-nationalist politics. They were commonly renamed during the conflict to honor persons or events from the conflict, and religious symbols connected to majority ethnicities were introduced and displayed in the schools. For example, the primary school *Lipanjske zore* in Visici, Capljina is named after the 1992 war operation where Croatian Defence forces defeated what

[11] Article 1 of Annex 7 of Dayton Peace Agreement states that "all refugees and displaced persons have the right freely to return to their homes of origin. They shall have the right to have restored to them property of which they were deprived in the course of hostilities since 1991 and to be compensated for any property that cannot be restored to them."

[12] In 2000, international community in BiH established the so-called PLIP Cell for monitoring and application of relevant regulations for property restitution that consisted of four leading international community organizations in BiH: OHR, OSCE, UNHCR and CRPC. PLIP representatives started publishing monthly statistical indicators from municipality level to the state level, analyzing and comparing the indicators.

was perceived by Croatian forces as a greater-Serbia aggressor (Yugoslav National Army), reinforcing the idea of Croatian national superiority and territorial claims of this diverse area. The teaching process became based on curricula and materials that were ethnically infused and often full of descriptions of self-victimization and villainization of other ethnicities (OSCE, 2018), as illustrated in the last section of this chapter. The Organisation for Economic and Cooperation and Development (OECD) was aware of this and warned that education in Bosnia had become "hostage to latent nationalism" (2001, p. 11).

Many returnee parents, who found themselves ethnic minorities in the areas they returned to, refused to send their children to the local schools. They feared hostility toward their identity, feeling this identity was misrepresented and that their ethnic background degraded. In order to provide them with some form of education, ad hoc and often inadequate schools were set up in private premises like houses or restaurants. If not taking lessons in these establishments, parents sent their children to the nearest schools in communities inhabited by members of their own ethnic group. Sometimes, like in the case of *Usora* (*Zenica-Doboj Canton*), "tent schools" were set up in the yards of the local schools where children received education matching their ethnicity.

In recognition of this unsatisfactory educational environment and responding to returnee parents' demands for better educational prospects for their children, the international community, including the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, developed several interim measures to remedy the situation. Most prominent of these was the 2002 *Interim Agreement on Accommodation of Specific Needs and Rights of Returnee Children* (Interim Agreement), which introduced the practice of "two schools under one roof" (iDMC, 2006).

The new TSUOR system brought children who were previously separated into the same building. It was seen as a compromise between complete segregation between Croat and Bosniac children, which was advocated by nationalist hardliners, and complete integration, which would have been the preferred solution by the international community. The international community, led by UNHCR and OSCE, understood that complete integration was not feasible due to the political circumstances at the time. The country was still in a transitional phase between the full-blown conflict and relative peace. While the actual fighting may have ceased, as in all post-conflict contexts, the mutual coexistence between the warring parties was fragile and lacking in trust and engagement.

While the children were brought into the same building, their educational experiences were altered. They were separated into different parts of the building according to their ethnicity and made to use separate entrances (see Fig. 10.2). Sometimes, in addition to this spatial separation, children were also separated into different shifts. For example, Bosniac children would attend school during the morning hours and Croatian children in the afternoon, or vice versa. Ethnically sensitive curricula were developed separately for each group by the UNESCO International Bureau of Education in collaboration with educational authorities in Bosnia, in order to cater for Bosniac and Croat ethnicity, what teachers in Bosnia colloquially call *B side* (Bosnian) or *H side* (Croatian/Hrvatski). This curriculum was to be taught by

Fig. 10.2 TSUOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Two Entrances to a TSUOR School (author's photo, June 2019)

teachers from their own ethnic group. The most controversial part of it is a set of subjects called *the national subjects*—namely, mother tongue language and literature (Croatian or Bosnian), geography, and history. These subjects are most directly related to the ethnicization of the curricula that is currently present in Bosnia and discussed in detail in the final section of the chapter.

Currently, there are 56 TSUOR schools in 28 locations in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including 46 primary schools and 10 secondary schools (OSCE, 2018). It is important to note that TSUOR exists in the Federation of Bosnia only. Republika Srpska (second entity in Bosnia apart from the Federation) has its own Ministry of Education and its own curriculum tailored toward what is understood as the needs of Serbian population. In fact, Republika Srpska has been leaning toward adopting unified curricula with the neighboring state of Serbia, rather than working more closely with the Federation of Bosnia, particularly in relation to the aforementioned set of national subjects (Kovacevic, 2018). This is furthering the divide in the already segregated education system.

In 2002, TSUOR was seen as a temporary measure, but it still exists in Bosnia and Herzegovina and there are no indications that this educational system is likely to change in the near future. Most contentiously, TSUOR was initially introduced

as a "parental right."[13] Hence, a practice that was originally seen as a humanitarian response to a returnee parents' rights has transitioned into a discriminatory practice under both local and international law. Under international law, TSUOR violates the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, the *Convention against Discrimination in Education*, and the *European Convention on Human Rights* (OSCE, 2018). International bodies have been instructing Bosnian authorities to end the discrimination in education and the practice of TSUOR since 2012.

Two court cases related to the discrimination in the education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been heard before the Supreme Court of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2011, the legal aid organization *Vasa Prava BiH* (Your Rights BiH) submitted a lawsuit to the municipal court in Mostar, Herzegovina-Neretva and Travnik, Central-Bosnia claiming TSUOR was discriminatory on ethnic grounds. With regard to the Travnik case, the Municipal court rejected the discrimination as ungrounded. This was confirmed by the Cantonal court in 2015. The Travnik court used the Convention against Discrimination in Education to justify the two curricula and parents' right to choose a school for their children. The municipal court in the Mostar case supported *Vasa Prava BiH*, however, the Cantonal court annulled this decision in June 2013 on appeal. In August 2014, the federal court of Bosnia overturned this decision and found that the defendant was discriminated against on ethnic grounds, but the Supreme Court decision has not been implemented and no further legal steps have been initiated. Thus, in both cases, removing the TSUOR practice was made insurmountable despite numerous court cases and the Supreme Court confirming the practice as discriminatory. Dismantling the system of TSUOR is proving nearly impossible and, I argue, this is leading to the ethno-radicalization of Bosnian youth.

10.4 Ethnic Disciplining in Bosnian Schools: Ethno-Radicalization

This chapter focuses on analysis of textbooks developed in post-conflict Bosnia, textbook politics that currently operate in the country, and on interviews with teachers in TSUOR schools in Bosnia conducted in 2019. The semi-structured interviews with teachers were conducted in the following towns: Mostar and Stolac (Herzegovina-Neretva canton) and Vitez, Bugojno, Busovaca, Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje, and Kiseljak (Central Bosnia canton). Teachers interviewed were those teaching national subjects—mother tongue and literature, history and geography—and were from both Croatian and Bosnian sides. Textbook analysis focused on

[13] For an eloquent discussion of TSUOR and "segregation versus parental rights" argument see Ivankovic (2017).

secondary school level geography and history textbooks in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the academic years 2016–2017 and 2017–2018. Content analysis was performed on textbooks from national subjects included on both Bosnian and Croatian sides. The general understanding of the Bosnian context stems from my many ethnographic stays in Sarajevo and Mostar from 2007 until 2019. At the time of writing, I was also involved in another project with the Ministry of Education in Bosnia; a lot of background knowledge relating to the complexity of the situation in relation to Bosnian education originated there.

10.5 Textbook Politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina

There are two sets of curricula that exist in TSUOR: curriculum designed for the Bosnian population and curriculum designed for the Croatian population. Separate textbooks are produced to match these curricula. There is some overlap between the curricula, which is called *zajednicka jezgra*, translated as common core. 70% of each textbook has to derive from the common core while 30% comprises local interpretations. The policy behind this organization of the material was devised initially as a unifying force, with the focus on 70% of commonality but, with time, the focus has shifted toward the 30% difference.

Textbook politics relate to a politicized situation regarding production, distribution, and content in Bosnia. There are two sets of curricula but, rather than having two agreed sets of textbooks to match the two curricula, schools and teachers can choose their textbooks from the list approved each year by the Federal Ministry of Education in Bosnia (FMON). For each subject, including the national subjects, there could be three or four textbooks approved. Despite the choice, some teachers I spoke to devised their own classes from a collection of books they selected, as they did not fully agree with the content of textbooks suggested to them. This practice was most common with regard to the history textbooks. In addition, some teachers expressed concern about textbooks coming from outside of the country. Books for the Croatian curricula and published in Croatia to be used in Croatian schools are shipped over and used in Bosnian schools as well. Some teachers I interviewed felt very strongly that Bosnia and Herzegovina should not use any textbooks that originate outside the country nor adjust to any educational system outside its borders. They argued that Bosnia and Herzegovina is its own state and, as such, it should have its own education system without interruption from neighboring states. They saw the interconnections with other countries as damaging to the identity of Bosnia as a unique state with its own culture.

Another element of textbook politics analyzed here is textbook production. Preliminary analysis of textbook lists approved by FMON for the past three academic years (2016–2017, 2017–2018, 2018–2019) reveals a certain ethnocentric pattern with regard to authors and publishing houses. Most authors of textbooks listed on the Bosnian curricula are of Bosnian origin while Croatian textbooks are written by Croatian authors. Publishing houses are also ethnically inclined, with Bosnian publishing

houses publishing Bosnian curricula and Croatian publishing houses creating textbooks for Croatian curricula. While this ethno-economic bias needs further research, it is clear that ethnopolitics and textbook politics are interconnected in Bosnia and are feeding into one another.

The most comprehensive recent analysis of textbooks in Bosnia was done by Andrea Soldo in 2017. Soldo and her colleagues analyzed primary school textbooks in all three national subject curricula in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They focused on analyzing the kind of values that are presented in Bosnian curricula and investigated whether universal values are being affirmed in the textbooks and whether the contents of the textbooks encourage the development of critical thinking. The universal values the researchers included were peace, cooperation, solidarity, liberty, responsibility, equality, life, and love. These were derived from generally accepted values of democratic societies and documents that regulate education in Bosnia and Herzegovina such as the *Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in BH* (BiH Official Gazette, 2003) and the *Rulebook on the Procedure for Preparing and Publishing Textbooks* (FMON, 2009). Efforts to develop critical thinking were analyzed because critical thinking was seen as a precursor for engaging with multiple perspectives, a skill needed for an active citizenship in a multi-ethnic, multicultural society. They analyzed 2668 lessons in 68 textbooks from the national subjects in both Latin and Cyrillic scripts.[14] Their results show that contents that speak of what they considered to be universal values were recognized in less than one-third of analyzed lessons in textbooks. The universal values were not identified in 73% of the lessons. Of the 27% of the lessons that recognize the values, only 7% promote them. Responsibility and equality were most frequently identified, and solidarity, peace, and love were least identified. Critical thinking was measured via a set of indicators including active learning, problem-solving, a multiple perspectives approach, and differentiated representations. Their analysis shows that all of the critical thinking indicators were present in only 0.4% of the lessons. Active learning was encouraged in 38% of the lessons and problem-solving in 20% of the lessons. The multiple perspective approach was present in 6% of the lessons and the differentiated representation approach in 5%. In summary, critical thinking was not encouraged by these textbooks. According to this analysis, the Bosnian primary education system is still based on reproductive thinking where adopting and understanding information, repeating the thoughts and views of others, and avoiding reflection were the norms.

Overall, Soldo concluded that contents of the textbooks in Bosnia and Herzegovina imply a certain value system that is not based on universalism and independence but on tradition and conformism, hindering critical thinking. Most importantly, the results show that the "dominant pedagogical function of analyzed textbooks is *interpretative* and *political*" (Soldo, 2017, p. 63, my emphasis). The report recommends that the socio-centric narrative of the hidden curriculum that operates in the Bosnian education system needs to be eliminated. Furthermore, "the dominant system of values in textbooks in all three curricula fundamentally relies on the socio-centric and conservative way of thinking" (Soldo, 2017, p. 61). Socio-centrism is based on the belief

[14] Both scripts are used in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

that the perspective of one's own group is the dominant perspective. This dominant national perspective is presented across all textbooks where "primacy is on the collective rather than the individual," and where "fear of the other and self-victimization is fostered, wars are glorified and violence justified" (Soldo, 2017, p. 62). Socio-centric thinking, according to the researchers, serves as a basis for development of stereotypes and prejudices.

10.6 Ethnicization of Curricula in Bosnia and Herzegovina

My own analysis of geography and history textbooks used in all four grades of secondary education in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the academic years 2016–2017 and 2017–2018 is aligned with Soldo's conclusions regarding primary textbooks. The content analysis of the textbooks used in classrooms in Bosnia shows a socio-centric narrative throughout the textbooks. There are instances of extreme othering, a narrow focus on one's own ethnic collectivity, and a hidden agenda of ethnic superiority in some parts of curricula. In this chapter, I focus on the socio-centric narrative using an example of a geography textbook in the second year of high school (see Table 10.1). This illustrative example is taken from one textbook of the Croatian curricula within TSUOR system but the socio-centric narrative is present in all others as well. The textbook was published in Zagreb, capital city of Croatia.

As Table 10.1 shows, the geography book is strongly ethnocentric, focusing on the Croatian population and the Croatian state. Considering that these are geography lessons taught in Bosnia and Herzegovina, students do not learn anything related to the country they are citizens of. All Bosnian information is missing and replaced with information on their neighboring state of Croatia. This relates not only to the factual knowledge of Croatia (its cities, population, economics, etc.) but to the orientation and ethnic focus that this type of teaching entails. Bosnian students who learn from this curriculum are implicitly taught that their nation is Croatia not Bosnia, that they are Croats first before Bosnian citizens and thus likely to internalize this narrative (personal communication with a student participating in protests in town of Jajce, 2018).

In summary, the production, distribution, and content of textbooks in Bosnia has undergone a process of ethnicization since the Dayton Agreement ended the conflict. The schools in the country are mostly segregated. Territorially, the country is divided into two entities to correspond with ethnic principle and within the one entity, the Federation, that this chapter focused on, further divisions exist, territorially again aligned with the ethnic agenda. The system of education follows these ethnic cleavages and reifies ethnicity as a primary identifier along the way. To return to Lise Howard (2012), this segregation and ethnic reification signals that Bosnia has fallen into an ethnicity trap where the institutions of education cannot be disaggregated from the overshadow of ethnicity.

Within this ethnicized context of education in Bosnia, two spheres are of most importance: the physical sphere of the classroom and the sphere of the curriculum.

Table 10.1 Year 2 Geography Textbook (Friganović et al., 2016)

General lesson on the population demographics globally. At the end of the lecture there is a page focusing on the Croatian population (p. 14)
Lesson on global migration and population statistics ending with a focus on Croatian statistics and one of the questions in the exercises section relates to Croatia (p. 25)
Another lesson on migrations from a Croatian perspective (p. 32)
Table on Zagreb, capital of Croatia, included to explain demographic data of capitals as territorial units (p. 34)
Lesson on gender and population teaches about the Croatian census from 2011 (p. 36/38)
Lesson on religion singles out a case study of the Vatican (p. 50)
Lesson on quality of living and demographic influence on ecosystems gives an example of Zagreb in Croatia (p. 58)
Lesson on rural parts versus urban environments give an example of Croatian Ireland Cres. (p. 68)
Lesson on cities and urbanism has a picture of Dubrovnik in Croatia (p. 82)
Lesson on capital cities and their influence on surrounding regions focuses on Zagreb, Rijeka, and Split (cities in Croatia) (p. 101)
Lesson on agriculture focuses on Croatian agriculture (p. 123)
Lesson on agricultural production focuses on teaching Croatian products (p. 128)
Fishing and aquaculture is taught from a Croatian perspective (p. 132/135)
Forestry lesson uses an example of a forest near a town on Vinkovci in Croatia (p. 140)
Industrial regions and their impact on ecosystems uses an example of the town of Bakar in Croatia (p. 171)
Lesson of traffic on water uses an example of Omisljaj in Croatia (p. 176)
Lesson on export and import focuses on partnerships between Croatia and other countries (p. 195)

With regard to the physical sphere, Foucault's (1975) moral orthopedics are of relevance. As discussed above, Foucault saw schooling as a society-wide disciplinary technology where the manipulation of the bodies and new forms of micro-discipline are among educational procedures employed by the institutions to manage population. These management procedures are not benign and are closely related to the state agendas within which they operate. In post-conflict Bosnia, they are related to the ethnic segregationist agenda constitutionalized by the Dayton Agreement. Bodies of students in Bosnian schools are manipulated in such a way as to enter into the school building via the door which corresponds to their ethnicity. As seen above, schools have two entrances, one for Croats and one for Bosniacs. Sometimes they are on separate sides of the building but sometimes, as shown in the picture above, they can be right next to each other. Two identical doors with the name of the school written above them. Once inside, they again move in an alignment to their ethnicity. As pointed out above, often the Croatian curriculum is taught on a different floor to the Bosnian one or in a different part of the building. This micro-disciplining extends to the teachers and administrative staff as well, who are placed in the parts of the

building aligning with their ethnicity so that students are at all times engulfed into their own ethnic cosmos.

In relation to the sphere of curriculum, as the chapter shows, the curricula have been ethnicized to such an extent that it is impossible for a student to learn from any other curricula than the one matching their ethnic identity. As Apple (1979, 2019) argued, the structuring of knowledge in educational institutions is directly related to social control where schools are crucial sites for the creation of national identity and social norms. This chapter extends on the work of Apple (1979, 2019) here and argues that ethnic and national identities are created within the school systems and done in direct relationship to the state within which they exist. Current Bosnian curricula teach Bosnian and Croatian students that, while they are the citizens of the same country, they are ethnically different and this difference should be their primary identifier. It is precisely this that Bosnian students in Jajce protested against. As the leader of the movement against segregation in schools states:

> We [Bosnian state] have technically failed to maintain a position of a neutral school when it comes to nationalism. The educational system wants to separate us for political reasons to gain votes for every political party. But our unity will still continue even after we are divided by the phenomenon of TSUOR. Basically, that is what we are fighting against. We do not want to be divided. We do not want to be seen as Croats/Serbs/Bosnians. We want to be seen as children willing to study and willing to express our creativity [...] We want to say if you want to have peace you must be prepared to forgive.[15]

I argue that tacitly teaching students values, norms, and dispositions which promote socio-centric and ethnocentric perspectives with an extreme focus on ideological indoctrination, while forcing them into physical separation, is a form of ethnic disciplining. I term this normalization of socio-centric discourse and physical separation *ethno-radicalization*. In this sense, radicalization is understood as an individual or group process, whereby, usually in a situation of political polarization, normal practices of dialogue, compromise, and tolerance between political actors and groups with diverging interests are abandoned by one or both sides in favor of a growing commitment to engage in confrontational tactics of conflict-waging (Schmid, 2013). The curriculum in Bosnia and Herzegovina needs to be revised, the national subjects modified, and TSUOR disbanded in order to avoid aiding ethno-radicalization of youth in the country.

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter argues that segregated education in Bosnia presents an example of what Howard (2012) terms an ethnocracy trap. In other words, while actual combat may have ceased, ethnic conflict continues in the field of education where a segregationist agenda and an ethnicized curricula create potential for ethno-radicalization of youth. In relation to the IREC framework, the chapter proposes that the current role of

[15] https://www.mo.be/en/reportage/bosnian-students-long-fight-against-segregated-schools.

education in Bosnia is an accomplice to conflict, as it acts as an enabler of social divisions and identity-based tensions. The research findings show that education in the county is largely ideological and socio-centric. In following Apple (1979, 2019) and Foucault (1971, 1975; 1971/1977), the chapter highlights that the education in the country cannot be understood as separate to the state, state powers, and state disciplining. Deacon's (2005) eloquent reading of Foucault's theorizations warns of the role that schools play in population management. The relational analysis that Apple puts forward stresses that ethnic and national identities established within the school systems are created in relation to the nation-state they operate within. The TSUOR education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina currently mirrors the political state of post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina—that of an ethnically divided and polarized society.

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Chapter 11
Conclusion: Mobilizing Textbooks for an Equitable Future

Spogmai Akseer, Catherine Vanner, and Thursica Kovinthan Levi

Abstract This book examines the highly politicized and contradictory nature of school textbooks in a wide range of conflict-affected contexts. Specifically, it demonstrates that while textbooks have the potential to contribute to peacebuilding and social justice, this potential is continuously confronted by the destruction of learning materials and infrastructure during conflict and the complicit roles that textbooks have often undertaken preceding, during, and after conflict situations. Through the use of the IREC framework, this book demonstrates the overlapping role of textbooks as victim, accomplice, and transformer during and in the aftermath of social and armed conflict. This concluding chapter will reflect upon the similarities and differences in these roles in the variety of cultural, geographic, and economic contexts described in the previous chapters. It will close with a description of the emergent implications of the chapters' analysis for scholars and practitioner stakeholders interested in analyzing, creating, and using textbooks for peace.

Keywords Education stakeholders · Ethnicism · Peacebuilding · Politicization · Social inequality · Textbooks

The IREC framework was designed to capture the complexity of the multi-directional relationship between education and conflict; this collection of country case studies clearly demonstrates the intricacies of this connection, specifically examining how it plays out in the pages of a textbook. The chapters included in this book provide a glimpse into the challenges of educational provision in relation to learning materials in contexts affected by conflict. Although the chapters focus on diverse social and political contexts across three continents, the message appears consistent that, while

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education has the potential to redress inequality, its active role in (re)producing and maintaining social tensions and divisions is also prevalent. The authors' analysis of textbooks from various educational levels and subjects highlights the centrality of these documents in the formal education system, as well as their potential shortcomings in working toward peacebuilding. Additionally, these case studies point to the contradictions and difficulties in achieving national aims through learning materials and thus reveal an ongoing need to understand both the negative and positive roles of education—and textbooks in particular—in conflict-affected environments. The analysis of the different country examples should be read not as a critique of the role of textbooks but rather as an opportunity to understand the complex ways in which these materials can support or hinder social progress, especially in volatile contexts where a society might be facing additional challenges such as socio-political or economic instabilities. While the focus in this volume has been on countries in the Global South, the IREC framework can also be used to examine the role of textbooks and education in conflicts in other contexts, including Western and other Global North countries. This concluding chapter summarizes key themes that have emerged across the different chapters, and shows how, as a collection, the volume operationalizes the IREC framework and maps out the relation between textbooks and conflict as simultaneous victims, perpetrators, and/or transformers of conflict. Finally, we close with reflections on the policy and practice implications of these findings for actors who are engaged in the development, distribution, and use of national curricula and their accompanying learning materials.

11.1 Common Themes

Across the different chapters, the authors point to a variety of themes that seem to influence how textbooks are developed, distributed, and used in the classroom, many of which are similar across diverse contexts. The authors' analysis of these themes highlights the complex relationship between textbooks and conflict, revealing both opportunities for change and potential for reproducing or maintaining existing inequalities in and through education in conflict-affected contexts. In particular, there appears to be a concern across all the chapters that, while there are occasions for transformation, textbooks are active in reproducing ideals that promote inequality and divisions. Furthermore, in many contexts, textbooks continue to be victimized by the effects of conflict. Some of the most prominent themes that emerged across chapters, namely ethnicized learning, the reproduction of the obedient citizen, and representations of the past, are summarized below.

11.1.1 Ethnicized Learning

Several of the chapters highlight the ongoing challenges that ethnic tensions pose to education and the different ways in which the curricula reflect these biases. In some countries, problematic accounts of ethnic diversity are explicit within the curriculum, revealing a passive accomplice role of the state in promoting or affirming these accounts. As described in Vanner, Kovinthan Levi, and Akseer's chapter analyzing South Sudan's Grade 4 textbooks, the assumption of a homogenous population in South Sudan is so strong that the curriculum requires a Christian Religious Education course for all students, despite significant religious diversity within the country. The chapters describing textbooks in Sri Lanka, South Sudan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Burundi show that the manner in which ethnic differences are addressed (either directly or indirectly) usually benefits those in positions of privilege and power. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Halilovic-Pastuovic's analysis of the TSUOR system of learning revealed that ethnic differences shaped the development, distribution, and teaching of education and thus normalized ethnic segregation. Dunlop's examination of Grade 7, 8, and 9 social science textbooks in Burundi, as well as Akseer's examination of Grade 4 and 5 social studies textbooks in Afghanistan, indicate that the national governments have taken a passive approach to addressing historical ethnic tensions. A vacuum in knowledge and understanding is created by avoiding an explicit acknowledgment of the active role of ethnic politics in conflict. It is then up to the individual learner, and the community they live in, to fill this vacuum. These gaps in knowledge are often filled with harmful narratives of the other which, as described in Dunlop's chapter on Burundi and Skårås's chapter on South Sudan, has created challenges as community narratives often reinforce tensions and asymmetrical relations between groups. In the case of Afghanistan, as described in the chapters written by Nazari and Akseer, the lack of acknowledgment leaves it up to the learner to make sense of ethnic differences, thus creating a potential to reproduce existing accounts of bias toward certain minority groups. A similar omission in relation to gender inequality is evident in Shahzadeh's chapter on civic education textbooks in Jordan, where gender equality is presumed to be achieved, despite the ongoing discriminatory representation of women that the author identifies in the textbooks. Thus, the authors' analysis reveals that textbooks and, more broadly, the learning process in these contexts often do not challenge the inequality that is generated through the implicit and explicit privileging of some ethnic groups' truths over others.

11.1.2 Reproducing an Obedient Citizen

Across several chapters, authors point out that textbooks often consist of messages about citizenship that reinforce the state's authority and thus construct the ideal citizen as someone who is passive and obedient to this power. Likewise, some of the

authors raise concerns that such an appeal is often enforced through a downplaying of other essential transformative skills, including critical thinking, deliberation, and dialogue. Learners are expected to simply accept the contents of the textbooks without engaging with them in a constructive or critical manner. Kovinthan Levi's analysis of the Grades 6–9 civics textbooks in Sri Lanka found that learners are valued mainly as workers rather than as agents of social change. Similarly, Dunlop found that, in Burundi, textbooks enforce obedience, discipline, and an uncritical acceptance of the state's authority. In Vanner, Kovinthan Levi, and Akseer's chapter on Grade 4 textbooks in South Sudan, the Christian Religious Education textbook even suggests that disobedience is a betrayal of God. The emphasis on the state's authority is also present in Nazari's findings, as the civic education textbooks for Grades 8–12 in Afghanistan present the state as a totalitarian democracy that is dominant and disciplinary. As Nazari observes, this is both contradictory and concerning as the government has also expressed its commitment to a democratic society that is both constitutional and participatory. Akseer points to similar trends in the Grade 4 and 5 Afghan social studies textbooks, as messages about citizenship protection and safety are often accompanied with assertions for the need to submit to the state's power apparatuses. Kalhoro and Cromwell's chapter regarding textbooks policy in Pakistan points to some of the challenges that such biased yet authoritative accounts can create in the classroom. Specifically, their findings reveal that while some educators may disagree with such explicitly biased narratives, especially around religion, they feel constrained in challenging them for fear of retaliation. Davies (2005) explains that teachers often lack the freedom, training, and confidence to teach critically or to hold the state accountable for its actions, both of which are essential to citizenship education. There is a need, however, for teachers to engage in deliberate dialogue and critical thinking due to their potential to be agents of critical change in society (Davies, 2003). Shahzadeh's chapter on textbook development and use in Jordan points to teachers' potential agency in challenging inequitable representations in textbooks. Yet research elsewhere (Davies, 2005; UNICEF, 2019) and findings from the chapters in this book suggest that this may not be typically occurring in practice. Thus, there is a need to strengthen teacher preparation in utilizing textbooks in order to ensure values of critical thinking are materialized on the page and in the classroom (Davies, 2005; UNESCO, 2016), while acknowledging that, in some countries, the political context does not allow for this.

11.1.3 The Past as a Challenge and Opportunity for Change

A key theme across many of the chapters is that textbooks are falling short of fully recognizing the importance of discussing historical events in a manner that helps understand the present and prepare learners for a future that is based on values of inclusion, respect, and equality. Some of the textbooks show a clear commitment by the government to acknowledge previous wrongs and, more importantly, to use these past events in promoting values of peace. In the chapters describing textbooks

in Afghanistan, for instance, Nazari and Akseer found that both the civic education and the social studies textbooks acknowledge the negative repercussions of previous conflicts by encouraging values of peace and stability. However, this message is carried out passively through an omission of direct discussions of the different types of conflict and their impact on Afghan lives. Moreover, as Nazari points out, the textbooks do not provide any direction in how its messages of peacebuilding can be enacted by learners. Similarly, the Sri Lankan civics textbooks analyzed by Kovinthan Levi gloss over the role and impact of ongoing conflicts in society and instead focus on a generalized articulation of peace and tolerance not directly related to ongoing tensions in the country. In Burundi as well, Dunlop found that the content of some chapters in the Year 8 and 9 textbooks omit details pertaining to the political history of some of the groups, reinforcing the power and legitimacy of Hutu majority over Tutsi minority. These findings are concerning as they point to a contradiction between the respective governments' stated national aims for peacebuilding and inclusion and what happens in their classrooms and learning materials. Yet the chapters also highlight the potential for textbooks to transform social barriers and inequities, acknowledged by the respective governments who have turned to teaching and learning materials as a site for transformation. Collectively, the authors suggest that the possibility of achieving the government's goals for peacebuilding could exist in part through direct and critical engagement with conflict in government-approved textbooks.

These themes highlight not only the commonality but also the complexity of utilizing textbooks to promote peacebuilding, justice, and equality in contexts affected by conflict. The IREC framework provides further insight into how education can be affected by social tensions and, consequently, can become a victim, accomplice, or a transformer of various forms of violence. The chapters included in this volume reveal that textbooks can simultaneously take on all of these roles to varying degrees, and also that these roles are interconnected. The next section provides a detailed overview of how the education system via textbooks and learning materials has been victimized by conflict, while concurrently assuming roles as an accomplice and as a transformer.

11.2 Textbooks Within the IREC Framework

As a collection, the chapters strongly demonstrate that textbooks do not fall clearly into any one of the three roles identified in the IREC framework, but that they frequently are situated simultaneously in multiple spaces. That said, in the examples outlined in the chapters, textbooks tend to contribute to the accomplice role most prominently, which should send a stark warning to those who see education as inherently contributing to peace and social development.

11.2.1 Victimization

The chapters demonstrate that textbooks are victimized by conflict in a multitude of ways. While there is evidence in the broader literature of direct attacks and destruction of learning materials by militarized groups (Knuth, 2006), in these chapters, victimization tends to be more indirect or symbolic. These victimizing effects can still have a palpable influence on students and teachers who are dependent on textbooks as essential learning materials. Throughout this volume, there is evidence of ongoing or recent conflict victimizing textbooks in two main ways: (1) through lower government textbook development and production capacity, which leads to the inability to produce and distribute sufficient quantity of textbooks or to the production of low-quality textbooks, or (2) through the removal or exclusion of potentially transformative elements as a response to political considerations and ideologies of dominant or powerful groups. Low government capacity arises primarily as a result of a sustained diversion of government funds from education to conflict. The diversion is seen in the chapters on South Sudan, where low government capacity resulting from decades of conflict has so curtailed the availability of textbooks that teachers often teach without any approved textbooks, particularly at the secondary school level as described in Skårås's chapter. Consequently, they either resort to bringing in their own resources or teaching without any such materials. The impact of lower capacity on textbook quality is also evident in Kovinthan Levi's chapter on Sri Lankan textbooks, which are rife with spelling and grammatical errors. In Khaloro and Cromwell's chapter on textbooks in Pakistan, there is evidence of intentions to move toward including more transformative content, such as references to the accomplishments of individuals who are religious minorities, but these were removed in response to political backlash and, consequently, the textbooks were not revised at all and the policies designed were not implemented. Their chapter also provides another example of symbolic victimization, as teachers demonstrate an unwillingness to challenge or even discuss controversial elements of the curriculum out of fear of violent or professional repercussions. The chapters thus highlight how victimization of textbooks via conflict occurs not only through the destruction of the textbooks themselves, but also through the deterioration of the content, the prevention of revisions to include more transformative content, and widespread limitations in their accessibility, all resulting from conflict.

11.2.2 Accomplice

The accomplice role of textbooks features strongly in each of the chapters in this volume; in most chapters, it is the most dominant of the three roles, even as the accomplice elements are often situated alongside stated goals of the textbooks to be transformative through the promotion of peace and democratic citizenship. This contradiction is pointed to in Kovinthan Levi's description of Sri Lanka's Grades

6–9 civics textbooks and Nazari's description of Afghanistan's Grades 8–12 civic education textbooks. In most of the contexts described in this volume, the textbooks reproduce an inequitable status quo through practices that include images and text that reconstruct limiting stereotypes, tokenistic representations of the other, or the presentation of the dominant group's narrative through the exclusion of other groups and their narratives. Perhaps most strikingly, Halilovic-Pastuovic's description of the TSUOR policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina depicts the complete segregation of ethnic groups within the school system. This segregation is reinforced in the example she provides of a geography textbook, which includes only geographical information about the neighboring state of Croatia, as the textbook is designed for use with teachers and students who are ethnically aligned with Croatia, with no geographical information regarding the country of Bosnia-Herzegovina where the textbooks are being used.

Shahzadeh's description of Jordanian civic education textbooks illustrates how gender inequity can be reinforced through the marginalization of women's images, stories, and perspectives from the main text, further indicating that, when women are mentioned, it is in a way that reinforces traditional notions of womanhood. Shahzadeh's textual analysis is complemented by interviews with education officials involved in textbook development, demonstrating how the textual marginalization of women reflects the attitudes of some education officials that women's stories and perspectives are not worthy of inclusion, all the while ascribing to a narrative that gender equality has already been achieved in Jordan. Similar practices that prioritize men's narratives and representation, while presenting women in conventional and stereotypical roles, are present in Akseer's chapter describing Afghanistan's Grades 4 and 5 social studies textbooks, Nazari's chapter describing Grades 8–12 civic education textbooks in the same country, and in Vanner, Kovinthan Levi, and Akseer's chapter describing Grade 4 textbooks in South Sudan.

Other forms the accomplice role takes in textbooks include the omission of conflict or minority ethnic groups, or the inclusion of ethnic groups in a tokenistic way. Many of the textbooks examined in the chapters take a sanitizing approach to describing a country's social situation that states their goals and values of peace, unity, and equality. Unfortunately, they then do not acknowledge the conflict, war, and marginalized experiences of women and minorities in their society, undermining their own stated goals and values. In Vanner, Kovinthan Levi, and Akseer's chapter on South Sudan, for example, the Grade 4 textbooks they describe make one brief reference to some damage done by decades of civil war, but also describe historical battles in glorifying terms and repeatedly depict men and boys brandishing weapons. Without addressing these realities, including forms of inequity that contributed to ongoing or past conflict, the textbooks suggest these problems do not exist or, at least, do not need to be addressed. In multiple chapters, including Kovinthan Levi's chapter on Sri Lankan textbooks and Nazari's chapter on Afghan textbooks (both describing civic education textbooks), conflict is either not addressed in the textbooks or is presented as something that happens externally to the country. Not only are marginalizing experiences of minority groups usually excluded as well, but achievements of individuals from minority backgrounds are often absent. In Dunlop's chapter describing

Grade 7, 8, and 9 social science textbooks in Burundi, Tutsi narratives are excluded, for example by mentioning only Hutu leaders in government as if Tutsi leaders had never existed. Khaloro and Cromwell describe how, in Pakistan, efforts to include examples of prominent leaders and innovators from minority Muslim sects, such as Dr. Abdus Salam, the first Pakistani to win a Nobel Prize, led to such hostile reactions that the proposed changes were never made. Even when minority groups are mentioned in textbooks, it is not necessarily in a transformative way. Kovinthan Levi describes how, in the Sri Lankan civic education textbooks analyzed, descriptions of the Indigenous community, the Veddas, are included but in a stereotypical and demeaning way and without including their name, effectively minimizing their importance in contemporary Sri Lankan society.

Textbooks may also describe minority groups in negative ways, without recognizing similar tendencies or histories among majority or more powerful groups. For example, in Akseer's chapter on Afghan Grade 4 and 5 social studies textbooks, an ethnic minority leader who temporarily banned schools during his nine-month rule in 1929 is mentioned as hindering social progress, while the much longer and more recent banning of girls' education by the Taliban is not mentioned. This contrast results in the demonization of the minority ethnic group's leader while avoiding criticism of the more dangerous and politically powerful Taliban. Textbooks are essential learning materials, yet these chapters collectively demonstrate their highly political nature that often reinforces an inequitable status quo and reflects the prevailing ideology of the government and other influential groups. Skårås's chapter on South Sudan, however, illustrates that the absence of textbooks creates a vacuum in which harmful and divisive narratives that may exist in the community have no counterbalance without official textbooks that promote transformative elements. Textbooks should thus be treated as highly valuable yet cautiously and critically engaged with, as they require sincere intentionality and political will to remove accomplice elements and replace them with transformative ones. One way that national governments or international donors can encourage diverse perspectives within textbooks is to use a multiple book option. Many of the contexts described here in which the accomplice role is dominant use a single book option, forcing one narrative that often excludes or diminishes marginalized groups. A multiple book option, by contrast, facilitates diverse perspectives and leaves room for more localized levels of education stakeholders to select the textbooks they wish to use. There is a risk, however, as presented in Halilovic-Pastuovic's chapter on TSUOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that different ethnic groups may each choose textbooks that exclusively present their own narratives, pointing to the importance of including diverse perspectives in all approved options.

11.2.3 Transformer

Textbooks across the chapters all contain some degree of transformative content, although it is often surface level and overshadowed or contradicted by the more

prominent elements of the accomplice role. Nazari's chapter on Afghan secondary school civic education textbooks, for instance, demonstrates these contradictions by describing the prescribed appreciation for human rights—including women's rights—and democracy, even while still demonstrating an affinity for the values of authoritarian and totalitarian governance and depicting women exclusively in traditional roles. Kovinthan Levi's chapter on Sri Lankan textbooks similarly points to the government's stated values of diversity and multiculturalism, despite an overarching discourse that promotes the dominant ethnic group and excludes more diverse and alternative narratives. Vanner, Kovinthan Levi, and Akseer's chapter identifies that the Grade 4 textbooks in South Sudan contain language that explicitly encourages acceptance of newcomers to the community in spite of difference. Dunlop's chapter describing textbooks in Burundi is possibly the most transformative example among the chapters, outlining the relationship between the textbooks and the peace accords and reflecting a multidirectional relationship between education and peace. Her chapter underscores this relationship by noting that the role of education in contributing to past conflict is recognized within the peace accords, while also identifying the presence of messages directly from the peace accords within the textbooks. Dunlop observes that the moves toward transformation within the textbooks may be small, but that the clear and intentional focus on advancing justice, human rights, and equality via active engagement with these concepts illustrates how even passive components can be important steps in a transformative direction if they continue to be built upon going forward. Khaloro and Cromwell's chapter on textbooks in Pakistan demonstrates that this intentionality must be accompanied by strong political will in the face of hostile resistance, otherwise the intended transformative policies and discourses may never result in actual textbooks for students and teachers to use.

Some chapters demonstrate a different transformative dynamic, where the textbooks themselves do not contain strong transformative elements and may even be taking on an active accomplice role, but there are indications of students or teachers using the textbooks or even challenging them in transformative ways. In Shahzadeh's chapter on textbooks in Jordan, for example, she describes teachers' practice of tweaking the language in the textbooks to make it more inclusive, while in Halilovic-Pastuovic's chapter on Bosnia-Herzegovina, she describes students leading protests against the segregated TSUOR system. These examples remind us that textbooks do not exist in isolation, but rather can be adapted or responded to by the students and teachers who use them. This again, however, requires strong will in the face of likely resistance. Teachers' agency and ability to engage critically with the textbooks and use them to provoke participatory dialogue with their students could be greatly enhanced through quality professional development geared toward critical pedagogy, yet this recommendation is ambitious in several of the contexts described here, due in part to low capacity derived from sustained conflict and fear of backlash or reprisal. We return then to the value of beginning by embedding small steps toward transformation within the textbook content and supporting educators as much as possible to take these up and expand upon them within their classrooms. In both of these initiatives, there lies a significant role for international donors, civil society,

and other stakeholders in holding national governments accountable for designing and distributing textbooks with ever more transformative roles.

None of the chapters describe textbooks as falling neatly or clearly into just one of the IREC framework's roles; all demonstrate that textbooks simultaneously straddle at least two roles and several, such as Kalhoro and Cromwell's chapter on Pakistan and Kovinthan Levi's chapter on Sri Lanka, illustrate how textbooks can be situated across all three roles. Even Skårås's chapter on South Sudan, which describes the absence of available secondary school textbooks and is perhaps the starkest example of the victimized role of textbooks in the collection, indicates that this absence creates pedagogical spaces in which the accomplice role can flourish but also where transformative opportunities created by local narratives that differ from national ones could be taken up. While the IREC framework as applied in this book thus illustrates the potential for textbooks to occupy each of the three different roles, it more poignantly highlights the consistent co-existence and contradictions of these roles, both in relation to textbooks and to education systems more broadly.

11.3 Implications for Policy and Practice

The chapters presented in this book all indicate that education and conflict are intertwined in complex ways that may not be easily conducive to promoting learning that encourages unity, justice, or peacebuilding. While raising these concerns, many of the authors also maintain that such transformation is possible through further efforts and commitment not only at the national level, but also at local and international levels. This section outlines potential implications for stakeholders at each level who may be engaged in facilitating the development, distribution, or use of learning materials in conflict-affected contexts.

11.3.1 International Level

The role of international actors is rarely at the forefront of analysis in these chapters, yet their undeniable influence, both positive and negative, remains evident. In some of the country contexts described in the chapters, the international community provided important support in ensuring that students remained in and/or returned to the classroom and learning as much and as quickly as possible. In Halilovic-Pastuovic's Bosnia-Herzegovina chapter and Nazari's Afghanistan chapter, for instance, the international community played vital roles in ensuring that peacebuilding processes also focused on education. Similarly, the Pakistan chapter highlights efforts by the international community to ensure that the national curriculum advocated values of inclusivity and peace. These examples, however, also indicate that, while the international community often shows strong initial commitment, their role can fade during the subsequent development, production, provision, and use of learning materials.

There is a need, therefore, for these actors to work to sustainably support national governments in achieving their educational aims, specifically those that promote equality, justice, and peacebuilding. It is necessary for international stakeholders to recognize that this is likely to be a long-term process that, like many of the chapters point to, can play out over years or even decades. Many donors prefer quantifiable metrics that are easy to report on, such as the number of textbooks produced or distributed; however, supporting the development, adaptation, review, approval, production, and distribution of learning materials, particularly when using a multiple book option as recommended above, requires a lengthy commitment and may be more challenging to account for in terms of outcomes. These essential processes have the potential to materialize recognized best practices among international actors regarding the centrality of textbooks in fostering sustainable development, global citizenship, peace, and human rights (UNESCO, 2017). As Bentrovato (2017) notes, the United Nations has recognized the peacebuilding role of textbooks, either directly or indirectly, as an important part of transitional justice. Policies referencing the role of textbooks in peacebuilding include the United Nation's *Impunity Principles* (UNHCR, 2005a, Principle 2), which calls for a recognition of "[a] people's knowledge of the history of its oppression" and *Reparation Principles* (UNHCR, 2005b, Principle 22a) which mandate that an accurate understanding of violations is included in "educational material at all levels." Target 4.7 of the Sustainable Development Goals (UNESCO, 2016) also focuses on how countries should mainstream values of global citizenship and sustainable development in their curricula, which can also include a monitoring mechanism on "globally comparable data on textbook contents" (Global Education Monitoring Report, 2016, p. 295). While these are important steps forward, the case studies in this book show that the implementation of these principles faces ongoing obstacles as countries appear to be engaging either knowingly or unknowingly in promoting teaching materials that contain harmful biases.

11.3.2 National Level

The different chapters repeatedly point to the problematic role that national government officials can play in creating curricula that are biased and maintain or exacerbate existing tensions and inequalities, as well as some examples of transformative and inclusive steps they have taken. Further attention needs to be given by national governments (or provincial or state-level governments where textbook decision-making is decentralized to lower levels) to the ways in which it develops and distributes teaching and learning materials to ensure that there are no contradictions to national commitments toward peacebuilding. This endeavor requires capacity development for educators, so that these stakeholders are better equipped with skills to teach values of peace and justice, including the ability to facilitate dialogue, consider multiple perspectives, and de-escalate conflict in the classroom. It also requires the willingness to recognize the potential for education to perpetuate existing conflicts and take

intentional steps to counter these influences, even when it may be politically unpopular. Evidence from the chapters shows that government officials can infuse textbook material with content that is biased and promotes dominant narratives. For example, Shahzadeh's chapter on civic education textbooks in Jordan describes an interview with one government official involved in textbook development who disregarded the importance of gender equality in textbooks, while others Shahzadeh interviewed criticized the biased perspectives of their colleagues that ultimately influenced the learning materials they developed.

Chapters describing textbook development in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Sri Lanka reveal that, while the government may seek to promote values of peace and equality through textbooks, the implementation of these goals is often flawed and limited in scope. Therefore, it is important for governments to expand their focus beyond surface-level aspirations and give considerable attention to how these values are embodied within the discourses of the textbooks and, ultimately, how they are experienced by students and teachers in the classroom. Such an endeavor would likely require additional resources, although these may be less than the long-term costs of the potential negative repercussions of a biased curriculum. Non-government national stakeholders, such as civil society organizations, universities, teachers, colleges, and teachers' unions could also play a significant role in supporting textbook revision or development and/or teacher professional development. Finally, as many of the chapters point out, addressing societal conflict with education alone will not be sufficient, as social divisions espoused on the pages of textbooks or in classroom discussions are most likely connected to broader social patterns beyond education; these may include long-standing social attitudes toward certain groups, genders, or historical practices of exclusion. Dunlop's chapter on textbooks in Burundi provides the strongest illustration of an intentional connection between the educational curriculum and political and social efforts toward peacebuilding. Effective implementation of educational goals that foster unity, cohesion, and peace will require this type of collaborative approach that considers the relationship between education and other socio-political and economic systems that shape learners' everyday lived experiences.

11.3.3 Local Level

Several of the chapters demonstrate the powerful role that local-level actors and stakeholders in education can play in promoting peacebuilding and conflict transformation. Notably, analysis from Shahzadeh's chapter on textbooks in Jordan reveals the powerful potential of teachers in challenging stereotypical or biased accounts in the official curriculum. A similar trend is present in Kalhoro and Cromwell's interviews with Pakistani teachers, as some took it upon themselves to teach a version of Islam that was different from the biased version included in official textbooks, even in the face of significant risk. Halilovic-Pastuovic observed that teachers in Bosnia-Herzegovina devised alternative textbook choices to use in the classroom if they did not agree with suggested selections. Additionally, the community can also

be a powerful agent for disrupting negative national narratives, as noted in Skårås's chapter on South Sudan. Expanding focus on these actors and their potentially positive role in redressing problematic teachings in the classroom, whether through the content of the curricula itself or other biases, can provide an important avenue for building positive peace. There is an opportunity for community leaders, school administrators, and local government officials to work collaboratively in building transformative learning materials, although they may need to first recognize the potential of educational materials in exacerbating or challenging inequalities. Moreover, these stakeholders can play an important role in the reconciliation process, especially in reviewing and revising curricula as recommended by UNESCO's 2016 Global Education Monitoring report. Such collaboration has contributed toward some degree of transformation in countries like South Africa (Bentrovato & Wassermann, 2018) and West Bank/East Jerusalem (Rhode, 2013), where discussions with various stakeholders over textbook revisions provided deeper insight into understanding divisive curricula. Thus, working with such differences can enable conflict consciousness through conflict participation—for example by facilitating dialogue about common ground across ethnic groups, holding the state accountable to its citizens, or the presence and effects of social inequities—which is essential for ensuring such differences are reflected in textbook content (Kovinthan Levi, this volume).

11.4 Conclusion

Through an analysis of the complex relationships between textbooks and conflict, this book provides a nuanced understanding of the different and intersecting roles that textbooks assume in contexts affected by conflict. It is unfortunately evident that the accomplice role is most prevalent across the diverse country contexts. Considering that researchers have for years now pointed to the potential and need to use education for transformative purposes (e.g., Davies, 2006; Galtung, 1969, 1976, 1985; Novelli et al., 2017), and thus to eliminate its role in exacerbating existing inequalities, there are still major shortfalls. Yet, many of the chapters have also highlighted the potential for education, and specifically learning materials, to challenge destructive practices through transformational elements, even in contexts where conflicts are ongoing. Collectively, these chapters conclusively demonstrate that textbooks are highly political. It is therefore imperative that education providers and their supporters pay closer attention to the contents of textbooks so that they support local, national, and international contributions toward sustained positive peace. Recognizing a symbiotic relationship between education and political peacebuilding efforts, textbooks should both reflect and be reflected in the efforts of other government departments to reduce and ultimately eliminate all forms of conflict. Finally, those investing in textbooks should not only consider their development but also ways to invest in the teachers and students who will use them through teacher professional development and in-text prompts and activities to facilitate the acquisition of skills such as critical reflection,

dialogue, and conflict resolution that will nurture and support students toward a path of peace and peacebuilding.

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